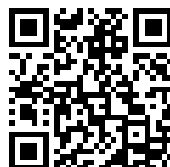
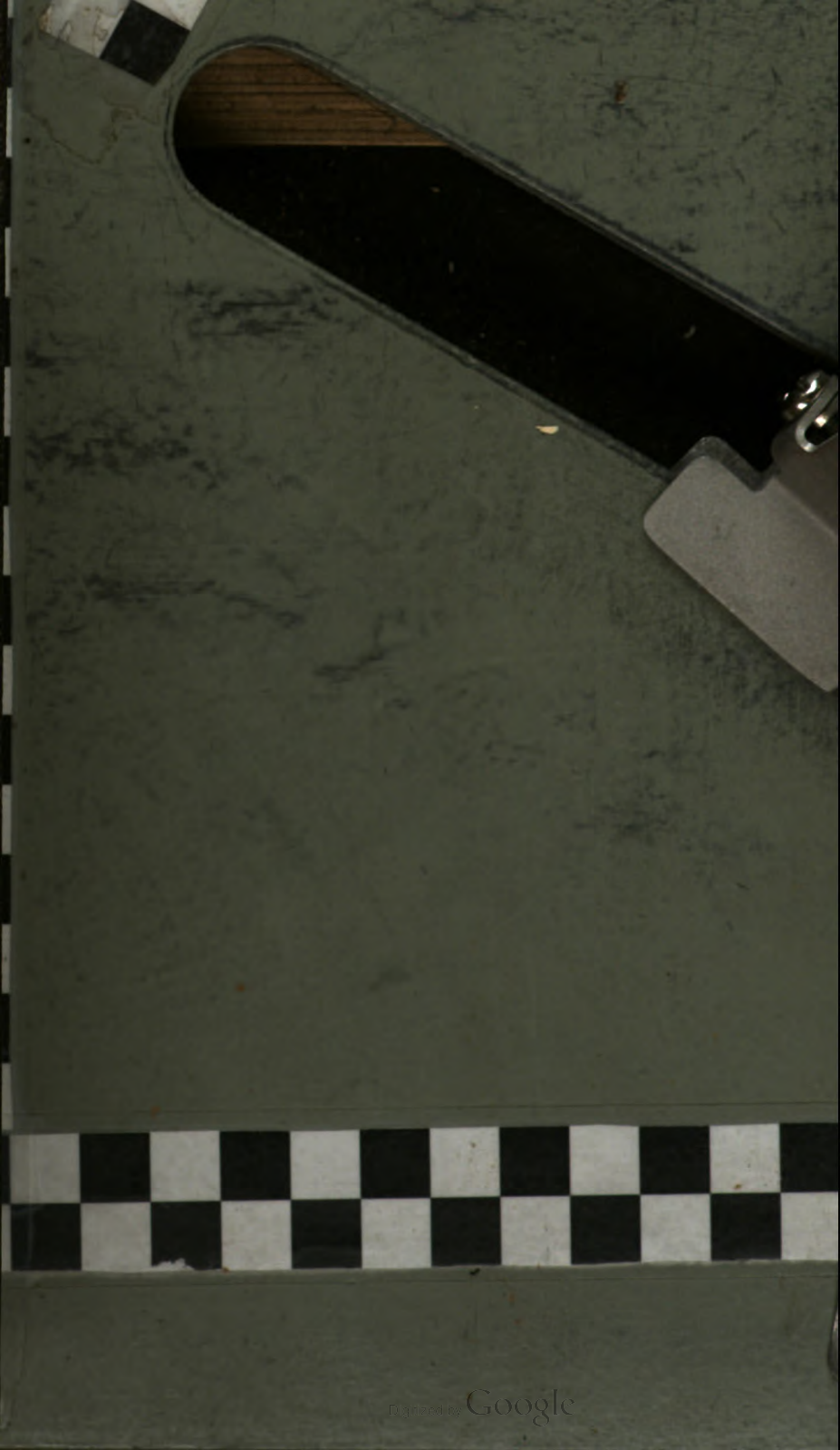
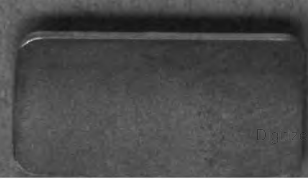

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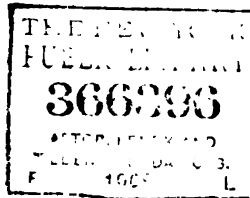
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POPULAR CATHOLIC PERIODICALS

OUR Catholic periodical literature has, within a decade or two, been undergoing a very remarkable change. It formerly seemed to have for main function a strengthening enlightenment of the faithful ; for it kept on reiterating the divine truth of our religion, and expatiating on the glorious sufferings and triumphs of our fellow-worshippers. If it exceptionally undertook to deprecate or even to disarm human prejudice it was generally on the primal plea that we had to obey God rather than man ; so that in our defensive tactics the sacred immovableness of our position was still proclaimed. But now our Press representatives mostly affect the apologetic or the apologetico-controversial. They appear anxious to diffuse all that has been said or supposedly may be said against the Catholic Church—with, of course, some view to its refutation, but incidentally, perhaps, with the newsman's leaning to the piquant. The questioning tone is in the quasi-religious atmosphere, and a corresponding line of thought, if thought there be, is both obtrusive and intrusive. An illustration of the fact is not far to seek : take up the files of a Catholic publication of twenty years' date, and you find less than a fifth of its space occupied with the passing libels on the truth ; take them up for last year, and you may find two-fifths, three-fifths, devoted to that same innutritive material. What readers, then, Catholic periodical writers have in view becomes an urgent question.

There is attraction in the thought of writing for the general public ; there is also an incentive to a most laudable zeal. But, eventually and effectively, does periodic Catholic literature reach the general reader? In a very small measure—if common experience and business statistics are at all to be trusted. In the English-speaking world the bookstalls that will, unrequested, put or keep a Catholic periodical on their list could very easily be counted. They take little stock even in the modern monster of hybridism that would call itself a *Catholic Undenominational Journal*. So it remains a matter of trade as well as of apostolate that our periodic publications are quite preponderantly, though not exclusively, for Catholic readers.

Now that preponderance should naturally determine their policy. To be uninteresting or injurious to those who read us, in the vain effort to ingratiate ourselves with those who do not, would be a plain proof of want of principle or want of sense. It is not that we are to forget outsiders, for we are instructed to give them no offence, even to have their good report, and to try to serve all men ; but it is that the nature and circumstances of our work require us to make sure our calling, and to benefit especially those who are of the household of the faith. Neither, indeed, is there any danger of our neglecting the welfare of the race so long as we do good to the faithful ; for if there be a truth of manifold experience in religious enterprise, it is that the cultivating of faith where it is already planted is the most efficacious way of propagating it. The same may be said of piety. Faber was not overlooking the lost sheep of his own beloved country, but was formulating a piece of pastoral wisdom, when he wrote : ‘ If we could only make our Celts saints, we could do something to our Saxons.’¹

Here, however, a query prompt to arise is whether apologetico-controversial reading is not useful also to the common faithful. It certainly is, on the condition that it gives, or secures, or increases energizing possession of revealed truth. Otherwise, its evil effects seem much more

¹ *Life and Letters*, p. 371.

evident than its good. Of course no one will intelligently pretend that a Catholic should not, in proportion to his natural ability, be prepared to account to himself and to others for what he religiously both believes and practices. Such fitness is thought a special requisite of the present age : but it was always required. When the first faithful heard St. Peter saying : ' Sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts, being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you,' they might know that they were receiving a rule as practically universal as it was pertinently conditioned : their holy confidence first, then its unseen ground for every one who asked. And afterwards when faith and philosophy were about to celebrate their lasting alliance, St. Anselm, a doctor worthily representative of predecessors and successors, enunciated the accepted relation between belief and inquiry. He makes his *Boso* begin with the words : ' As right reason demands that we believe the deep things of the Christian faith before we presume to discuss them, so to me it seems a negligence if, when we have been confirmed in the faith, we do not labour to understand the things which we believe.'¹

The effort, then, to get more intelligence of our supernatural belief, and to believe more that we may the more understand, is not one at which umbrage should be taken. But neither is it the one which characterises our actual periodic literature. With some noteworthy exceptions, that gives us little that is positive, little that is plainly explicative, and still less that is emphatically or enthusiastically Catholic. The topics, and worse, the methods of treatment, are frequently taken from non-Catholic sources ; and though there is no need of being narrowly illiberal, yet experience as well as Christian instinct demands a strongly delicate discrimination. It is noticeable that non-Catholic discussers of religion regard themselves as having made some progress whenever they establish an apparent contradiction of Catholicity. Be there question of Scriptures, or ethics, or politics, or any other involving

¹ ' Cur Deus Homo ? ' c. ii.

things divine and human, the satisfactory outside achievement is to put the Church in a false position. That may not be the explicit aim of the unorthodox, but they yet seem inevitably to veer round to it and to rest in it. Recent periodical treatment of the great subjects mentioned shows no very deep delving into them for their own sake ; it is rather a raking together of knotty odds and ends that neither need nor, sometimes, admit solution ; in fact, of the poorer specimens of the 'hundred-thousand difficulties which do not make one doubt.'

But, unfortunately, the newspaper style of religious investigation often leaves on Catholic readers the impression that some doubt is involved. Such an idea may, of course, be called superficial and ridiculous by the writers ; but that does not change the fact : the misgiving is created. And a matter of experience, as also of necessity, is that doubt is the one intolerable intruder in the domain of belief. The antagonism between the two states of mind is not only absolute on final analysis, but is likewise most aggravating in immediate results. The so-called methodic doubt did very unhappy buccaneering in the schools, and the first appearance of question in matters directly or indirectly doctrinal will always repel the faithful. Indeed their instinct is in fair accord with the philosophical and theological temper ; for assent to truths either natural or revealed is an act so distinct, indivisible, and absolute, that it brooks no shadow of uncertainty. Even the broadest speculation must still unfalteringly tell a man that 'he cannot be both inside and outside of the Church at once ;' since, 'if seeking includes doubting and doubting excludes believing, then the Catholic, who sets about inquiring, thereby declares that he is not a Catholic.'¹

This fundamental distinction between the inquirer and the Catholic explains the affright or disgust, if not always actual scandal, produced among the simpler faithful by awkward and uncalled-for apologetics. Experience of that result is old and constant. The great Bishop of Hippo, whose time and place was so necessarily controversial,

¹ *Grammar of Assent*, p. 191.

compared the offering even of Gospel concordances to his believing flock to the imposing of medical doses on a man in good health. The figure is telling. The healthful man does not want medicine ; if it is forced on him, he may not remain in health. The latest practice echoes the earliest. Some twentieth-century American pastors are reported as putting certain 'Catholic' publications on a sort of parish *Index*, for the safeguarding of their lambs and sheep. To one of these watchful guardians was offered by a more lenient confrère the waggish apology that if the said publications were not always Catholic periodicals, they were 'periodically Catholic.'

So much of Catholic education being in the hands of nuns, their sentiments on popular reading are of considerable weight. Now a sister of a teaching Order, who has sent forth from her class many hundreds of well-instructed boys and girls, and who reads much because of her rather high programme, was recently heard to exclaim, in most manifest anguish : ' Will they leave us anything to believe ? ' The *they* meant were Catholic Press people, and the intelligent teacher understood them to attack her Carmelite Scapular, her patron saints, her First Friday devotion, her plain Testament lessons, and her affection for many things palpably Roman. No doubt the writers who caused the complaint would be quick to allege that no questions strictly dogmatic were mooted ; and, as surely, the answer would fail to satisfy the soul that lives of faith, the soul whose moral being is supernaturally sensitive, supernaturally delicate, out to its farthest tendrils and minutest feelers.

Perhaps the anomaly of being hurtful to believers while explicitly undertaking their service, is somewhat explainable on this very head of faith's overlooked or unrecognized delicacy. In essence, and in fact, it is a delicate virtue ? Some writers seem to scorn the idea. They argue as if, for them, it were equivalent to representing faith as unfounded, or at least as uncertain of itself. But is there not here a strange misapprehension, a putting of merely human confidence in the place of super-

natural belief? Surely faith may be, as it is, a matter of highest truth, and yet—or therefore—our hold on it be perilously insecure. Scripture indications are unmistakable. Faith is a gift to be most jealously guarded. It is named and figured in quite startling conjunction with that other virtue which especially 'craves wary walking.' From Moses and Jeremias to St. Paul and St. John, the inspired penmen assimilate purity in belief to purity in morals, making it at times difficult to determine whether they are speaking of creedal orthodoxy or of conjugal fidelity. The violation also of one virtue gets epithets appropriated from the other. In consequence the saints and the great moralists prescribe the very same remedy for temptations against faith as against purity—flight, namely, the victory in this battle being, as they facetiously remark, reserved for the cowards.

What is this but an affirmation of the experience that faith's delicacy makes it unsafe to wantonly look its insidious enemy in the face or parley with its blasphemous impugnors? If there were question only of natural prowess, we might seem called to measure ourselves with our opponents; but where the gift is altogether above us, we have to take it in its revealed conditions. The very giants of fighting belief recommend, in the matter of preserving faith, the caution of inability and vulnerability. For all time are St. Augustine's adages: 'No one suffices to himself for either the beginning or the perfecting of faith;' ¹ 'Woe to the (faithful) man unless the Lord consume even his faith;' ² 'It is a great grace from God that our faith be preserved.'³

Though the faith of ordinary Catholics should not be at all shaken by Press rehashing of objections and replies, yet the fineness of their believing disposition is often blunted and its freshness irretrievably lost. The loss is great; for in supernatural outfit the *pia credulitas*—theologically understood—is an indispensable element: it is as a pure atmosphere to life, the medium of sight, the renewer of

¹ *De Prædest.*, 5.

² *In Ps.* 120, 11.

³ *In Ps.* 134, 18.

the blood, the fosterer of bloom and energy. It is by it we are quick to perceive that the Lord did make 'testimonies exceedingly credible,' and that His 'judgments are delightful.' It begets an efflorescence of faith which is joyously Catholic and joyously meritorious; but profane handling bedraggles it, and even a break can dim its lustre. It fares particularly ill when subjected to what has been described as 'the essentially unsupernatural character of the controversial temper.' Not that we could regard our indestructible religion as a sort of hot-house plant, to be hidden away and sheltered from every blast—though, in truth, it is an exotic; but the exhalations abroad are of the earth earthly, and hence it requires watchful effort to keep our minds 'unspotted from this world.'

Some who urge the utility of controversial topics seem to hold that, in matter of question and doubt, many Catholic minds are not unspotted, or at least are very liable not to be; and that so it is as well to inoculate them, either remedially or preventively. Our periodical writers' apparent findings on this point are certainly controvertible. By no one is the pulse of the faithful more unmistakably felt than by spiritual physicians, and they, as a class, have shown few signs of anxiety about their people's belief. A priest of ten, fifteen, twenty years' ministry may find it hard to recall any cases in which his penitents were really hindered by difficulties of dogma. Moral obligations are, almost universally, the matter and the test. Jubilarians, of most extensive and varied mission work, have been known to declare that the souls they encountered, who were kept from practising their religion by intellectual troubles, would not sum up one a year. And the older the missionary or pastor, the less is he inclined to admit that the troubles were indeed intellectual, the advancing of such a reason being usually either a preliminary or a pretence. On close inspection the root of bitterness was found not to have its bed in the soil of the First Commandment, but further on, more than half-way up the field of the Decalogue. Hence experts in the ministry will seldom

ask that Press co-operation among the faithful run on lines of contention and controversy.

Is it not also remarkable that the episcopate of the world, the great chief staff of the Church Militant, should take so little part in those apologetic tactics? Hardly a bishop's voice is heard in all the outcry about changed conditions and problems of the day, about learned rebuttals and wise concessions, about science's demands and doctrine's adaptations. To see the flock led into the old rich pastures and down by the ever-running waters, seems to satisfy them; whilst, if the poisonous bite or the contagious pest of error were as common among their fatlings and weaklings as sections of our Press intimate, they would have to be the noisiest in warning and recrimination. As Scripture watch-dogs they should keep up their bark, loud and aggressive. But they evidently know that the faithful are mostly safe on the doctrinal score, requiring only instruction. They may also be going on the principles followed by physicians of great cities who find germinal typhoid in all air and food, but still tell individual citizens to mind it little, so long as they keep their constitutions in pure vigour. The germs, as they say, never lodge in sound tissue. Pastors, while most vigilant, can rest in similar confidence that healthy, well-nourished Catholic souls take little contagion from passing aberrations—and least when they least notice them. To look to the highest example, the Supreme Pastor calls attention to outlying error only when it is very flagrant or very insidious: he commonly pursues his appointed course, feeding the lambs and sheep.

Besides being unserviceable, apologetic Press writing sometimes runs into peculiar heads of offence. To put the biggest first, it 'gives occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme,' not perhaps in Nathan's sense, but practically in ways variously regrettable. Either the solution of difficulties is inadequate, leaving the truth open to jibe and ribaldry; or doctrinal statements are incorrect, up to the point of heresy. This latter fault often comes of partial ignorance, and so it is rather material than

formal ; but it seems a common contingency of the undertaking, for fallibility in the original teaching of those who are *not* is almost proverbial. Thus is falsehood met by falsehood, error by error, and that in the Catholic name !

Another way in which unskilled controversy may involve blasphemy is the off-hand reporting and retailing of the grosser aberrations. There appears a strange forgetfulness that things explicitly atheistic or even heretical are often also blasphemous, and that the bare material wording of blasphemy is, in itself, unallowable. Reasons are required, and safeguards. From the prevailing practice there must follow a disastrous dulling of reverence, with a corresponding loss of religion's finer sentiments. The subjects cavalierly treated in the family paper enter quickly into the family conversation. Then the common weakness of a liking for cavil begets discussion, implants fictive opinion, rubs the bloom off faith, and plays havoc with simple piety. A very sad effect of the abuse is the annoyance inflicted on the truly spiritual, on those who are distinctively called *touchy* about divine interests. Though written more than half a century ago, when the evil was less prevalent, there is much present appositeness in the following lines :—

The purity of the true faith is one of the very dearest interests of Jesus ; and, consequently, one who truly loves his Lord and Master is pained beyond the power of words by the expression of false doctrine, especially among Catholics. Opinions about our Lord's ignorance, or in depreciation of His grace, or in derogation of His Mother's honour, or lowering the Sacraments, or dishonouring ever so little the prerogatives of His Vicar upon earth—these things, merely in passing conversation, sting him so that he feels even bodily suffering from them. . . . Thus you will not find a single saint who has not cherished this pain of love in his heart of hearts, this inability to endure the sound of heresy or false doctrine ; and where this is not, then, as sure as the sun is in the heavens, the love of Jesus is but poor and weak in the heart of man.¹

The tendency animadverted on in this passage has

¹ *All for Jesus*, p. 51.

recently shown itself in censoriousness about various Catholic devotions. Superstition is, in one aspect or another, the gist of the charges; and where that can be segregated from supernatural piety, it is of course to be blamed, for the Church of God, like the law of God, declares it a sin. But when a devotion can be called a Church devotion, attack on it savours of either presumptuous folly or skulking heresy. *Insolentissima insania*¹ was its early name. Who indeed can, in good faith, think himself more attached to truth and true devotion than is the Spirit-led Church? He would have to resemble the *philanthropic* infidels that think themselves more considerate of mankind than even the God who so loved the world. As the Church is an organism whose life is of the Holy Ghost, what really enters that organism must be touched by Him. Most superficial, most injurious is the view that there can be action of the Spirit of Truth where there is no truth; and hence we must hold that what the Church makes an occasion or an object of devotion is, in the form and sense in which she takes it, undeniably true. The *nec approbat, nec tacet, nec facit* of the fourth century is here applicable. Things against faith or morals the Church of God neither approves, nor condones, nor does.² And, in proportion, something similar may be said of the faithful individually. If their particular devotions be supernaturally fruitful, we may infer a basis of truth. When faith can be attested—a thing not always easy—as informing any given practice, there is assurance of a true reason underlying it; for then is exemplified St. Thomas's principal: 'By the habit of faith the human mind is disposed to assent to those things which agree with right faith and not to others.'³

It appears, therefore, that anxiety to afford newspaper correction to Catholic devotions may easily run to excess. Moreover, its sincerity is not always above suspicion. When censure of things simply pious is harshly thrust on

¹ S. Aug. *ad Jan.* liv. 6.

² *Ibid.* lv. 35.

³ II. II. q. 1, a. 4, ad 3.

the public, it is often found that the real complaint lies in a part quite different from that at which the irritation is manifested. Because one thing rankles, another is knived. If it be correction that is desired, why is it not sought where it is sure to be met with and sure of being efficacious? When ecclesiastical authority officially discountenances mistaken devotions, they lose propagative energy; when the Holy See condemns them, they wither as certainly and almost as suddenly as did the barren fig-tree. Excoriating them in the Press, to the probable disgust of believers and to the sure amusement of unbelievers is, in most cases, an ill-judged proceeding.

Other matters similarly or more seriously contentious occasionally appear in our periodic literature. It is hardly their place: the readers are unprepared, and the medium is unsuited. Part of the wisdom of Canon Sheehan's Curate Johnson was shown by the fact that 'he was always most unwilling to enter into religious matters with a man whose training had not fitted him to understand them.' And as to crotchets of criticism, Mrs. W. Ward's prudent Bishop Dale, 'personally wished that very many of these questions could be discussed in Latin only, and by specialists.' Even worldly sense dictates a like course. Quite recently the *New York Times* published in its literary edition a letter from a citizen who sturdily protested against magazine articles 'that leave a bad taste in your mouth.' If scabrous questions were to be treated, he wanted it done in books which a man may get, if so disposed, and keep to himself, not in magazines which lie around and are picked up by everybody.

Doubtless some Catholic magazines ventilate crabbed questions on the supposition that their circle is all highly educated or even clerical. It is to be seen how far the supposition holds. Besides various classes of incidental readers, the dollar-a-day boys and girls who do much of the department work in many Catholic weeklies, systematically go to these magazines for what they think spicy. Hence may many hard things be thrown in the way of the unlearned, possibly of the unstable.

If our periodical literature were to eschew subjects considered impertinent or offensive, are there others which it might appropriate? Some great ones, of evident nobility and usefulness, are little treated. The actual life of the Church, which makes almost visible the presence and working of the Holy Ghost, is seldom forcibly portrayed. Yet how majestic it is! how irresistible! how beneficent! Missions show it forth wonderfully; even politics witness to it; but its best proof is in the supernatural morality it creates. A priest in an American city may scarcely claim the merit of faith in his ministry, so manifest is the action of grace. He meets thousands of men and women, and of young people, whose lives would not sully an Irish Thebaid, though they are placed within a hand's reach of the world's most seductive corruptions. He need not be told what does this; but others would profit by knowing it.

Scripture is another mine unworked by the Press. From Reformation times it has been a sad loss that the sacred text should seem useful mainly for controversy. Now the case is worse. Our holy books are themselves made the bone of contention, bandied about and gnawed and hardly at all used except with a view to criticism. Who indeed recalls twenty popular publications, in as many years, that laid any stress on the wisdom of fashioning life to the divine strength and sweetness of the revealed word? Yet what it lays down about its own use is very positive, being all, namely, 'profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work.' Its very substance is blankly disregarded—whatever pin-pricking there may be about its circumstances; and so its splendid, not to speak of its divine, characters are becoming less and less lovedly familiar.

Without asking for the literature of spirituality, we might also expect from our periodicals more work, and better work, on the saints of the Church. Heroes and heroines are at once interesting and inspiring, and no one has them true and high as we have. They, with their virtues, miracles, patronages, were not given to be kept

out of common thought and speech ; and still the Catholic public—at least the English-speaking part of it—is fearfully ignorant of all that concerns them. There is actually gathering on the ignorance a crust of indifference. To break this up and let in the light, or rather let out the refulgence, is opportune work for devoted writers. The inane fear of appearing too Catholic may be safely relegated to helot days ; and studies of depth and beauty, of charming incident and needed example, can be copiously drawn from our inexhaustible hagiology. Then if more space, more matter be desired, why not gladly direct the cramped modern mind to St. Thomas's three created infinities (which *habent quamdam dignitatem infinitam*¹) : the Humanity of God, the Mother of God, the Fruition of God ?

The frequent treatment of these and of all subjects that positively make known our faith as 'the victory which overcometh the world,' should characterize the Catholic Press, should all the more characterize it that every other Press is necessarily on the world's side. Categorical assertion of the truth is good for ourselves and for non-Catholics ; for us because it makes our belief more practically real, for them because it pours a steady light into their darkness. In Catholic periodicals there should be no room for 'dissolving views'—whether of the religion that deprecates being called false, because, forsooth, there is no true or false in belief ; or of the fancied immanent creature-god, who is not at all the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth ; or of the 'profoundly religious man who has no supernatural sense ;' or of the salvation which depends more on 'what God thinks of us than on what we think of Him'—a new delusive quibble : as if God did not always see us exactly as we are ; or as if what we are did not most fundamentally depend on our personal thought of Him, since by nature and grace we are His rational adorers.

Plain revealed truths, boldly affirmed and lived, are the need of the Lord's vineyard. Practical piety's strong sunshine and heavy showers will warmly fructify where

¹ I. q. xxv., a. 6, ad 4.

the apologetic drizzle but chills and famishes. In the necessitated *Apologia* there can hardly be selected a more leading proposition than the one which says : ' False ideas may be refuted indeed by argument, but by true ideas alone are they expelled ' (page 50). And the eminent author—to whom one is now loath to refer, so much reason has there been of late that he should pray to be ' delivered from his friends '—could deliberately state, at the close of his long life of exceptionally fruitful controversy :—

I really think that many persons, not to say most persons, are converted by the simplicity of a Catholic, especially a Catholic priest ; and that by straightforward going about his duty, and by honestly speaking out what the Church teaches, he does more good, except in particular cases, than if he were ever so good a controversialist.¹

G. LEE, C.S.Sp.

¹ *Addresses and Replies*, p. 299.

DIALOGUES ON SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS: THE PENTATEUCH

DIALOGUE V.

P. O'F.—In our last interview you explained to me the nature and force of internal arguments regarding the authorship of books in general, and applying your principles to the Pentateuch, from an examination of the subject-matter and the language in which it was written you proved, to my satisfaction, that the author was an ancient one, belonging to the early days of the Jewish Commonwealth, and from his knowledge of Hebrew affairs and his manifest love of that race and for other reasons that he was of Hebrew extraction. Furthermore, from his intimate acquaintance with things Egyptian, the country, its laws, climate and customs, that he sojourned in that land; still further from his minute description of the places, names and different stages of the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert, that he took part in it, but did not enter the land of Promise; aye, more, from an analysis of the construction and arrangement of the whole book, you pointed out that the author of the book and the lawgiver were one and the same person, and that the supposition, that one person wrote the law and another the historical part of the book could not be critically upheld. Taking all these characteristics into account, you concluded, and I think with fairness and reason, that, whilst they did not constitute a perfect proof of the Mosaic authorship, they begot a very strong presumption in his favour, as in him and him alone are all these features of the author verified. You remarked, however, that you had something further to add to your line of argumentation from internal evidence, which would convince any person, whose mind was free from prejudice, that Moses and nobody else was the author

of the Pentateuch. May I trouble you now to complete your argument?

FR. O'B.—Your summary of what passed at our last interview is substantial and accurate, and I now proceed to redeem my promise. As in one of our first dialogues I had to take down my Bible to read passages for you, I must now repeat the process. Let us both look into the Pentateuch and see what the author of it says about himself, and who he is. What do we find? In several places it is stated explicitly that Moses wrote it. See here in Exodus xvii. 14, alluding to the flight and slaughter of Amalec and his people by Josue, what do I read? 'And the Lord said to Moses: *Write this for a memorial in a book*, and deliver it to the ears of Josue. . . .' Here you have specific mention of a book that God commanded Moses to write. In the Hebrew it is stronger, for there is the demonstrative pronoun, which would make it read 'the book.' And in this book begun by Moses, by the command of God, we find it clearly stated that he wrote other things. Let me read for you Exodus xxiv. 4, 7: '*And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord . . . and taking the book of the Covenant*, he read it in the hearing of the people.' Again, Exodus xxxiv. 27, we read the following: 'And the Lord said to Moses: *Write thee these words* by which I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.'

P. O'F.—These words are certainly very explicit; but I see they are all taken from the Book of Exodus. Perhaps he was the author of that book only, and not of the other?

FR. O'B.—That cannot be: for there are like texts in other books of the Pentateuch. Look here at the Book of Numbers xxxiii. 1, 2: 'These are the mansions of the children of Israel, who went out of Egypt by their troops under the conduct of Moses and Aaron. *Which Moses wrote down* according to the places of their encamping, which they changed by the commandment of the Lord.' Is not this clear enough? But I have something still more forcible and conclusive to read for you: here it is, at the end of the Book of Deuteronomy xxxi., when Moses nearing the end of his career, having completed his work,

encouraged and admonished the people, and appointed Josue his successor. What do we read? See here, verse 9: '*And Moses wrote this law*, and delivered it to the priests, the sons of Levi, who carried the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and to all the ancients of Israel . . . ' And he commanded that every seven years, in the year of remission, the words of the law should be read before all Israel. And further on he gives still more specific directions regarding the custody of the book or volume itself. See here, verses 33 and 34 of the same chapter: '*Therefore after Moses had wrote the words of this law in a volume, and finished it*; he commanded the Levites, who carried the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, saying: *Take this book*, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a testimony against thee. For I know thy obstinacy and thy most stiff neck. While I am yet living and going in with you, you have been always rebellious against the Lord: how much more when I shall be dead.'

From all these passages of these different books of the Pentateuch, is it not evident that Moses began to write it by Divine command, that he laboured at it, during the journeyings through the desert, that he wrote not only the law, but the historical part, which, as I have told you, is inseparable from it; he wrote down 'the mansions and the places of their encampment,' etc.; and now when he was approaching his end, having fulfilled his mission of leader and lawgiver of the Israelites, he handed over the *book*, the *volume*, which it is over and over again explicitly stated that he wrote, to the Levites, with minute directions where it was to be placed and when to be read? Here, then, we have a book, which in its pages shows that it was written by an ancient author, of Hebrew origin, who was intimately acquainted with contemporaneous Egyptian history, who took part in the pilgrimage of the Israelites through the desert, recounting in minute detail the different stages of their wanderings to the end, but never entered the land of Chanaan; a book which, on the face of it, shows that the author was also the leader

and lawgiver of the people, all of which circumstances point to one man, and that was Moses. And in addition to all these presumptive arguments, you have the writer himself several times through its pages, and at the end, calling himself Moses. Taking all those things into account, I appeal to your common sense, was there ever a book written even by a profane author, in recent or modern times, which, judging it alone by its internal characteristics, bears so unmistakably the mark of the author, as the Pentateuch does that of Moses? As I said to you in the beginning, powerful and convincing as the argument is, it is not to be compared to the external argument from the witness of the oral and written tradition both of the Jews and Christians which I have already explained to you.

P. O'F.—There is no denying the cogency of the cumulative force of this argument, but I have some difficulties which I will ask you to clear up.

FR. O'B.—Pray, what are these.

P. O'F.—I noticed as you were reading the texts for me, that the author of the Pentateuch speaks of Moses in the third person, 'Moses wrote, Moses said,' etc. Does not this show that the author was a different person from Moses, who would not, I assume, speak of himself in the third person.

FR. O'B.—Why do you assume any such thing? It is not an unusual thing to find authors, especially historians, speaking of themselves in the third person. At the end of the principal sections of the works of Thucydides, you will find the following: 'Thucydides wrote.' The same is true of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and other profane works. And yet who questions their authenticity? Why not Moses do the same? You have observed, too, I suppose, that both St. Matthew and St. John, in their respective Gospels, speak of themselves also in the third person. There is a fitness in such a mode of procedure, especially when the author is treating of some grave matter; for the mind of the reader is thus more completely diverted from the personality of the writer, and fixed on the subject-matter of his work.

P. O'F.—I have noticed some things in the Pentateuch which jar on my feelings, and seem to me incompatible with the Mosaic authorship. For instance, in Exodus xi. 3: 'And Moses was a very great man in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants; and of all the people.' Again, in Numbers xii. 3: 'For Moses was a man exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon the earth.' How can you imagine Moses writing this about himself? Either he never wrote it, or, if he did, he was not the holy, humble, modest man, that from my earliest years, I had before my mind.

FR. O'B.—Perhaps, on a little reflection, you will see, that such writing in the circumstances was incompatible neither with his authorship of the Pentateuch, nor with the high ideal of his sanctity which you had before your mind. Do you believe that St. Paul was a holy man?

P. O'F.—Most certainly.

FR. O'B.—Have you never heard read on Sexagesima Sunday the eleventh and twelfth chapters of his second Epistle to the Corinthians, in which he writes down what he was, what he did, what he suffered, his raptures and revelations. 'They are Hebrews, so am I. They are Israelites, so am I. They are the ministers of Christ, I am more.' Then he speaks of the way he was scourged, stoned, shipwrecked, in perils from all sides and quarters and manner of people. . . . 'Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is scandalize, and I am not on fire,' and so on. And because St. Paul thus commends himself, are you going to doubt that he wrote that letter?

P. O'F.—Most certainly not.

FR. O'B.—Then you must doubt his sanctity?

P. O'F.—Neither am I prepared for that. I suppose, after all, there were some circumstances which justified St. Paul in thus speaking of himself.

FR. O'B.—Quite so. He had to defend himself against false apostles, who were calumniating him amongst the Corinthians whom he had converted to the faith. He had to defend his ministry and apostolate, which were still dearer to him, against those who were attacking and

undermining both, and thus robbing his flock of the true faith which he had planted amongst them. In a word, he was, as he himself said, coerced into it. And so it was with Moses. He too had a justifying cause for thus speaking of himself. He had occasionally to vindicate his own position and authority with a stiff-necked and rebellious people. And if you read the context of the places you have quoted, you will see the special reasons there were for this style of writing on the part of Moses. In the first of these texts which you quoted, and in which it is said 'Moses was a very great man,' he wanted to give a reason why, at his wish, the Egyptians gave vessels of silver and gold to the Israelites before their departure from Egypt. 'Therefore thou shalt tell all the people, that every man ask of his friend, and every woman of her neighbour, vessels of silver and of gold. And the Lord will give favours to his people in the sight of the Egyptians. *And Moses was a very great man in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and of all the people.*' And for this reason Pharaoh's servants and the people granted his request.

In the other passage in which he speaks of his meekness, he wanted to show that there was no justification for the repeated murmurings of the people, and in this particular instance of Mary and Aaron, and if the former were chastised by God, it was an act of divine justice, and not attributable to any vindictive feeling on his part.

But as St. Paul in that letter, in order to defend himself and his ministry, alluded to his virtues, his sufferings, his privileges and ecstasies, took occasion also, 'lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth in me,' to speak of his infirmities, his temptations, 'the sting of the flesh, the angel of Satan that buffeted him,' so also Moses, if in these texts which you have quoted, he refers to his greatness and his meekness, in other places speaks of his own shortcomings (Exodus iv. 10), his sin of distrust, for which God punished him, by not allowing him to enter the Promised Land (Numbers xx. 2, 12), and of the Lord's

indignation against himself as well as against the people (Deuteronomy i. 37).

P. O'F.—The texts which you have read for me from the book itself are very explicit as to the Mosaic authorship, if words have any meaning at all. Yet there are, I believe, people who deny that Moses was the author of it and say that it was written by some author or authors of a later period. I cannot well understand their position.

FR. O'B.—Neither can I. It is a puzzle to me, too. For you see the case stands thus: Prescinding altogether just now from the external argument, which is the principal one, and even apart from what I will call the suasive arguments derivable from the characteristics to which I have directed your attention, is it not written clear as daylight in the pages of the book itself, that Moses wrote it? Now, if you deny that Moses wrote it, the only alternative is, that some impostor wrote it, either then or subsequently, and pawned himself off on the Israelites as Moses, their leader and lawgiver. But such a hypothesis seem to me untenable and preposterous. I am not taking into account at all now, the divine character of the book, but merely arguing the case from a human and rational standpoint. If the writer were an impostor, who wished to pass as Moses, he would surely try to ingratiate himself with those whom he wished to deceive. But what do we find? He rebukes them for their obstinacy, and stiff-neckedness, he reproaches them for their ingratitude and infidelity to God, and threatens them with dire punishment. This he does over and over again. Take, as a specimen, that passage from the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy already referred to, 'For I know thy obstinacy and thy most stiff neck. While I am yet living and going in with you, you have been always rebellious against the Lord: how much more when I shall be dead . . . and evils shall come upon you in the latter times,' etc. Can you imagine any impostor putting language of that kind into the mouth of Moses, if he wished to have his book to pass amongst the Israelites, as written by Moses? And if

you were to imagine him stupid enough to do so, do you think that the Israelites would have become the victims of such an imposture, and venerated as a most precious treasure, a book written by an impostor, containing such difficult precepts, such stinging rebukes, and exposure of their national failings? And this is all the more impossible to conceive, when you reflect, that the Israelites at that time were not a rude, primitive people, but a fully organized numerous nation, with a history and tradition of their own.

P. O'F.—How is it, in the face of all you have been explaining to me, that the Rev. Mr. Briggs, of whom you spoke in our last interview, could say that he never heard of internal arguments for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

FR. O'B.—That is one of these riddles that I do not pretend to be able to solve. Most probably neither he nor Baron Von Hügel ever went to the trouble of reading these texts of Scripture, or if they did, they were so prepossessed by their own fancies and theories, that they thought it better to ignore them. It would be somewhat interesting to hear what these two gentlemen, who set themselves up so airily and dogmatically against the decision of the Biblical Commission, have to say about that one single text of Deuteronomy, xxxi. 24: '*Therefore after Moses had wrote the words of this law in a volume, and finished it: he commanded the Levites, who carried the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, saying: Take this book, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God,*' etc.

P. O'F.—Though your arguments seem to me absolutely conclusive as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, I see, reading up and down through its pages, certain statements which, if they do not upset your thesis, at least require some explanation. Take, for instance, Genesis xl. 15, where Joseph in prison is represented as thus addressing the chief butler of Pharaoh whose dream he was after interpreting, 'Only remember me when it shall be well with thee. . . . For I *was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews*, and here without any fault, was cast

into the dungeon.' If this were written by Moses, how could Palestine be called the 'land of the Hebrews' by Joseph, or even by Moses himself, since it had not come into their possession until after the death of Moses?

FR. O'B.—Regarding this difficulty, and like ones taken from philology, geography or archæology, against the Mosaic authorship, let me lay down for your guidance one or two general principles, which seem to me obvious enough. You may remember in our second dialogue that in order to explain the force of external and internal arguments I used a homely illustration about your friend Charles M'Grath having been seen at Mass by two trustworthy witnesses, notwithstanding that there were many reasons to suggest that it was most improbable, if not impossible, for him to be there, such, for instance, as the state of his health, the length and difficulties of the journey, etc. Now, suppose some person were to say to you, I cannot believe that he was at Mass that Sunday, unless you are able to explain to me how he managed to go there, what would you say to such an objection?

P. O'F.—What I would say is, that he was at Mass is *a fact* of which I have no doubt whatsoever—because he was seen there by two persons who knew him well—saw him clearly, spoke to him, and are absolutely truthful. Whether I can explain to you or not how he went to Mass that Sunday ought not and does not affect the truth or reality of the fact.

FR. O'B.—Of course that would be your answer. And if you wished to confirm the truth of the fact, or at least remove the doubt from his mind, you would endeavour to point out to him one or other of the possible ways by which he came to be at Mass: it may be on horseback, or cycle, or motor car. You may be mistaken as to how he came there, but your ignorance of the mode cannot affect the existence of the fact, and he would be illogical in rejecting any possible solution of the difficulty proposed by you unless he were prepared to give a better one himself. These you may regard as elementary but most important canons of sound criticism, and yet ones which are often

lost sight of, ignored, or rejected by the votaries of the destructive form of 'higher criticism.'

That Moses is the author of the Pentateuch is a fact the existence of which has been proven, as we have seen, by the clear, constant and uniform tradition, both oral and written, of the whole Jewish people from the present day back to the days of Josue, the contemporary and successor of Moses; by an equally clear, firm, unbroken tradition of the Samaritan people; by the clear, firm, complete and uniform tradition of all Christian peoples from the days of our Lord down to our time. This same fact of the Mosaic authorship is confirmed by intrinsic evidence arising from an examination of the book itself. The author of the book calls himself Moses, the hypothesis of the author being an impostor, or of the Hebrews being the victims of such an imposition, cannot be for a moment entertained. In a word, you have a combination of all those elements which go to produce certainty regarding the Mosaic authorship, which are rarely to be found in the case of any other book, sacred or profane. That Moses wrote the Pentateuch, therefore, is a fact. Now let us suppose that you find in the pages of the Pentateuch certain statements which seem to clash with that fact, and which I may not be able to explain or reconcile with that fact, surely my ignorance or limited knowledge cannot affect the existence of the fact clearly established. You should never lose sight of this principle if you wish to be able to cope with the tactics of the Rationalists, and those who are swayed by rationalistic tendencies. In questions of this kind, they ignore altogether the main argument, the evidence of witnesses, and draw their weapons of attack from internal difficulties taken from archæology, philology, geography and other sciences; these they parade with a show of erudition, in an attractive style, often under the cover of vague generalities or gratuitous assertions, ignoring facts and the laws of logical sequence, and with such an air of self-confidence and effrontery that if an answer is not forthwith coming to their objection, they shout with triumph, and claim that

they have at length stormed the citadel. And unfortunately some faint-hearted Christian and even Catholic apologists grow pale with terror before their assaults, and either lay down their arms or weakly try to come to terms with their noisy opponents by an unworthy compromise or complete surrender of their principles. Let me quote for you in this connexion an appropriate passage from the Encyclical of Leo XIII already alluded to: 'There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of 'higher criticism,' which pretends to judge the origin, integrity and authority of each book from internal indications alone. *It is clear, on the other hand, that on historical questions, such as the origin and handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the utmost care; and that in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation.* To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold, and confident in attacking and mangling the sacred books; and this vaunted 'higher criticism' will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scriptures the light which was sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those severe notes of error which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own person; and seeing that more of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else outside the natural order.'

And now as to your difficulty regarding Joseph calling Palestine 'the land of the Hebrews,' he could have called it so very properly, because though, at that time, the Hebrews did not possess it in the same way as they did after the death of Moses, they lived there with other races, and became rich, powerful and numerous. Even in the days of Abraham, almost two hundred years before that time, we have a proof of their power and influence in the

fact that Abraham with his servants and followers pursued and defeated the five allied kings, and liberated his nephew Lot and his family and people from their hands (Genesis xiv.) Furthermore, when Sara his wife died, and he asked the children of Heth for the right of a burying place, see how they addressed him (Genesis xxiii. 6): 'My Lord, hear us, thou art a prince of God among us: bury thy dead in our principal sepulchres: and no man shall have power to hinder thee from burying thy dead in his sepulchre.'

P. O'F.—Reading over the Fourth Book of Kings, chapters xxii. and xxiii., I have noticed the narrative of a fact which seems to militate strongly against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The fact is this, which occurred nearly a thousand years after the time of Moses. In the process of repairing the Temple of Jerusalem by order of the good King Josias, it is related that Helcias the high priest found 'the book of the law.' He lent it to the king before whom it was read by Saphan the scribe, with the result, that the king was so terror stricken, that 'he rent his garments' and cried out 'for the great wrath of the Lord is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened to the words of this book to do all that is written for us.' He then sent the high priest and others to consult Holda the prophetess as to what he was to do, who directed him to call a meeting of all the priests and prophets and the ancients and people of Jerusalem and Juda in the temple, and in the hearing of them all, he read the words of the book of the Covenant, and all promised that in future they would observe the law. Now, if Moses had written the book of the law, surely both the king and his people would have known it, and why then all that terror and astonishment, and other consequences as recorded?

FR. O'B.—Aye, rather I should say, if Moses had not written, how explain? If it had been written by anybody else besides Moses, then the puzzle would be how to give a reason for those consequences. The truth is, as you can see, by reading it over carefully, that during the reign of the two wicked predecessors of the good Josias, namely,

Manasses and Amon, the temple was profaned, idols erected, and the book of the law, though well known to have been written by Moses, was neither read nor its precepts observed. Little wonder, then, if the discovery and reading of this ancient copy of the Pentateuch produced such effects on the king and his people. It was like a voice from the tomb of their lawgiver. Still less wonder, if the opinion of some learned scholars be well founded, that it was the very autograph manuscript of Moses himself that was discovered on that occasion. Nor is such an opinion destitute of foundation, for as a matter of fact the original copy of the Pentateuch used to be kept in the temple. Most probably during the reign of these two wicked kings, it was either lost or hidden away to be saved from profanation, and now, on the repairs and restoration under the pious Josias, having been brought to light, the discovery and reading of this venerated document naturally produced all these wonderful effects recorded. In confirmation of this view, it may be remarked, that in the history of this fact as recorded in the Second Book of Paralipomenon xxxiv. 14, it is stated explicitly that '*Helcias found the book of the law of the Lord by the hand of Moses.*'

P. O'F.—From the explanation of this history which you give, I see that instead of militating against, it rather confirms your contention.

FR. O'B.—Yes, and you will find that most of the other objections to the Mosaic authorship can be solved on more or less the same lines : and if ever any difficulty is presented to you, which you may not be able to explain away, then you must not on that account doubt that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, but rather say with St. Augustine on a kindred subject in like circumstances, '*I myself do not understand.*' Of one thing you may rest assured that no new discovery of any science whatsoever can ever set aside the fact, that Moses, and nobody else, and he alone, was the author of the Pentateuch.

Let me sum up. Here you have a book, the different parts of which, both in argument and composition, so hang together as to show that it was one and the same

person wrote it in its substantial integrity. You have Genesis as an historical introduction to it, giving the history of the creation of the world—the foundation and seed of all history both sacred and profane—the creation of man—his happiness, fall and punishment—the spread of the human family, their wickedness, destruction, with the exception of Noe and his family, the re-peopling of the world through him—then the history of one particular man, Abraham, and his descendants down to the death of Joseph in Egypt. You have the three following books, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, the body of the book containing a continuation of the history of that one people, their multiplication and oppression in Egypt, their liberation therefrom, their wanderings for forty years in the desert, getting the law through Moses, the exposition and enforcement of that law by Moses, the explanation of the ceremonial part of it, then the numbering of the people and dividing them into various tribes. Finally, in the last book, Deuteronomy, there is as it were a recapitulation of what is contained in the former ones. In this book, bearing in its construction and composition the stamp of unity of authorship, there are certain internal indications or characteristics which point to Moses as its author. It is stated over and over again in the book itself, that Moses wrote it; the hypothesis that it was written by a subsequent impostor, who forged the name of Moses, is utterly untenable and absurd. All these considerations, taken conjointly, prove as conclusively as internal arguments can prove the authorship of any book, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch.

But above and beyond all this, we have the argument which is of primary and absolutely conclusive importance in this matter, namely, the evidence of tradition. There is the clear, unbroken, universal and uniform tradition, both written and oral, of the Jewish people themselves, whose origin and history practically form its subject-matter, from the present day back to the days of Moses himself, saying that Moses wrote it. You have the equally clear, constant and uniform tradition of the

Samaritan race up to the present moment testifying to the same fact. You have the evidence of profane history, so far as it touches at all on the subject, confirming this tradition. You have the clear, constant, uniform and universal tradition of all Christian communities from the present day back to the days of our Lord, who Himself, in the most explicit terms, as well as His apostles, stated that Moses *wrote* the book of the law. In a word, for the Mosaic authorship you have a wealth and a weight of argument greater than which cannot be brought to bear in favour of any other book, sacred or profane, whose authenticity is unquestioned: and against all this, you have the sophistical reasoning, the gratuitous assertions, the philological subtleties of the so called 'higher critics' of these latter times, men animated with what Leo XIII calls 'the arrogance of earthly science,' inviting us not only to doubt, but actually to disbelieve this fact written broad and clear as the noonday sun in the pages of the book itself, as well as in the history and tradition of the human race.

P. O'F.—When I asked you in our first interview to explain to me the meaning of the decision of the Biblical Commission on the authorship of the Pentateuch, you told me to have patience, that you should prepare the way first. You must admit that I have exercised patience, and perhaps I am now sufficiently prepared to follow your explanation.

FR. O'B.—Perhaps so, but I will ask you to wait until our next interview.

H. D. L.

BELGIUM'S NEW CARDINAL: A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE-WORK

I.

THE rapid promotion of Monseigneur Mercier, founder and director of the Philosophical Institute at Louvain University, to the Archbishopric of Mechlin, and, a few months afterwards to the rank of Cardinal, has surprised no one who knew him, while it has caused unfeigned pleasure throughout Belgium and far beyond its borders. Besides the well-known fact that Belgian affairs generally have a peculiarly instructive interest for Irishmen,¹ it is likewise a fact, though possibly not so well known, that Cardinal Mercier is a close student of Irish affairs, a cordial sympathizer with Irish aspirations, and a staunch supporter of Irish claims for educational and political autonomy. He has visited Ireland more than once—speaking publicly on the occasion of the Maynooth Centenary celebrations; and he gave exceedingly valuable evidence on the excellence of Catholic University Education—based on his own Louvain experience—before the Robertson Commission on University Education in Ireland only a few years ago.² For these reasons, if for no other, I believe that readers of the I. E. RECORD will be glad to learn a little about the life-work of the new Belgian prelate. There are other reasons, however, why we should know of him: there is at least this reason, that Cardinal Mercier finds a place among the most eminent ecclesiastics, the soundest philosophers and the most accomplished scholars that the Catholic Church can boast of at the present day.

It is not a little remarkable that one who has ever been before all else a *student* should have been chosen for the difficult administrative task of ruling one of the most

¹ Cf., for example, Mr. Walsh's article on the 'Economic Situation of Belgium' in the May number of the I. E. RECORD.

² *Appendix to Second Report*, pp. 209-14. (Cardinal Mercier speaks English fluently.)

populous and important dioceses in Christendom. The Archdiocese of Mechlin contains nearly two million Catholics, including the cities of Brussels and Antwerp as well as Mechlin and Louvain. But the choice was a wise one, for in this case the student was a man of versatile gifts, and, moreover, the philosophy he espoused and professed brought him into close and living contact with men and things.¹ While engrossed in speculative studies the practical turn of his mind has always kept him in sympathetic touch with modern scientific progress. Nor does he now hesitate to make very valuable use of one of its latest triumphs, the automobile, for the more expeditious discharge of his many arduous duties throughout his vast archdiocese. While then his former colleagues may regret the very real loss which philosophy has sustained at his translation to a new sphere of work, millions of Belgian Catholics are rejoicing that they have found such a zealous and devoted prelate. It is, however, with his life-work as teacher and writer of philosophy, and as founder and organizer of a definite system of philosophical studies, that I wish chiefly to deal: having had what I must always regard as the singularly good fortune to spend some time in the Louvain Philosophical Institute while he was personally directing the studies there.

II.

A word first about his early training. Born near Brussels in 1851, he made his humanities in a day-school at Mechlin,² passed through the two *seminaries* of that

¹ In emphasizing the doctrine of *Moderate Realism*—that philosophical abstractions are valueless unless in so far as they have a foundation to which they are applicable in the *Real World*,—Mercier was fond of quoting the saying of Cajetan, that we do not study philosophy 'that we may *talk in the air*, but that we may have a *knowledge of the real things* which we see constituting the Universe around us' (Cajet. II. *Post. Anal.*, c. 13).

² It was at that time, while living with friends and associating with Flemish companions, that he began to learn Flemish. Having been born in the Walloon part of Belgium he first knew only French. He carefully cultivated the study of Flemish—literary as well as colloquial—during his youth. He was the first Walloon student to freely offer (as sub-deacon) to preach in Flemish at the *Grand Séminaire*. He preached occasional sermons in Flemish at Louvain, and can converse fluently in that tongue,—which is the only language of large numbers of his subjects.

town with distinction, and obtained the degree of Licentiate in Theology after completing his course at Louvain University in 1877.

He was, immediately afterwards, appointed professor of philosophy in the *Petit Seminaire* at Mechlin. There he commenced,—by combining an earnest study of the great medieval scholastics with an equally close attention to modern systems of philosophy, to scientific progress and to the higher educational needs of Catholics of the present day,—to lay up those stores of knowledge, and to form, mature, and test by experience, those views which made his teaching and his methods so brilliantly successful afterwards at Louvain. He had experience, on the one hand, of the soundness, depth and fertility of the teaching of the great scholastics of the thirteenth century ; he saw, on the other hand, how completely scholasticism had lost touch with modern science ; how in the eyes of non-Catholic scientists it was identified with Catholic dogma and consequently ignored or despised ; how its claims to be an autonomous, rational system of philosophy were disallowed ; how the idea of its being in harmony with modern science and of contradicting not a single scientifically established truth, was simply ridiculed. He found these views prevailing among sincere and single-minded scholars. He believed their prevalence to be due, not so much to any narrow hatred of Catholicity as such, but rather to a traditional misunderstanding, dating from the seventeenth century, between the scientists and the exponents of scholasticism. He felt that these latter had rather encouraged than tried to dissipate this misunderstanding by following more or less culpably the bad tradition of the decadent scholastics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries : by keeping aloof from the study of contemporary science, by suspecting all scientists as such of hostility to the higher truths of philosophy and religion, by identifying their own traditional ‘ deposit ’ of philosophy—including not a few long exploded physical theories—with the defence of Catholic truth, and so bringing the latter into disrepute in the eyes of scientific men.

How, he asked himself, was this misunderstanding to be removed? When we, Catholics, cultivate science or philosophy, non-Catholics always suspect us of some *arrière-pensée*; they will not believe that we can be disinterested in our scientific investigations; they imagine we are always preparing some plea *pro domo*, some defence or other of our religious beliefs; that we never dream of searching for the truth for its own sake; that our zeal for science is a pretence, and our philosophy simply an apologetic. How is all this to be remedied? for, surely, we Catholics, who believe that truth cannot contradict truth, that the same God is the God of reason and of revelation, ought to be the last to fear scientific progress or to give others any pretext whatever for thinking that we do. Obviously our remedy lies, firstly, in urging our Catholic youth to join fearlessly and enthusiastically in the vanguard of scientific research in every department; secondly, in shaking scholasticism free from its traditional shackles and archaisms and in bringing home its great fundamental teachings clearly and plainly to the modern mind—Catholic and non-Catholic alike—through the medium of the modern languages; and, thirdly, in showing friend and foe alike—as we shall then be in a position to show them—that there is absolutely no conflict between any scientific truth ancient or modern and modern scholastic philosophy, but that on the contrary there is no other modern system of philosophy, competing with scholasticism, which adapts itself so naturally to the requirements of modern science as scholasticism does.

The only telling refutation of the charge that Catholics are hostile to science is to point to the actual achievements of Catholics in science. The conflict has never been between *science* and *religion*, but usually between the *parodies* and misrepresentations of scientific truth—circulated by the irresponsible camp-followers of science—on the one hand, and the real truths of religion on the other.¹ The pioneers of scientific research, the real

¹ Sometimes, too, unfortunately, *vice versa*—between real scientific truths and theological tenets put forward as dogmas.

scientists, rarely if ever risk their reputation by making their scientific work directly subserve their own private philosophical or religious views, or by obtruding these latter upon the world in the name of science. But the noxious herd of 'faith-and-science' scandal-mongers do; and if we had Catholics who could speak out with authority in the name of science, and tell us, as occasion demanded, what exactly science has said and what it has not said, the true interests both of science and of religion would be somewhat better protected than they are.

Again, in an era when the deepest problems of philosophy—which are at the same time the most sacred foundations of religion—are freely discussed even in the daily newspapers, and when freethinkers who prefer popularity to consistency, and seek novelty rather than truth, are constituting themselves guides and teachers of the masses, it behoves us to offer those masses the antidote of a sound philosophy in language they can understand; in an age when educated Catholics will keep and defend their faith only if they are able to give themselves and others sound reasons for it,—reasons which will convince them fully and strongly that their faith is eminently reasonable as well as supernatural,—we must have a philosophy to offer them which will manifestly excel in its reasonableness even the most plausible of the many modern competing systems: and such a philosophy we will not have available unless we can present scholasticism to our contemporaries through a medium in which it can be understood by them. And in that process of preparation and reconstruction we must be ready freely to abandon what we find to be useless or erroneous in our traditional inheritance, and to enrich this inheritance by gladly assimilating all that is good and useful and true in the scientific and philosophical labours of the last few centuries.

III.

Thus, in general outline, did the Mechlin professor reason with himself during those early years of his philosophical work. But thoughts of a kindred nature were

just then maturing themselves in the mind of no less august a personage than Leo XIII: thoughts which found expression in no uncertain tone in the Pope's memorable Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*, on philosophical studies, published in the year 1880. Two years later, at the request of Leo, the Belgian Bishops founded a special chair of scholastic philosophy in the University of Louvain. To this chair Mercier was appointed.

How he immediately set to work for the full realization of his ideals; how he conceived the larger project of founding an institute for the teaching of scholastic philosophy in conjunction with the kindred natural and social sciences; how he won the confidence of Leo XIII, and secured his financial as well as his moral support in carrying out that project; how he met and conquered so many apparently insuperable difficulties with a calm, steady confidence that time would justify his views, with an unflinching courage and perseverance that won universal respect, with that secret indescribable power of a strong but winning and persuasive personality that bore down all opposition and invariably triumphed in the long run: to describe all this would be to relate substantially the whole history of the neo-scholastic movement in modern philosophy. Deserving as this latter is to be better and more widely known, I must be content here to refer the reader, for even a very brief and meagre account of the movement, to a few articles which appeared in the I. E. RECORD some time since,¹ and to a volume on scholastic philosophy, just now on the eve of publication.²

Without entering here on the history of the philosophical revival with which Mercier's name is so largely identified, I will confine my attention to a few of the main characteristics of his general philosophical outlook, and to a few

¹ 'Philosophy and the Sciences at Louvain,' I. E. RECORD, May and June, 1905.

² *Scholasticism Old and New: an Introduction to Scholastic Philosophy, Medieval and Modern*, by Maurice De Wulf, Doctor in Law, Philosophy and Letters, Professor of the History of Philosophy at the Catholic University of Louvain (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son). As an appendix to this translation of the work of Professor De Wulf, I hope to republish in substance the articles just referred to.

of those rare quailites which may to some extent account for his extraordinary success in gaining such enthusiastic and widespread support for his whole standpoint and teaching.

Nine years after his appointment at Louvain, that is to say, in 1891, he had fully formulated his convictions as to the urgent need for providing a fuller, broader, better, more attractive and more modern philosophical training in our higher schools and universities, for the educated classes of the laity no less than for the clergy: he had likewise matured his scheme to meet these requirements for Belgium, and as far as possible for other countries as well: and he now laid his whole programme before the Catholic Congress of Mechlin which was held in the above-mentioned year.

IV.

It would be impossible to find in modern times a more scholarly, comprehensive or inspiring pronouncement. It made a profound impression in the intellectual world, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, and enhanced very considerably the position of respect and honour which its author had already won for himself in many of the scientific academies and learned societies of the day. More perhaps than any of his writings it gives us an insight into those qualities of mind and heart which animated all his work and inspired all his intercourse—controversial or otherwise—with those who had the good fortune to know him or to have any dealings with him.

We, Catholics, half deserve the reproach that we are hostile to science: we must show that we love truth for its own sake, natural truth as well as supernatural: we must use our God-given reason fearlessly in the cultivation of rational philosophy, and of the positive sciences for their own sake and without any directly apologetic aim: the defence of any religious creed is a different thing from the cultivation of science and philosophy, though the Catholic who freely cultivates these latter and gains distinction in them is *de facto* furnishing a most telling apology

for the faith that is in him, inasmuch as he is a living proof of the harmony of reason with faith: we must not imagine that our philosophy has nothing to learn from modern science, or that it is a perfect or finished system, or that because it was stated in the thirteenth century it does not need to be restated in the twentieth, or that philosophical speculation of the last three centuries has produced nothing worth assimilating, or that we are not obliged to test the superiority of our philosophy by fairly and dispassionately comparing it with Kantism and Positivism and the several other existing philosophical systems: we must bring our philosophy out into the open if it is to retain its influence in moulding and directing the intellectual outlook of educated people—even of Catholics—in the modern world. To do all this, individual effort alone is powerless; we need not merely specialists in every department, but some machinery which will bring these to a common centre, co-ordinate their work, and knit closely together the results of their several labours in one compact system of philosophical truth. Such a centre we already possess in the University, such machinery it will be the aim of the Philosophical Institute to furnish.

These in brief were the ideas to which Mercier then and afterwards repeatedly gave expression. The fears aroused among Catholics here and there by such a bold pronouncement were gradually allayed by the prudence and tact with which he persisted in carrying out his programme. To organize an institute on such an ambitious scale, even in such a thoroughly progressive University as that of Louvain, was an almost superhuman task. It meant years of anxious labour in addition to his trying professorial duties. But his energy was indefatigable, he was an enthusiast in the noblest sense of the word; and if he gave trouble to the upholders of the existing order, and excited doubts and misgivings and sometimes active opposition,—as enthusiasts always do,—he had likewise the earnest support of many faithful followers; while his own unalterable patience, the transparent honour and sincerity and highmindedness of all his efforts, his toleration

for views that ran counter to his own, his respect for the opinions of others, his gentleness and courtesy with those who were most opposed to him—enabled him to surmount every obstacle and to win a world-wide reputation for the Institute before he was called upon to devote his great gifts to labouring in another sphere.

Thus in the course of some fifteen years he collected funds and erected the extensive buildings of the Institute with its class-halls and laboratories, together with two residential seminaries for students; he put himself into communication with the leaders of Catholic thought all over the world, sought their sympathy and co-operation, and gathered around him at Louvain groups of young Catholic students, lay as well as clerical, from France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, Ireland, England, North and South America; he sent the best of his earlier students to different Universities to supplement their philosophical training by special proficiency in some branch of science or other, and so to qualify themselves for the work of teaching in the Institute. In this way he gradually staffed the Institute with first-rate men who believed in his methods and gave him their hearty co-operation; with their aid he organized the whole course of studies, commenced the publication of a quarterly philosophical review and of a series of philosophical text-books, and laboured with unremitting zeal to make the work of the Institute known wherever any interest, friendly or unfriendly, was taken in Catholic philosophy.

V.

He possessed, in a remarkable degree, the rare gift of inspiring others with the enthusiasm he himself felt for the diffusion of philosophical truth. In his personality there was something magnetic, something that was felt by all and that attracted all who knew him—friends, colleagues and pupils alike. His figure was so inseparably associated with the Institute, he seemed to be so much its moving spirit, its very life and soul, that it is difficult to conceive the work going on there without him.

This, however, is merely a fancy, though a natural one; the current of thought he helped to set in motion is deep and strong, and it is bound to flow onward increasing in volume as it flows. The teaching of fifteen or twenty years is already bearing fruit far beyond the borders of Belgium, whither it has been carried by students from other lands. His wonderful personal influence has undoubtedly counted for much in the propagation of the new scholasticism; but obviously it could not count for anything did not the new scholasticism recommend itself on its own merits to those to whom he expounded it.

Moreover, the new scholasticism has found its way *through his writings* into quarters far beyond the reach either of his own personal influence or of that of his disciples. These writings have won widespread recognition and respect from the upholders of philosophical systems distinctly adverse to our philosophy. Besides numerous articles in the *Revue néo-scholastique*, founded by him in 1894, he has published the volumes on Logic, Psychology, Criteriology, and General Metaphysics,¹ in the *Cours de philosophie* which has issued from the Institute. He intended to publish volumes on Special Criteriology and on Natural Theology, and the materials of his lectures in these departments have been embodied in the *Compendium* of the larger course, recently issued by the press of the Institute.

Although a master of every department of philosophy, he devoted long and careful study to two branches in particular, psychology and criteriology—the two branches most cultivated in modern philosophy. On the former he published a special historical and critical study entitled *Les origines de la psychologie contemporaine*; and in his volume on criteriology we find what is practically the first serious attempt on the part of a scholastic philosopher to grapple at close quarters with Kantism, to get at the

¹ Most of these volumes have gone through several editions, revised and improved by the author. Some of them also have been translated into Spanish, Italian, German, and Polish. English translations of some volumes of the *Cours de philosophie* are in course of preparation.

meaning of the Kantian system and appraise its worth impartially on strictly rational grounds.

His Criteriology, therefore, is the most characteristic of his works,—original in scope and method, and exceedingly suggestive in its comparison of the scholastic with the Kantian solutions of the great problems connected with human knowledge and certitude. It reveals, throughout, the admirable spirit in which he invariably conducted his philosophical discussions and controversies. With steadfast firmness to principle and a tenacious adherence to what he believed to be right and true, he combined the faculty of entering sympathetically into the views of an adversary, of gladly recognizing as much truth as he could possibly find there, and of giving credit for good intentions in regard to the portion with which he could not agree. He was the sworn enemy of that superficial dogmatism which condemns without going to the trouble of understanding, an adversary. To cast imputations on an adversary's motives is not to refute his views, and it is, moreover, unfair and uncharitable. To minimise the truth and exaggerate the error of an adverse philosophical system is not the proper way either to prevent people from embracing that system or to win adherents for one's own. We must not be afraid to recognize that there is a soul of truth in most systems of philosophy, or to admit that there may possibly be some error in our own. It is possible at least that we Catholics have something to learn from our adversaries in philosophy, even though we believe that the treasure of truth in our possession is immeasurably superior to theirs. For this very reason, in fact, we can afford to be generous with them in order to get a fair hearing from them for our philosophy on its own merits, and to help them to dissipate the traditional illusion under which they labour in our regard : that because we are Catholics we cannot make a disinterested use of reason in the investigation of truth.

Such an attitude towards the opponents of scholasticism may be assumed without the slightest suspicion of temporizing with error or the slightest fear of endangering

the truth. Intolerant, as he rightly was, of all error, Mercier was ever scrupulously careful, before condemning it, to discriminate it from the truth; and by his courteous, dispassionate, conciliatory manner of dealing even with the most delicate and dangerous of the great disputed questions of philosophy, he raised philosophical controversy far above the too common level of mutual distrusts and misunderstandings, to a higher and more worthy plane. Whether his exposition and criticism of Kantism are in all respects unimpeachable may perhaps be doubted, but at all events they are so well conceived and telling that they have been deemed worthy of serious consideration by some of the leading Kantists themselves of the present day.

VI.

His lectures at the Philosophical Institute were invariably interesting and highly appreciated by all. He had a wonderful power of fascinating his audience: partly by the intense earnestness with which he expounded his views and discussed opposing theories, partly by the freshness and novelty with which he managed to clothe every truth and argument—by making his hearers realize that the questions under discussion were of the most vital, actual and enduring importance for every aspect of life. He spoke not merely as a man of strong convictions, but as one having an important message to deliver. His tone was conversational, argumentative, persuasive; not didactic or dogmatic, much less oratorical; never wanting in earnestness and often vibrating with real depth and warmth of feeling.

Himself a man of lofty ideals, he inspired enthusiasm for everything good and true in the minds and hearts of his pupils. He was loved by all of them, but more especially by the young ecclesiastical students who lived under his own immediate care in the seminary attached to the Institute. To say that he was their 'guide, philosopher and friend' is not enough. They regarded him with a real filial affection, as father of the

family,—a family, too, collected from many countries and including tastes and temperaments which it would be no easy matter for any ordinary *patrisfamilias* sometimes to harmonize! But his very presence among his seminarists was a constant stimulus to higher and nobler aspirations. He was easy and approachable, kindly and affable with all. His tall figure, arched shoulders, ascetic cast of features, high and furrowed brow, deep, sparkling, penetrating eyes and firmly-set lips, bespoke the hard student, the man of constant, steady, concentrated thought. And as he was, before all else, a student: though he achieved the other great tasks I have referred to, he was rarely seen abroad. Still, amid all his engrossing studies he always regarded his students as having the first claim upon his attention: he helped and directed them personally in their studies, and solved their doubts and difficulties regardless of time and trouble. No wonder they should feel indebted to him, and proclaim him a great educator of youth.

But if he attended so exactly to the intellectual formation of his pupils, he attended to their moral formation with even more scrupulous care. Here I do not feel myself at liberty to say all I should like to say. A few words must suffice. This I feel confident in saying, that it would be impossible for anyone to live in his seminary and come into personal contact with him without feeling improved and elevated by the experience. I am not alone in having felt his personal example as at once an inspiration and a reproach. Simple and unassuming as the youngest of his seminarists, he associated with them on almost equal terms, gaining still more influence over them by that familiar intercourse. He could be firm in enforcing discipline, but he appealed to the students' sense of honour, and not in vain, ruling them by a sound public opinion rather than by fear. His personal example of a self-sacrificing life, a life devoted to duty, a life of hard, constant work, preached more eloquently to those around him than any words could preach, and, I venture to think, will prove to have been instrumental in the formation of

very many other devoted and self-sacrificing lives. In a word, he was not only a good man, but a holy priest. The oratory was as familiar to him as the study. The piety and devotion with which he celebrated daily Mass for the seminarists, could not escape the attention of anybody—except himself. The edification which all undoubtedly received from observing his daily life was as profound as it seems to have been unpermeditated and unconscious on his part. When his old pupils look back through the mist of years at that striking and familiar figure of '*Le Monseigneur*,' they will be happy if they are able to say with sincerity, 'We have tried to follow his example.'

Whenever I hear that modern catch-cry of shallow minds, that faith—meaning especially, of course, the Catholic faith—is incompatible with science, with philosophy, with true enlightenment, and so forth, I always think of Mercier. In him I see the true *savant*, the scholar, the philosopher, who has eaten the bread of deep, rational reflection on the many mysteries of life, and who has drawn from these meditations of many years an antidote to intellectual pride and a wholesome fund of nourishment to warm and animate his faith. In him I see the concrete refutation of the overweening rationalism that would deny all mystery, and of the emotional mysticism that would eclipse the light of reason in a blind act of will. His life-work has been the simple translation into concrete fact of the great guiding truth of all his teaching: the harmony between all departments of human speculation—science, philosophy and faith.

Well may Belgium congratulate herself that her highest intellectual and religious interests are in the safe keeping of such an enlightened and venerable prelate. May he be spared to do great work for God and country—*ad multos annos*.

P. COFFEY.

EVOLUTION AND IMMANENCE: 'LEX CREDENDI'—IV.

I HAVE given already in this journal an analysis of an article in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1905, on 'The Rights and Limits of Theology,'² and of Father Tyrrell's book, *Lex Orandi*.³ In both, divine supernatural revelation—*actively* considered, to use the *Quarterly Reviewer's* distinction—is represented to be, not a divine communication addressed to the human mind, but 'a consciousness of right and wrong,' 'a sympathetic response to good and antipathetic response to evil,' 'a move in the right direction;' and the evolution or development of revelation is the expansion in individuals and in the whole human race of the conception of right and wrong, the growth of a fuller and riper perception of man's destiny and of his duties in the moral, intellectual and æsthetic orders. It is this revelation alone, we are told, that has divine sanction: it is the substance of supernatural religion. Distinct from 'active revelation,' but closely connected with it, are the 'theories' invented to express or formulate its implications; and these 'theories' are contained chiefly in the Holy Scriptures and in the Creeds of the Church. Are these theories true? do they express real truth? In *Lex Orandi* Father Tyrrell distinguished 'intellectual truth,' 'regulative truth' and 'representative truth.' The articles of the Creed and the records of Sacred Scripture, considered from the point of view of 'theology,' history or science, may or may not express 'intellectual truth,' 'fact truth;' it is quite immaterial, he says; we are not bound by any obligation of faith or of religion to assent to them mentally. As articles of faith, they possess 'regulative truth,' he tells us; because it is by living in the light of

¹ *Lex Credendi: A Sequel to 'Lex Orandi.'* By George Tyrrell. Longmans, 1906.

² Cf. I. E. RECORD, January, 1907.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, April, 1907.

these truths that we reproduce and foster within ourselves the spirit of Christ. And they possess 'representative truth,' because they represent and express, though merely in a prophetic, figurative, undefinable way, the realities of the world of righteousness, of the 'will-world' of the world of the true, the beautiful and the good, of which we become conscious in moments of 'revelation,' and which constitutes the object of our intellectual, moral and æsthetic faculties.¹ This world of natural truth, beauty and goodness, he calls, in another passage, 'that eternal order of being which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived save under the form of analogies.'²

In the preface to *Lex Credendi*, Father Tyrrell gives a *résumé* of the main argument of *Lex Orandi*.

In *Lex Orandi* [he writes³] I endeavoured to show how the Christian creed had been, not entirely but principally, shaped by the exigencies of the devout life. . . . There (and still more explicitly elsewhere in subsequent occasional articles and reviews) I emphasized the importance of distinguishing between the 'substance' of the Creed, which we owe to revelation, and whose proper vehicle of expression is the language of prophecy and mystery rather than that of science or philosophy, and that 'form' which the same Creed has necessarily and rightly received in consequence of becoming an object of theological thought. Revelation offers us mysteries of Faith; theology endeavours to translate them from the language of prophecy into that of science, and to harmonize these translations with the whole system of our understanding. It is the 'substance' of the Creed and not its 'form' that Faith lays hold of as the food of the soul, the Bread of Life, the Word of God. If we accept the form it is only we cannot draw water without a vessel.

'The Christian creed,' he says, 'has been shaped principally by the exigencies of the devout life;' because, according to Immanent writers, the articles of the Creed, as truths of faith, have not been revealed by God to the human mind, but have been naturally selected to express the phenomena of the devout life, 'the consciousness of

¹ Cf. *Lex Orandi*, pp. 56-58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ *Lex Credendi*, pp. vii., viii.

right and wrong,' and the 'sympathetic response of the whole person to good and antipathetic response to evil. He distinguishes the 'substance' of the Creed, which we owe to 'revelation,' and whose proper vehicle of expression is 'the language of prophecy and mystery' rather than that of science or philosophy,' from the 'form' which the Creed has received in the process of theological study. The 'substance' of the Creed which we owe to 'revelation,' in the immanent sense, is the ever growing consciousness of right and wrong, the progressively finer perception of duty in a wide sense, in relation to the true, the good and the beautiful; and 'faith' is the sympathetic response of the whole man, mind, will and emotions, to this divine spirit within, to this consciousness of 'right,' to this perception of duty in the intellectual, moral and æsthetic orders. And the 'form' in which 'revelation' is expressed? 'Revelation' borrows extensively from theology and science the language in which it expresses itself; but the meaning is not the same. Theology and science address themselves to the mind, and profess to express in their language real, intellectual fact-truth; but though 'revelation' employs the same language, still, as the vehicle of 'revelation,' this language is only the language of prophecy and mystery, having no intellectual meaning, but expressing in some figurative and undefinable manner for the religious sense the working of 'revelation' in the soul. Hence we can see how, according to immanent writers, the articles of the Creed, considered as addressed to the intellect; as expressing real fact-truth, are but 'the flesh that profiteth nothing,' and may be accepted or rejected by scientific men without prejudice to their faith! The same theory, substantially, is propounded and advocated in *Lex Orandi* and *Lex Credendi*; but it may not be uninteresting to give a separate analysis of *Lex Credendi*.

I.

Father Tyrrell begins by defining the scope of *Lex Credendi*. His purpose, he tells us, in writing *Lex Orandi*

was to show that the doctrinal system of Christianity is the result of an attempt to fix and formulate the implications of the 'life' and 'spirit' of Christ. The doctrinal system of Christianity is not a body of doctrines revealed by God to the human mind, and expressing intellectual, real, fact-truth. Christ realized in himself, immanent writers say, the ideal of the true, the beautiful and the good; and the articles of the Creed are but the 'theories' invented to express, not for the intellect but for the religious sense, not with intellectual truth but with the truth of prophecy and mystery, the implications of 'the life' of Christ. As the master-works of art precede and call forth theories on art and act as their criterion, so too—

We 'try the spirits,' we test the conduct of Christians immediately by the teachings of Christianity, ultimately by the life of Christ, by the spirit of Christ which itself is the criterion of sound teaching. The doctrine of the Church is avowedly nothing more than an unfolding of the implications of the spirit of Christ, of the life of Jesus. . . . We judge the lives of ordinary Christians by Christian teaching; but when this teaching itself is in question we test it by the admitted or classical standards of Christian life; we turn to Christ, whose life is, in a sense, a divine revelation, an implicit *depositum fidei*, etc.¹

We may, no doubt, test the lives of Christians by the teachings of Christianity and by comparison with the life of Christ; but how can it be affirmed with truth that 'the doctrine of the Church is *avowedly* nothing more than an unfolding of the implications of the spirit of Christ, of the life of Jesus'? Is the Trinity 'avowedly,' not a doctrine revealed by God to the human mind, but only a 'theory' having no relation to intellectual truth and invented to express for the religious sense the implications of the life of Christ? Assuming that the divinity of Christ, as a truth of faith, is not a real intellectual fact-truth, how does His life 'imply' the doctrine of the Trinity? Was the Incarnation revealed by Christ to the human mind, or is it, 'avowedly' only a 'theory' invented to express

¹ Pages 2, 3.

the implications of His life? And, again, assuming that Christ is not God, as a real, fact-truth, how does His life 'imply' divinity? Were the Real Presence and the other Christian truths revealed to the human mind as intellectual fact-truths, or are they, 'avowedly,' only theories adopted to formulate the implications of the spiritual life?

In *Lex Orandi*, therefore, the aim of the author was to show that the doctrines of Christianity are the result of an effort to formulate the implications of the spirit of Christ; but in *Lex Credendi* he considers, he says, not the implications of the life, but the life itself, as it is the model and guide of the lives of His disciples.

II.

Before proceeding to deal with the subject proper of his essay, Father Tyrrell devotes a paragraph or chapter to the exposition of 'the method.' Now far be it from me to impute unworthy motives, or to question the good faith and candour, in the use of traditional language, of Father Tyrrell and other immanent writers; but I cannot help observing that their 'method' appears to me particularly insidious and dangerous. Not infrequently the language chosen admits an orthodox sense, but is employed by immanent writers in the sense of the theory of immanence; and occasionally it is explicitly affirmed that the immanent interpretation was the meaning attached to the formularies of our faith by Christian and apostolical tradition. An example of the former occurs in the paragraph under consideration:—

Some rudimentary sympathy with the spirit of Christ [writes Father Tyrrell¹] is the indispensable condition of understanding the Gospel. We cannot construct an idea out of nothing; the beginnings, the germ, must be already within. If there be but a rudiment of Christliness within us we can develop this germ into a more perfect image or presentment of Christ. And to understand Christ's spirit is nothing else but thus to reproduce it in ourselves. In order to hear and recognize His voice it is needful to have heard it before, or to be His sheep already—as we all are, unless conscience be wholly extinct in us.

¹ Page 4.

We may at once concede that some rudimentary sympathy with the spirit of Christ is a necessary condition for understanding and accepting the Gospel, if we mean by rudimentary sympathy, a disposition to examine dispassionately with a willingness to believe under the influence of grace, if duly satisfied of their divine origin, the doctrines contained in the Gospels. But that is not Father Tyrrell's meaning. To have a 'rudimentary sympathy' with the spirit of Christ means, in his theory, to have 'the germ' already, to have within us 'a rudiment of Christliness,' to have already reached to some degree of 'the consciousness of right and wrong,' to have heard the voice of conscience within ourselves; already, then, we are Christ's sheep irrespective of intellectual beliefs, and we can develop 'the germ' that is in us into a more perfect image and presentment of the Master.

Nevertheless the aids of language are indispensable; for is it not written: 'How shall they hear without a preacher?' But how can language, or the word of the preacher, which, as the language or word of faith, has no mental value, serve as an instrument to develop the rudiment or germ of Christliness that may be in us? We cannot, I think, expect an explanation that will fully satisfy the mind from a theory which sets out to assail intellectualism. Nevertheless the efficacy of 'the word' is defended¹:—

For [writes Father Tyrrell] though its spirit (i.e. of Christ's teaching) is incommunicable save to the sympathetic, yet the vehicle of the spirit, the bare sense, is communicable to all equally, and of that vehicle every fragment and particular is vocal and eloquent to those that have ears to hear.

The meaning is: the 'bare sense,' the mental, literal or natural, meaning of Christ's teaching is obvious to all; while 'the spirit,' that is, the 'regulative' and 'representative' value, of which the mental meaning or bare sense is but the vehicle, is communicable only to 'the sympathetic,' to whom every fragment and particular of

¹ Ibid.

the divine teaching is vocal and eloquent of spiritual meaning.

What then is 'the method'? 'We must then always strive,' Father Tyrrell writes,¹ 'to determine as exactly as possible what sense our Lord's words conveyed and were intended by Him to convey to His hearers, to Peter, Andrew and John, or to the Scribes and Pharisees.' An ancient and venerable canon of interpretation, you will say. But, alas! any hastily conceived hope that the subject would therefore be discussed according to the regular rules of language would soon be dashed to the ground; for the reverend author proceeds at once to employ the old canon of interpretation, as he employs the language of Scripture and of the Creeds, in the sense and in the interests of the new school of immanence. We must strive to determine, he says, what our Lord's words meant for Peter, Andrew, James and John. But, he continues, 'we must remember to distinguish carefully between that spiritual value and the words and ideas which are its vehicle.' The 'idea' which our Lord's words conveyed to the Apostles we may disregard—it is but the flesh that profiteth nothing—the question of importance is, what 'spiritual value' did the words of our Lord convey? Thus, for example, when Christ spoke of 'a spirit' entering into or departing from a person, we may disregard the meaning attached by the Apostles to the word 'spirit,' we need not fetter all subsequent metaphysics and psychology with Peter's notion of a 'spirit.' It is the 'moral value' alone which is of importance; and the 'moral value' of 'the indwelling of the Holy Spirit' is, that love, joy and peace reign in the soul:—

Where there are love, joy, peace, and the other gifts and fruits of Grace, religion speaks of a spirit of holiness entering in and making its abode in the soul . . . where, on the contrary, the normal power of self-determination is shattered; where some vice or passion seizes the reins of government, usurps the throne of reason, divides the house of the soul against itself—there it speaks of the presence of a tempter, or an evil spirit. . . . If, however, because religion speak with practical truth, of an un-

¹ Page 5.

clean spirit going out of a man, as out of a house, and wandering in dry places, or because sacred art represents the exit as that of a winged mannikin from the mouth of the possessed, we give philosophic truth to such images, we are literally superstitious, for we cover with the mantle of religion what is no part of religion.¹

'The method,' therefore, consists in disregarding or treating as indifferent, from the point of view of religion, the literal, natural, mental meaning of Scripture and of the Creeds; in insisting on 'the regulative truth' of these articles—that we ought to regulate our lives towards the Trinity and Christ and the Blessed Eucharist, etc., as if there were three Persons in God, as if Christ were God, as if He were really present in the Eucharist, etc.; in affirming 'the representative truth,' of Scripture and the Creed, as the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, they say, is 'representative' of a condition of love, joy, peace, and the other gifts and fruits of grace; in claiming apostolic sanction for this interpretation of the truths of faith; in asserting that the 'spiritual value' conveyed in the vehicle of human language is not addressed to the mind but is appropriated by the religious life in those who already have a germ or fragment of Christliness, though we find occasionally that the 'spiritual value' is really a mental value, a new mental interpretation substituted for the traditional interpretation of the truths of Christianity.

III.

Having premised a description of his 'method,' Father Tyrrell, as the order naturally demands, proceeds to define what he means by 'the spirit' of Christ, which is the supreme model of the Christian life, the original implicit deposit and criterion of 'revealed' truth. It is important, even indispensable, to present a full analysis of Father Tyrrell's theory of 'spirit' or 'spirit life,' if we hope to succeed in explaining what 'revelation' means in the immanent theory: how, according to this theory, the

¹ Pages 7, 8.

Gospel of Christ, as an utterance of faith, can be appropriated only by those who have already the germ of 'life' or 'a fragment of Christliness' in them; what is the genesis of the theory, which appears so unintelligible and so meaningless, that the sacred writings and the articles of the Creed, as truths of faith, neither contain nor express real, intellectual, fact-truth, but formulate for the religious 'feeling' or 'instinct,' in a prophetic, undefinable manner, practical or regulative and representative truth.

Though the system of apologetics of immanence is described as a protest against 'intellectualism,' yet immanent writers are not averse to accept aid from the intellectual or philosophical teaching of modern philosophy. Father Tyrrell—as I pointed out in an article on *Lex Orandi*¹—supposes man to have lived, first, a merely physical animal 'life.' The evolution of social life from the anti-social egotistic state that preceded it, marked the advent of a 'new life,' a 'spiritual life,' the 'life of will-union' with others; and the 'religious life' consists in will-union with men of good-will, in sympathetic response to and preference for good and antipathetic response to evil. What we call our 'will' and our 'personality' he regards as identical with each particular act of 'willing.' 'We are,' he writes in *Lex Orandi*,² 'each of us, a single "willing."' Similarly in *Lex Credendi*,³ which is the subject of this article, Father Tyrrell, while observing that 'in modern language the term 'spirit' is used in a moral sense as well as in a psychic or metaphysical sense,' proceeds to work with the terms 'spirit' and 'person' in the intellectual sense in which they are understood in the philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer:—

The illusion [of human freedom] consists [writes Mr. Spencer⁴] in supposing that at each moment the *ego* is something more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas actual and nascent, which then exists.

¹ I. E. RECORD, April, 1907, p. 369.

² *Lex Orandi*, p. 11.

³ *Lex Credendi*, p. 8.

⁴ *Psychology*, vol. i., p. 500.

In modern usage, Father Tyrrell tells us,¹ the term 'spirit'

has been transferred from that which thinks and feels to the thought and feeling in which it makes its hidden character known. . . . Personality, too, has been transferred from the metaphysical substance to its manifestation in life, thought, sentiment and conduct . . . each is the resultant of its own history, of a sum-total of experiences.

In common usage we speak of a person's 'inheriting the spirit of such or such a person,' of 'having caught the spirit,' etc. :—

This points [continues Father Tyrrell²] to the spirit as being primarily a sense, feeling, sentiment, or instinct—not necessarily, or even possibly, a *blind* feeling. . . . When used as the equivalent of one's whole personality, and not only with reference to certain particular interests, it is that abiding massive sentiment or state of feeling which is determined by the totality of our experience past and present, forgotten and conscious.

There is, then, a world of difference between personality, soul or spirit, intellect and will, as presented to us by scholastic philosophy and the intellectual conception of these terms adopted by Father Tyrrell from Spencerian philosophy. The terms 'spirit,' 'personality,' 'ego' are for him, objectively identical with thought, sentiment and conduct, or thinking, willing and emotion. And, consequently, the religious 'personality' or 'spirit' of Christ, at any particular moment, would be His abiding massive state of thinking, willing and feeling, in regard to consciousness of right and wrong, sympathetic response to and preference for good and antipathetic response to evil.

Why then can 'the spirit' of Christ and 'the spiritual meaning' of the Gospel be appropriated only by those who already have the germ of spiritual life, or some fragment of Christliness within them? How can we understand the language of revelation to have only regulative and representative, but not intellectual truth? How can

¹ Pages 8, 9.

² Page 12.

the truths of the Gospel and of the Creed be said to express, practically, the implications of 'the spirit' of Christ, and not to have been addressed by God to the human mind?

1. The 'spirit' and 'personality' of Christ, as we have seen, are conceived by Father Tyrrell to be the abiding massive sentiment, feeling or instinct of the Saviour. Now *operatio sequitur esse*; and the spiritual operations or utterances of Christ, in turn, can be appropriated only by those whose 'spirit' and 'personality,' i.e., whose thought, sentiment and action, in relation to the ethical order, are to some extent actually like His:—

The signs of anger seen in another [writes Father Tyrrell¹] are not the feeling itself. Only in the measure that I have felt anger myself and uttered it in these signs is it possible for another to communicate his anger to me. And so of his spirit; only so far as my own spirit is potentially (and to some extent actually) like his, do His utterances shape my sentiment into conformity with His. Hence Christ is made to say: 'My sheep hear my voice;' i.e., only Christians can hear Christ. . . . Hence, according to our degree of potential spiritual kinship, it is possible for us to divine the spirit of Jesus revealed in the scattered utterances and reminiscences preserved to us in the Gospels. . . . It should be possible for one fully possessed by the spirit of Christ to divine, by a sort of tact or instinct, how he spoke and acted, or would have spoken and acted under given circumstances. And such a portrayal might be a far truer revelation of His mind and personality than the shreds and scraps of biographical evidence that have come down to us. Historical fiction may be truer to inward reality than historical fact.

There is question here, obviously, not of a conflict solely between the spiritual meaning of religious truths, or 'pragmatism,' and 'intellectualism,' but also between different systems of philosophy. If it were proved that there is, in man, no spiritual substance such as scholastic philosophy conceives the soul to be, that the 'soul' or 'spirit' and its faculties' are nothing but an abiding 'thinking,' 'willing' and 'feeling,' that specific differences arise by the evolution of higher forms of being, then might we hold that the utterances of a highly evolved

¹ Page 13.

'spirit' like 'the spirit' of Christ could not be appreciated by a spirit of an inferior species, and could be appropriated only by those who had already in themselves a germ or fragment of Christliness; but if we hold that the human 'spirit' or 'soul' is an abiding substance, that all mankind are of the same species, that the most intellectual and the least intellectual, the most spiritual and the least spiritual, can appropriate each other's ideas if they understand thoroughly a common language, then must the above-described theory appear to us unacceptable, unreasonable, having no meaning, non-sense—I use the expression in its purely verbal, not in its offensive, signification.

2. I will next try to follow and represent the immanent line of thought in relation to 'the truth' of the sacred writings and ecclesiastical creeds; how immanent apologists conceive the Sacred Scriptures to have been addressed not to the mind, but to the religious 'feeling' or 'instinct,' and to express not real, intellectual, fact-truth, but regulative or practical and representative truth.

Father Tyrrell, as we have seen, considers the 'spirit,' the 'personality,' the 'ego,' to be the abiding state, for the moment, of 'thinking,' 'willing' or 'acting' and 'feeling,' determined in each case by the totality of past and present experiences. We can consider, he says, 'thought,' 'action' and 'feeling' separately by a mental or virtual distinction; but 'there is not a movement of "the spirit," in which knowledge, feeling and will do not interpenetrate.' 'It is not possible to feel with Christ, unless we think and will with Him, nor to think with Him, unless we feel with Him, for the spirit-life is one and indivisible.'¹ There is not, therefore, according to Father Tyrrell, a movement of the religious spirit-life, which is not at the same time consciousness of right and wrong, instinct or feeling of good, preference of good for evil; yet he prefers to consider and analyse 'the spirit' of Christ under the conception of 'feeling' or 'instinct' alone. Because though 'feeling'

¹ Page 16.

include also, identically, 'thought' and 'will,' there may be ambiguity about 'thought;' because it can signify intellectual truth or moral thought and have for its object intellectual truth or regulative truth, while 'religious thought' which is inseparable from 'religious feeling' regards regulative and representative truth alone.

Our 'feelings,' such as our likes and dislikes, involve, Father Tyrrell says, an implicit judgment peculiar to themselves, distinct from the judgment of reason, with which it comes occasionally into conflict. The implicit judgments of our 'feelings' or 'instincts' may be denominated true or false if considered from the point of view of the judgment of reason, but in themselves they are neither intellectually true nor intellectually false. They may represent more real truth than the judgments of reason; for reason may fail to give an adequate explanation of our 'feeling,' while the 'feelings' own implicit judgment will represent its true nature and describe its genesis from the long chain of experiences of which it is the term:—

What I *feel* about life [writes Father Tyrrell] may be much truer than what I think or say about it. . . .¹ Every feeling implies some apprehension or knowledge which explains it. But this implied apprehension is one thing, and the explicit [intellectual] account we give of it to ourselves or to others is another. It can never equal or exhaust, it can easily misinterpret and pervert the concrete mass of perceptions on which the feeling is founded, or rather, with which it is interpenetrated and interwoven. . . .² I like a man or dislike him without reason or against my reason. My feeling (i.e. my implicit judgment) may be true and the judgment of my reason false or inadequate. Sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly, according to the quality and clearness of our feeling, we correct the judgment of reason and arrange our beliefs so as to justify and explain our feelings.³

Thus we get hold of the line of thought which leads, in Father Tyrrell's theory, to the conclusion that the Sacred Scriptures and the Creed, considered as truths of

¹ Page 14.

² Page 17.

³ Page 18.

faith, do not express real, fact-truth, and have not been addressed to the human mind; that they have been snatched up by the religious 'feeling' or 'instinct' to express its own implied religious judgments; that they are true with the truth of goodness and with representative truth, inasmuch as they 'regulate' and foster the religious life and 'represent' in some figurative, undefinable, prophetic manner, the 'implicit judgment' involved in the feeling' or 'religious instinct' of Christ and the saints. For though 'the spirit' of Christ is conceived to include identically 'thought,' 'willing' and 'feeling,' yet does Father Tyrrell prefer to present it to his readers under the conception of 'feeling' or 'instinct.' For 'thinking' may signify an intellectual operation; but the 'thinking' which is identical with the 'spirit,' that is, 'religious thinking,' is the implicit judgment of 'feeling' or 'instinct;' and thus we arrive at the immanent position, that the truths of faith are not referred at all to the mind, that they are theories or formulæ snatched up by the religious 'feeling' or 'instinct,' irrespective of intellectual truth, to express 'morally' its implicit judgments.

'From all this we can understand,' writes Father Tyrrell,¹ 'how the spirit of Christ, though something akin to a feeling or instinct, acts as a principle of doctrinal discrimination and development;' for 'the spirit' in Christ must have selected during His life, and the same 'spirit' in His disciples still selects, and will, until the end of time, continue to select those doctrines or theories which best express for the religious 'feeling' or 'instinct' its own implicit judgments and help to foster the growth and expansion of the religious life. Father Tyrrell conceives, similarly, in an immanent manner the guidance of the Holy Ghost promised by Christ to His Church:—

More commonly [he writes] we speak of this guidance, with reference to the supernatural and metaphysical causation, as effected by the Holy Ghost working in the souls of men. But here we view it as the orderly development of the effect of that

¹ Page 18.

working of the Holy Ghost in the soul of Christ, as the development of the 'spirit of Christ' in the moral sense of the term 'spirit;' as controlled by Christ's spirit in the way that a legitimate growth is controlled by its germ.

Father Tyrrell, of course, dismisses from his thoughts the consideration of the 'metaphysical' nature of the Holy Ghost; he considers Him, like every 'spirit,' in a moral sense, as feeling, thought and will; he is said, in a moral sense, to have descended on the Apostles at Pentecost and to work in the souls of men, but the expression merely signifies the presence of certain gifts in men, such as charity, joy, peace, patience, etc.; and consequently the meaning of the passage just quoted is this: the orderly development of Christian doctrine followed on the development of 'the spirit of Christ' as every legitimate growth is controlled by its germ; for 'the spirit of Christ' in Himself and in His Church must naturally have eliminated useless or decaying formulæ, and selected for itself from age to age the vehicle best suited to express, with practical truth, the implicit judgments of its 'feeling' or 'instinct' and foster the growth of the religious life.

I will only remark, again, in reference to the subject of this paragraph, that the theory of Father Tyrrell, though professing to be, largely, a protest against 'intellectualism,' is itself founded on an erroneous philosophical system. It can be admitted readily that the 'feelings' and 'passions' affect the judgment of reason and influence the movements of the will; the influence of concupiscence and fear on the voluntary act is a subject which claims the attention of the moral theologian at the very beginning of his science. It is admitted also that the 'feelings' and 'passions' supply material for a judgment by the mind; but they involve no judgment, explicit or implicit, of the 'feelings' or 'passions' themselves; and it is simply meaningless to speak of human language being snatched up by 'feeling' or 'instinct,' irrespective of its intellectual truth, to express, not for the intellect, but for the 'feeling' or 'instinct,' its own implicit judgment.

IV.

How are we to know Christ after 'the spirit'? How is His 'spirit' to be made the model of our lives? How is it the deposit and criterion of doctrine? Having defined what he means by 'the spirit' of Christ, Father Tyrrell proceeds to deal with three incomplete, unbalanced, ill-ordinated and therefore perverted conceptions of the spirit-life, viz., 'sentimentalism,' 'mysticality' and 'practicality.' A brief analysis of the paragraphs dealing with these subjects will contribute to the clear perception of the practical tendency of the theory of immanence.

1. Let me repeat that, in the system of Father Tyrrell, the 'spirit' is identical with 'thinking,' 'willing' and 'feeling;' that these three express one and the same indivisible reality (from different points of view) which is the ultimate term of a long process of evolution; that the 'spirit' is conceived primarily as 'feeling' or 'instinct' of right and wrong; that it is, however, simultaneously and identically 'willing,' or preferring good to evil, and 'thinking,' not intellectually but morally, inasmuch as the feeling or instinct involves its own implicit judgment. The true order, therefore, of the spirit-life—an order not of real succession but of reason—would be 'instinct' of good in its widest sense, 'sympathetic response' to good, the 'implicit judgment' of feeling and then the selection of language or theories to express this implicit judgment.

The spirit-life is not love of one who is believed to be God, but love of the divine in Him. 'The fire with which He burned and which He came to kindle,' writes Father Tyrrell,¹ 'was an enthusiasm for certain ends and certain principles, for all that was summed up in the conception of the kingship of God in men's heart, of the divine will realized on earth as in heaven.' But this conception of the 'kingship of God' in men's hearts, and of the 'divine will,' means nothing more than the 'feeling' and 'willing' of abstract 'goodness,' in all its extension, of the true (in the moral sense), the beautiful and the good, of

¹ Page 22.

goodness as conceived in a rationalist or, perhaps, agnostic theory of religion.

Naturally enough, therefore, does Father Tyrrell condemn 'the sentimentalism,' the feminine sentimentalism, of Catholic devotion, which invokes the aid of the imagination and would like to hear, as it were, the Saviour's voice, to read His smile, to feel His embrace, to cling to His feet ; which fixes its attention on His head crowned with thorns, on the wounds in His sacred hands, feet and side, on His sacred Heart, etc. ; which is love of Him who is believed to be God, as well as love of 'the divine' which is in Him. It is all a question of first principles. These devotions must appear foolish indeed to those who do not believe, as an intellectual truth, that Christ is the Son of God, that He became incarnate to redeem and save us. Catholics believe in His divinity and in the redemption, as real, intellectual, fact-truths ; they claim that it is lawful and a duty to cultivate devotion to His person as well as to His cause ; they repudiate the charge that imaginative sentimentalism is the whole or the principal part of their devotion ; and, no doubt, those devote souls who live habitually in the company of the Saviour, who love to imagine that they converse with Him, that they hear His voice, and read His smile, and cling to His feet, who, like Mary, have selected the better part and are not troubled about many things, are not indifferent to His cause, nor fail to offer Him the service of their 'thinking' and 'willing,' as well as of their 'feeling.'

2. By 'mysticality' Father Tyrrell means an inordinate seeking for the solution of 'mysteries ;' a seeking which is inordinate both in the order which it takes among the elements of devotion and in the nature of the solution which it aims at attaining. But what is inordinate seeking after mysteries ? Again let me observe that, according to Father Tyrrell, the 'spirit-life' is an indivisible entity, which is at the same time, by a virtual distinction, 'thinking,' 'willing' and 'feeling ;' that, if we consider the order of reason, it is primarily an 'instinct' in regard to goodness, a 'feeling' with its implicit judgment, and

then a 'willing' or sympathetic attraction for good and antipathy to evil; then, that a theory is invented to formulate, with regulative and representative truth, the implicit judgments of 'feeling,' but that 'intellectual truth' is no part of the spirit-life. Obviously, if the immanent theory be true, the intrusion of reason into the religious life offends against true devotion in three ways; for, it is assigned the first place, the place assigned to 'feeling' in the immanent theory; it makes intellectual or fact-truth an element of devotion; and it divides the indivisible, it treats 'thinking,' 'willing' and 'feeling' as really distinct states or acts. Again it is a question of first principles. Catholics believe that God, in making a revelation to mankind, spoke to the human mind, and that the doctrines of faith enunciate real, intellectual, fact-truth; that the soul is an abiding spiritual substance; that 'thinking,' 'willing' and 'feeling' are really distinct acts with a definite interdependence; that we cannot love God, nor the Incarnate Word, nor His Church and Sacraments, nor His cause and the cause of virtue, unless we know them intellectually; that it is laudable to examine the mysteries of our origin and destiny; and that, consequently, an intellectual act is indispensable to devotion and occupies the first place among the religious acts of the spirit-life.

Though calling the object of his attack 'mysticality,' Father Tyrrell is really excluding the intellect and the acts of the intellect from the life of religion; confining religion to 'instinct' or 'feeling,' and limiting the sphere of the speculative reason to history, philosophy, science and such subjects. And faithful to the immanent 'method' he represents the apostolic writers as borrowing from the intellectual theories of the Greek to formulate explicitly, with only practical and representative truth, the implicit judgments of the religious 'feeling' or 'instinct.' But we prefer to believe with the Church that the apostolic writers wrote truth, fact-truth, truth in relation to the human mind.

3. It is rather a surprise to find an immanent apologist

assailing 'practicability';¹ for the system of immanent apologetics is understood to be the substitution and defence of 'pragmatism' against 'intellectualism.' Nor does Father Tyrrell condemn 'practicability' absolutely; his complaint is that it is not made co-extensive with 'thought' and 'feeling.' 'Practicability' erroneously understood, he says,²

has not a more plausible or able exponent than Matthew Arnold. He partitions life between conduct, science, and art,—a division which is, at root, almost identical with that which we are following. Conduct, he insists, with somewhat wearisome iteration, occupies exactly three-quarters of life; art and science each one-eighth. Three-quarters of conduct, *plus* one-eighth of art, *plus* one-eighth of science, equals life. Right conduct is righteousness. Instead of God we are given a 'Not-Ourselves that makes for righteousness.' This 'Not-Ourselves' is, then, concerned about three-quarters of our spirit-life, about conduct. It is indifferent to the remaining quarter,—to science and art; it does not make for truth or for the beautiful.

Now Father Tyrrell, as I have said, does not complain of the principle of 'practicability,' but of the statement that conduct is only three-quarters of life. 'Conduct,' he says,³ 'is not three-quarters, but the whole of life; for there is a conduct of the mind and a conduct of the feelings. Conduct, thought and feeling, are each the whole of life,—three dimensions of the same thing.' It is the same theory again. The 'spirit' is, indivisibly, 'thought,' 'will' and 'feeling.' It is not therefore 'will' or 'conduct' alone; it is also 'feeling,' and it is also 'thinking;' it cannot be indifferent to the sciences and arts, to intellectual and æsthetic truth; but it uses intellectual theories to express *morally* the hidden implications of the religious 'feeling,' for 'there is a mere surface-seeing, and there is a spiritual discernment that leaps from the outward expression to its true inward significance, that sees the faith through and in the works.'⁴ In other words, the spirit-life is the pursuit, by instinct or feeling and its

¹ Page 38, *seq.*

² Page 39.

³ Page 40.

⁴ Pages 41, 42.

implied judgment, and by will and action, of the true, the good and the beautiful, in the natural order, to the exclusion of any order of supernatural truth, goodness, or beauty, revealed by God to the human mind.

Over against sentimentality, mysticality, and practicality, Father Tyrrell sets the charity of God, for 'God is charity.' In dealing with relationships between the divine and human, 'we are safest,' he says,¹ 'when we leave metaphysics, with its problems of sameness and otherness; and instead of considering its subject or agent, simply consider the life itself, the process, the love.' In other words, we can leave to 'metaphysics' the problem whether God is identical with us or a Being and Person apart and distinct from us; we consider the life itself, the consciousness of our duty and destiny growing finer and juster as the ages roll by, the more and more intense movement towards the true, the good and the beautiful; this is what we call the divine life; here Christ is our model, and we can only hope and strive, each according to his capacity, to appropriate some measure of this divine life which reached its perfection in Him who was the way, the truth and the life.

V.

In *Lex Credendi*,² as in the *Quarterly Review* and in *Lex Orandi*, revelation is conceived by Father Tyrrell to be, not a divine instruction directed to the human mind, by consciousness of right and wrong. The articles of the Creed do not minister to an intellectual need nor do they express intellectual truth; these articles and the word 'revelation' are said to have been selected in the interest of religious 'action' (which is identical with "feeling" or 'instinct') in all its amplitude, in regard to the true, the good and the beautiful; their religious meaning must be determined, not in relation to the speculative mind, but by a study of 'action' and 'the spiritual life,' which they

¹ Pages 43, 44.

² Cf. pp. 51-51.

are selected to express, and whose nature and evolution from past experiences they 'represent' in some prophetic, figurative way. The individual also can compare himself, through these generally received formulæ, with 'the action' and 'spiritual life' of other members of the community past or present, whose growth these formulæ 'regulate' and foster. The mission of the Visible Church is to bring together the just and the sinner, to mediate between them, to formulate the implications of the spirit-life of the just, and by these regulative formulæ to leaven the sinner mass within her fold. And the Church is infallible; as she can reject obsolete formulæ, and select such forms of expression as will describe infallibly, for the time being, with representative and regulative truth, the implicit judgments of the 'feeling' in the spirit-life.

VI.

So far I have not gone, in my analysis, through half of *Lex Credendi*; but my article has already exceeded reasonable limits. One thing which is quite incomprehensible about this theory of immanence is its systematic abuse of language. In the beginning it was thought to aim merely at some accidental features of the Catholic system, and to work for an honest reconciliation of faith and science; and it was deemed worthy, in some quarters, of friendly consideration. But there is a growing feeling of indignation at this attempt to tamper with the meaning of our Catholic formularies, and to propagate through them a system of purely rationalist or agnostic religion. The leaders of the movement are growing bolder, I might say more daring and reckless in their treatment of the great truths of religion. Quite recently M. Auguste Roussel, in a communication to the *Univers*, quoted the following passage about the Resurrection of our Lord from a letter received from the Abbé Loisy:—

Voici ce que nous écrit M. Loisy : J'ai dit que les conditions de l'inhumation ne permettaient pas de rechercher le cadavre, pour le cas où l'on en aurait eu l'idée. Il est probable que

l'aristocratie saducéenne ne prit pas d'abord au sérieux le témoignage des apôtres (concernant la Résurrection) mais il ne pouvait être question de s'assurer si le sépulchre de Jésus était vide ou non, *parce qu'il n'y a pas eu de sépulture*. L'ensevelissement par Joseph d'Arimathie et la découverte du tombeau vide, le surlendemain de la Passion, n'offrant aucune garantie d'authenticité, *l'on est en droit de conjecturer* que, le soir de la Passion, le corps de Jésus fut détaché de la croix par les soldats *et jeté dans quelque fosse commune*, où l'on ne pourrait avoir l'idée de l'aller chercher et reconnaître au bout d'un certain temps.¹

DANIEL COGHLAN.

To be continued.]

¹ *L'Univers*, Lundi, 3 Juni, 1907.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES

III.

AT the end of our last article (October, 1906) the letter of a priest imprisoned for the faith was quoted. His name was Father Philip Brady, O.S.F., and in this letter of July 26, 1708, as we saw, he prayed to be released from the gloomy cell in Newgate where he had been confined for years. The Secretary of the Lords Justices, to whom the aged priest's pathetic appeal for mercy was addressed, wrote on the back of the letter, 'Their Excellencies will consider of this petition ;' but so far as can be inferred from the non-existence of papers in the Record Office, nothing further was done in the matter.

The Newgate Prison Calendar shows that two other regular priests had been sent up from Trim with Father Philip Brady. Their names are given in it.

A Callendar of the prisoners in her Maties Gaols of Newgate this present Term, being the 23rd of this inst., January, 1705.

Dominic Eagan	}	Friers tried and convicted at Queen's Bench.
George Martin		
Thomas Blunt	}	Fryers transmitted from Trim.
James Donough		
Philip Brady		

The first of these also was a Franciscan. In the Archives of the Irish Province the following particulars about him are preserved. He was approved of as a preacher and confessor in 1687, and appointed guardian in Dundalk in 1693 and again in 1697. Two years afterwards Father Blunt was sent as guardian to Trim. How long he succeeded in escaping the snares of the priest-hunters is not stated, but as we know the Act of Banishment came into operation on May 1, 1698. After that day, in Trim, an assize town, he would be in continual danger of arrest. Unfortunately the records of Trim Gaol are not extant,

otherwise we should have the indictment and other documents that would contain valuable information about this confessor of the faith. At present almost all that is known about Father Blunt is merely this—he was a Franciscan and was convicted because he, being a regular, did not leave the country as required by Act of Parliament. In a Parliamentary return, which will presently be given, there is indubitable proof that this was the cause of his imprisonment. Another return makes it equally evident, and though this return was quoted in a preceding article the relevant portion may be reproduced here:—

Att the Lent Assizes held att Trim, 1704, for the County of Meath, Thomas Blunt, a Franciscan Fryer, was in prison under a rule to remain in Gaole without Baile untill transported by order of the Government, for being a Fryer and remaining in this Kingdome contrary to the said Act; he was continued under the same rule.¹

We may now turn to the other priest, who in *The Newgate Calendar* is called James Donough. It is not at all improbable that his real name was Duccan or Duggan. This name, as we shall see, occurs elsewhere, and it may have been changed into Donough. In fact neither orthoepey nor orthography mattered much to the Newgate gaoler, John Morrison, as is plain from the elegant form in which some names appear in his *Calendars*. For instance, take that of a Dominican who was arrested and thrown into Newgate in 1706, *Randal MacDowell*. This is metamorphosed into *Randle Dowle*.¹ It is therefore quite possible that the illiterate John is responsible for Donough. But however this may be, and it is only a conjecture, while bearing in mind that, with one or two exceptions, the local records of assizes no longer exist, and that we have only the Parliamentary returns which were made by the judges in 1703 after all the circuits on which they had gone, it is worthy of attention that in the returns a James Donough is not mentioned and that a James Duccan is. If there was only one person, the individual mentioned in the returns

¹ From Judge Macartney's Report, Oct. 18, 1703.

² *Calendar*, Nov. 6, 1706.

is identical with the individual mentioned in the *Calendar*, and we naturally accept the spelling of the Judges of Queen's Bench in preference to that of the Newgate gaoler. As we shall also see, a James Duggan, some twenty years after the date of both *Calendar* and Returns, signs a joint petition in Newgate with Father Blunt and another regular.

It has, however, not been possible to discover the Order to which he belonged, but so far as the present writer can learn the Franciscan is the only one that had a priest of the name who some years before our period was at liberty. A contemporary MS. now in the Archives of the Irish Province, Merchant's Quay, Dublin, contains the following entry: '1684. Frater Jacobus Duchan, institutus confessarius.' When he got faculties for the first time he was presumably still young, and so might easily be alive in 1722 when the Newgate petition we alluded to was signed.¹ It will not escape our reader's notice that Justice Coote's return, which we shall now give *in extenso*, states that James O'Duccan was tried and condemned at the Sligo assizes, whereas the *Calendar* states as positively that he had been sent up from Trim. But the statements are not incompatible. In our conjecture there is, so far as this affects it, no improbability. We know that Father Philip Brady, for instance, was convicted at Cavan assizes (see *Judge Macartney's return*), and that he was imprisoned in Trim (see *his own petition*), and that he was sent from Trim to Newgate in Dublin (see *Newgate Calendar*). We may now quote the document which we allude to:—

No. 79. (*Endorsed*) Mr. Justice Coote's Return concerning priests, delivered into the office by himself 25^o Oct., 1703.

Different Circuits.

To the Hon^{ble} the Kn^{ts}, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

May it please y^r honours,—

In obedience to the order of this Hon^{ble} house of the fifth instant, I have inspected into the Circuits Books of the several

¹ It must be stated that the learned archivist of the Irish Franciscans says that the name 'James Duchan' does not occur in the lists of members of the Province. Hence, there is a doubt which the present writer cannot remove.

Countys wherein I have satt as Judge of Assize and find as followeth :—

Com. Longford, Summer Assizes, 1698.

Patrick Ffarrell indicted for being titular Popish Dean of Ardagh, was tryed thereon before me but acquitted.

Com. Donnegal, Lent Assizes, 1699.

James O'Duccan was committed by a Justice of the Pease of the said County for being a fryer, but there being noe evidence against him sufficient to convict him the Court did not att that time proceed against him, he not being able to give in Bayl was committed *in prox.*

The same County and y^e same assizes.

James Higgarty bound over by Charles Hamelton, John Hamelton, Esq., two Justices of the Pease for the said County for being a reputed Viccar Gen^l of the Popish Religion, but there being noe evidence against him or further prosecution he was discharged by Parliament Proclamation.

Com. Londonderry, Lent Assizes, 1699.

John McColgan convicted this assizes for being a Popish Regular and not departing y^e Kingdom according to y^e Act notice y^e then Government to y^e end that he might be transported and to y^e best of my remembrance he was transported accordingly.

Com. Donnegall, Summer Assizes, 1699.

The aforesaid James O'Duccan came upon his Tryall for being a fryer and staying contrary to the Act of Parliament was therefore convict and judgment given against him pursuant to y^e Act whereof notice was accordingly given to the then Government.

Com. Donnegall, Lent Assizes, 1700.

The aforesaid James O'Duccan was remaining Goale under y^e former judgment was not at y^e tyme transported whereof notice was given to Government att oure return from the Circuit.

Com. Vill. Galway, Summer Assizes, 1701.

Gregory French a Dominican fryer was indicted of High Treason for returning into this kingdom after his transportation contrary to y^e Act, but his Tryall was putt off on a motion of the King's Councill on an affidavit that materiall evidence for the King was in England whose retourne they speedily expected and without whose testimony they could not proceed to prosecute.

Com. Sligoe, Summer Assizes, 1701.

Patrick O'Connor, a Dominican fryer, convicted this assizes

as such, and ordered to be transported, of which notice was given to y^e then Government.

Com. Clare, Summer Assizes, 1702.

John Moelan was indicted and tryed for being a titular Popish Vicar Generall but was found not guilty by y^e Jury and thereupon discharged.

Com. Kerry, Lent Assizes, 1703.

Daniell Falvey committed by y^e Right Honble Thomas Lord Baron of Kerry for being a firyer. I find noe Rule entered in my book but as I remember he was respitted *in prox*.

Com. Cork, Lent Assizes, 1703.

Richard Harnett, a Popish Priest, indicted for exercising forreigne jurisdiction being *extra*. Thomas Conner, Gent., became bound in a hundred pounds that he should prosecute his traverse in *prox*.

Com. Cork, the same Assizes.

Dominick Gough, a Popish Priest, indicted for returning into this Kingdome without Lycence contrary to y^e being *extra*, process was awarded against him.

Com. Midd., Lent Assizes, 1700.

Thomas Blunt was indicted and tryed for being a Popish Regular for not transporting himself pursuant to y^e Act of Parliament was therefore found guilty and judgment given against him that he should be transported pursuant to y^e Act of which notice was given to y^e then Government.

In further obedience to your honorable orders I humbly certify that I cannot recollect to memory any applications of Grand Jurys in relation to y^e Act for banishing y^e Dignitaries and Regulars of y^e Church of Rome save only an address from y^e Grand Jury of y^e County of Cork or County of the City of Cork, which was made and delivered att Cork att Summer Assizes, 1702, which said presentation or Address was delivered to the Lord Chief Justice Pyne to whom I was joyned in commission that circuit in order to acquaint the then Government that a Titular Popish Bishop called Creagh stood confined in order to his transportation, and remained still in Gaole, y^e said Grand Jury desired that he might be transported accordingly—which address the Lord Chief Justice Pyne laid before the Government as his said Lordship informed me.

J. COOTE.

In this report we meet for the first time with some names, but before we speak about their owners, let us finish with

Father O'Duccane and two of his fellow-prisoners in Newgate. It is much to be regretted that their indictments are no longer to be had, for owing to this circumstance we lack information on the following important point: Did these three, after a term of imprisonment and transportation, return to Ireland in further violation of the Act of Banishment? If they were guilty of such an offence, they were liable to capital punishment. The concluding words of the Act are these:—

And if any person so transported shall return into this kingdom they, and every of them, shall be guilty of high treason, and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a]traytor, and shall suffer loss and forfeit as in the case of high treason.

The passage immediately preceding runs thus:—

And if any of the said ecclesiastical persons shall be at any time after the first day of May within the kingdom, they, and every of them, shall suffer imprisonment and remain in prison without bail or mainprize till he or they be transported beyond seas, out of his Majesty's dominions, etc.

It is, however, a relief to be able to say that the body executive was not so cruel as the body legislative. The Irish Parliament enacted a penalty as severe and stringent as possible, but the Irish Bench did not inflict it. The last clause of the Act appears to have been ignored in practice, and soon became a dead letter. In every case the documents relating to which turned up in the Record Office, the sentence actually passed on those who had been imprisoned for not leaving Ireland before the 1st of May, 1698, and who notwithstanding subsequent transportation dared to come back, was only imprisonment or transportation over again.

And here we may in passing observe, speaking of those whose names are known, that according to Father Denis Murphy's *Our Martyrs*, the last to shed their blood in Ireland for the faith were Stephen Kohel, O.S.F., and Gerald FitzGibbon, O.P., both of whom were slain with the sword in 1691. And not only had the barbarities of martial law temporarily ceased before the period which engages our attention began, but during it judicial proceedings

assumed some little show of fairness. There was a great difference between Queen Elizabeth's judges and Queen Anne's. Compared with Lord Chief Baron Doyne or Judge Macartney, Perrott and Loftus and their fellow-justices were monsters of cruelty. The same may be said of those belonging to the Cromwellian period. What a contrast between what forms the main subject of these pages, and what took place at the Carlow assizes in 1656 :—

Patrick Archer, a papist priest, was indicted of high treason for coming and remaining in the land, contrary to the statute in that case made and provided : and being thereof found guilty was sentenced by the Lord Chief Justice Lowther to be hanged drawn, and quartered.¹

But now to return to our period. Though the letter of the law still made it treason to return, it was not enforced. We saw already² the instances of Father McDonnell who returned *twice* and was imprisoned, and of Father French, who after a term spent in Galway Gaol was allowed out on bail, although, to quote the words of Judge Upton, 'he did voluntarily and traitorously return contrary to the said Act of Parliament.' Other instances of comparative leniency, which it is a pleasure to notice, will come before us in the course of these articles.

If the three—Father Philip Brady, Father Thomas Blunt, and Father James O'Duccane—returned to Ireland after transportation, so far as the writer's limited knowledge goes, only the Lord Lieutenant could reprieve or commute the penalty for high treason into a second transportation, by empowering the judges to pass sentence to that effect. Perhaps it was the practice of the judges in thus pronouncing mitigated sentences that caused Parliament to order : 'That the Judges do give an account what Regulars and Persons of the Popish religion, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, have at any time been brought before them, together with the proceedings thereupon.' If our surmise be correct, the extract presently to be given, which from its tenor might suitably refer to three murderers,

¹ *Commonwealth Council Books*, A. 10, p. 48—Record Office, Dublin. N.B.—And he was hanged.

² *I. E. RECORD*, Oct., 1906, p. 340.

refers in reality to three priests, who, as we saw above, were sent to Newgate from Trim. The official correspondence from which it has been taken is dated a few months after the time when Judge Coote's return was sent to the Parliament in College Green. The character of the correspondence, will, we think, be sufficiently clear from the following passage taken from a letter addressed by the Lord Lieutenant to his three substitutes in Dublin Castle, viz., Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander, Thomas Erle, and Thomas Keightly :—

(Duke of Ormond to Lords Justices, London, May 2, 1704.)

I have perused the report of the judges concerning the Trim prisoners, and wonder the country sheriff should be so intent on hanging these men after so long reprieve. I should think it sufficient if they were immediately transported, and I gave directions at my leaving Ireland, and desire therefore your Lordships would give directions accordingly.

The Duke was sworn in 3rd June, 1703, and appears to have gone back to England soon afterwards, as was the custom.

If the Lords Justices did issue an order for transportation, for some unexplained reason it was not executed. As we saw in the October article (I. E. RECORD), Father Philip Brady was still in Newgate in 1707, and as we shall see in this article the other two remained in Newgate for at least fifteen years afterwards. That the Lords Justices occasionally found that people were reluctant or unwilling to obey in this matter, is evident from their own words referred to by Judge Upton in his report : ' Their Excellencies were pleased to answer that they had endeavoured to get transportation for the convicted Popish regulars, but that the masters of ships to whom application had been made showed an aversion to take them on board.' Transportation was the sentence generally passed on those condemned for the crime of being regular priests, and people nowadays would regard it as being sufficiently severe for even a bad class of convicts. But even taking into account that public feeling in the twentieth century is very different from what it was in the eighteenth, we confess to feeling

somewhat surprised that the worthy and worshipful sheriff of Meath was not satisfied at the prospect of transportation for the Trim prisoners. It meant that they would be handed over to a ship's captain who might do as he liked with them ; if he threw them overboard when out at sea, or if he sold them as slaves, it mattered not. No responsibility was incurred nor would any questions be asked. This we know from a contemporary whose words are entitled to belief.

Perhaps it would be unfair to the sheriff if we singled him out for censure ; after all he was only one in a multitude of bigots all animated by the same spirit. On principle every man among them was a persecutor. If there were exceptions, this was due to personal goodness of an extraordinary kind. As a rule there was no difference between Lords and Commons, Sheriffs and Grand Juries. Though in the beginning of the eighteenth century crimes were not less common than at other periods, yet the Irish Parliament did not look on it as a duty to inquire about the number of those convicted for murder, highway robbery, etc., or to ascertain what sentences had been passed on them. But against one class of offenders its zeal and activity was conspicuous. The class was composed of ecclesiastical dignitaries and the members of religious Orders. It was most anxious to know how many of them were in prison, and it took pains to stimulate sheriffs and judges to greater exertion against them. Needless to say it was hostile to all other Catholics. No description could convey an idea of the *animus* of the Parliament so clearly as do its addresses to Queen Anne and her Lord Lieutenant. They have been discovered in the Record Office, London. As they were forgotten, and have in course of time become unknown, it is as well to print them :—

(1.) To the Queen's most excellent Majestie.

Wee, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament assembled, humbly begg leave to lay before your Majestie our most humble acknowledgments and hearty thanks for your Majestie's tender care of this your kingdom of Ireland and for these most happy effects of your Majestie's great wisdom and

goodnesse, the many excellent Bills by your order transmitted to us this session of Parliament.

And as wee doubt not but these good laws will advance the prosperity of the English interest in this kingdome and be a lasting security to the Protestant religion as by law established, soe wee think ourselves oblinded in gratitude and duty to assure your Majestie that wee will contribute all wee can to these glorious ends, that wee and all our posterity may celebrate your Majestie's reign which has been distinguished by such effectual marks of your royall favour and which wee pray may be long and happy over us.

(2.) To his Grace James Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieut. Gen. and Governor General of Ireland.

The humble address of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament assembled.

Wee, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament assembled, do with great satisfaction behold Your Grace following the example of your illustrious ancestor in your eminent loyalty to the Crown, your constant adherence to the religion by law established, and your sincere and hearty endeavours for the prosperity of this your native country.

Wee now attend your Grace to acknowledge and congratulate in the conclusion of this sessions the good effects of your indefatigable application as well in the frameing as in obtaining the returne of so many good bills from her Majestie now ready for the royall assent: wee can never sufficiently express our gratitude to our most religious and gracious Queen for soe many instances of her goodness (at one time bestowed upon us) but especially for the bills to prevent the growth of Popery. And as wee are sensible of the great part your Grace had in dispensing these favours to us that as wee are oblinded by interest and duty to her Majestie's Crown and dignity, soe wee shall always endeavour to contribute to your Grace's honor and ease in the administration of this government.

(3.) To the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie.

The humble address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Ireland in Parliament assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereigne,

Wee, your Majestie's faithful and obedient Commons, do in most humble manner returne our sincere and hearty thanks for your Majestie's abundant goodness to your dutifull subjects of this kingdome in transmitting the many admirable laws wee have received this session, more particularly those excellent

bills for preventing the further growth of Popery by which wee hope the pernicious designs and practices of the professors of that religion will be effectually defeated and our Church as by law established greatly strengthened and secured.

These royall bountys and concessions demand our utmost acknowledgments and oblige us to repeat our humble assurances of the continuance of our duty and loyalty to your Majestie, and that wee will to the utmost of our power support, maintaine, and defend your royall person and government and the Protestant succession as settled by Acts of Parliament, and the Church of Ireland as by law established.

(4.) To his Grace James Duke of Ormonde,¹ Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Grace,

Wee, her Majestie's most dutyfull and loyall subjects the Commons of Ireland in Parliament assembled, do render our hearty acknowledgments to your Grace for your zealous and successfull interposition with her Majestie in favour of this your native country.

It is to her Majestie's unparalleled goodness and your Grace's sincere and happy endeavours wee owe the many good bills which have been transmitted to us in this present session of Parliament.

When wee recollect the honorable part your most noble grandfather had in the settlement of the Protestant interest in this kingdome wee cannot but congratulate your Grace's greater glory in being the instrument under her Majestie of giving a more lasting security to the Protestant religion than ever it had since the Reformation.

Outside the Houses of Parliament the same hostility was felt towards Catholics as we have just seen expressed in these characteristic addresses. Papists were the law-breakers *par excellence*: in the category of criminals they held the first place. They were the disturbers of the public peace and made Protestants unhappy. Let us take, for instance, 'The Grand Jury of the City of Dublin's Pre-

¹ The Lord Lieutenant whom they eulogized, James the second and last Duke of Ormonde, was in the reign of George I attainted of high treason for his conduct as commander in the war with France, though he was not to blame. The Irish Parliament then set £10,000 on his head.

sentment' (Michaelmas, 1705), which was considered so truthful and so opportune that it was 'printed by order of Her Majesties Court of Queen's Bench.' It begins in this strain :—

We, the Grand Jury, do present, that whereas the unanimity of Protestants of all sorts in this kingdom against our common enemy the Papists, hath hitherto under God greatly contributed towards the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties ; inasmuch as it was our peculiar happiness to have scarce any distinctions regarded amongst us, but that of a Protestant in opposition to a Popish interest, etc.

The sentiments of the Grand Jury of Dublin were in perfect accord with those of the sheriff of Meath, a county the best lands in which, after the battle of the Boyne, became the property of Orangemen. But to return to the three priests in Newgate. They were, perhaps, unaware of the correspondence of which it seems they were the subject. Years passed slowly by, but while stirring events and great changes took place in the bright busy world outside, nothing was altered in their dismal abode. The crowded dungeons still witnessed the same scandalous scenes, for vice and depravity which marked the features of most of the prisoners still kept its sway over their hearts. In this den¹ of horrors the two Franciscan priests cheerfully remained as confessors of the faith. After enduring it for twenty years, when brought to the verge of starvation,

¹ The following description of the better part of Newgate is taken from Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. i. p. 266 :—'In the "Black Dog" there were twelve rooms for the reception of prisoners, two of which contained five beds each ; the others were no better than closets, and held but one bed each. The general rent for lodging in these beds was one shilling per night for each man, but in particular cases a much higher price was charged. It frequently happened that four or five men slept together in the same bed, each individual still paying the rent of one shilling. Prisoners unable to meet these demands were immediately dragged to a damp subterranean dungeon, about twelve feet square and eight high, which had no light except what was admitted through a common sewer. In this noisome obliette frequently fourteen, and sometimes twenty persons, were crowded together, and there robbed and abused by criminals, who, though under sentence of transportation, were admitted to mix among the debtors ; and if any person attempted to come up stairs during the daytime to obtain air or light, he was menaced, insulted and driven down again.'

they and another priest at last asked for mercy's sake to be transported :—

17 December, 1722.

To their Excellencies the Lords Justices.

The humble petition of Thomas Blunt, George Martin, and James Dugan, Prisoners in Newgate,

Humbly sheweth that your Petitioners having been convicted some years ago of being Regulars have been since detained close prisoners, whereby they are not only impaired in their health but also reduced to the lowest Ebb of indigence and want.

May it therefore please, your Excellencies, the premises tenderly considered, to grant your Petitioners an order of Transportation pursuant to a Statute made in that case.

And they will ever pray, etc.

THOMAS BLUNT,
GEORGE MARTIN,
JAMES DUGAN.

(*Endorsed*) The humble Petition of Thomas Blunt, George Martin, and James Dugan. (*Note added in another hand*) To be transported as soon as there is an opportunity.¹

Though in 1708 the Lords Justices—Narcissus Marsh, Primate of Ireland, and Richard Freeman, Lord Chancellor—would seem to have callously ignored Father Philip Brady's petition to be released, their successors in 1722, Archbishop King of Dublin, Viscount Shannon, and William Connolly, apparently felt no disinclination to gratify his sometime companions in Newgate by transporting them. We cannot, however, say whether these gentlemen carried their good resolution into effect, for though considerable pains were taken in the search, no entry showing that the priests were actually transported turned up. In fact the Warrant Book for 1722 does not contain their names.

Considering on the one hand the horrors of Newgate, compared to which transportation was regarded as happiness, and on the other the great number of priests successively immured in it, that so few of them made petitions for release is certainly remarkable. During an examination

¹ Record Office, Dublin, Petitions, Carton 214, No. 723.

of the documents of twenty years, only three other such petitions were found. One of a Father Art O'Neill in 1716, another of a Father Francis Moore *alias* Murray in 1718, and a third which is printed here.

To thire Excellencyes the Lords Justices and Counsell.

The Humble Petition of William Dalton, Parish Priest of S. Paul's,
Sheweth

That your Pet^r has been upwards of three years confined in a garrett in the White Sheafe among other priests.

That for many years past he has been troubled with the Gravell stone, shortness of breath, and a megrum in his head, which dayly encreased by his soe close confinement without any manner of ayre, which has reduced and weakened your Pet^r to that degree that he will perish if not timely relieved, as by the annexed certificate will appeare.

That your Pet^r is a native of this Citty and has been upwards of twenty-six years past in the same without giving the least offence to the government. That he is willing to give such security for his appearance and good behaviour when required as y^r Excellencies and Lordships shall think fitt.

May it therefore please your Excellencies and Lordships to consider the desperate condition y^r Pet^r is reduced to and to order y^r Pet^r to be discharged, giving such security as afore mentiond, and y^r Pet^r will ever pray, etc.

(Certificate.)

I doe hereby certify that William Dalton, Priest, is and has been for some years past afflicted with the stone and gravell in his kidneys, and megrim in his head, astma and other complications of pernicious symptoms : all which, if he is barred the benefit of aire and moderate exercise, will encrease and prove of dangerous if not of fatall consequence. Given under my hand this 3rd day of Aprill, 1708.

N.

(*Endorsed*) The humble petition of William Dalton, Priest, 1708.

(*Note in another hand*) The matter in this Petition mentioned is already ordered in Council.

We may now turn to the second of the priests who signed the petition in 1722. That Father George Martin was condemned in the Court of Queen's Bench (Dublin), for being a regular, is made certain by no fewer than three *Newgate Calendars*, respectively, of January 23, 1705.

November 6, 1706, January 23, 1706 (O.S.) Also among the dusty rolls of indictments that appeared never to have been opened since the Clerk of the Court tied them up in the reign of Queen Anne, this one has been discovered. It is No. 5, Trinity Term, 1704, and runs as follows :—

Comitatus Civitatis Dublini.¹

Scil. Juratores pro Domina Regina supra sacramentum suum dicunt et praesentant quod Georgius alias Antonius Martin de Dublin in Comitatu Civitatis Dublinensis clericus vicesimo die Novembris anno regni Dominae nostrae Annae Dei gratia Angliae Scotiae Franciae Reginae Fidei Defensoris etc. secundo et diversis aliis diebus et vicibus antea et postea apud Civitatem Dublini viz. in Parochiam Sancti Michaelis Archangeli in Ward Sancti Michaelis Archangeli in Comitatu ejusdem Civitatis vi et armis etc. fuit et adhuc est Regularis sacerdos *anglice* a regular de Ecclesia Romana et remanens et adhuc remanens infra hoc regnum Hiberniae in contemptu Dominae Reginae coronae suae et contra pacem Dominae Reginae coronam et dignitatem suam et formam statuti etc.

Trin. 3^o anno regni,
culpabilis judicatus, to be transported.

Billa Vera, Thomas Pleasants cum sociis. Peruse the annexed examinations for proofo of this bill.

(Robert Johnson is sworn to give evidence for proofo of this Bill, Tisdall.)

¹ Indictments were at the time made out in Latin. At the present day, in English, Father Martin's Indictment would be somewhat as follows :

County of the City of Dublin, to wit. The jurors for our lady the Queen upon their oath say and present that George *alias* Antony Martin, of Dublin, in the county of the city of Dublin, a priest, on the twentieth day of November, in the second year of the reign of our lady, Anne, Queen by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, and France, Defender of the faith, and on various other days and occasions in the county of the city of Dublin, to wit, in the parish of Saint Michael the Archangel, in the ward of Saint Michael the Archangel, came with swords, staves and so forth ; he he was and still is a priest in a religious order, *anglice* a regular, and remaining and still remaining in this Kingdom of Ireland in contempt of our lady the Queen, of her crown, and against the peace of our lady the Queen, her crown and dignity, and against the form of the Statute in such case made and provided.

Trinity Term, third year of the reign.
Guilty. Sentenced—

² (i.e. O.S.). The year began then on March 25, so that Queen Anne who, in 1702, ascended the throne on March 8, commenced her reign at the end of a year. November 20, 1703, about which date Father Martin's arrest took place, was therefore in her second year, not regnal but calendar, and Trinity Term, 1704, was in her third year, not only regnal but calendar. The Indictment is in one of the bundles labelled 1704.

No paper, however, containing evidence, or, as it is called in legal phraseology, 'examination,' is at present attached to the slip of parchment on which this indictment is written. To every other 'indictment' in the many bundles that were searched its 'examination' or 'examinations' were appended. Those said by the Clerk of the Court to be at the time annexed to George Martin's indictment did not turn up in the bundles (1699-1713); into some one of which they might accidentally have been put, as happened to the indictment and examinations of a Father McDowell. They were found among those of a term earlier by several years. It is possible that somewhere in these voluminous collections the papers containing Father Martin's acknowledgment of his being a regular, and the evidence given to the same effect by an informer, are still lying—but they have not been seen. Neither was any document discovered which would show that Robert Johnson at any subsequent time gave his evidence. The absence of any such documents referring to Father Martin is all the more to be regretted, as no certainty about him can be gleaned from the usual sources of collateral information. We do not know to what Order he belonged, and only conjecture that he was a Franciscan. The following entry in the Acts of a chapter of the Irish Province possibly refers to him, 'Pater Antonius Martin institutus est praedicator et confessarius saecularium, 1699.'¹ If it does, then we must suppose that George was Father Martin's baptismal name, and that Antony was his name in religion—St. Antony of Padua being his patron. The name Martin occurs elsewhere. In the Irish Franciscan MSS. there is mention also of a Father Owen Martin who apparently was impeached and imprisoned, and in the Record Office a letter is preserved

¹ Since the above was written, the learned archivist of the Irish Franciscans has kindly added the following information. Father Antony Martin was Guardian in Cork in 1705 and 1706, Guardian in Timoleague in 1708, and in Innisherkina in 1711. If these appointments regarded the Father Martin who was then in prison, they were only titular. This circumstance, however, need not surprise anyone, for in these pages we have already had examples of the practice.

which refers either to this or to another priest of the name :—

DUBLIN CASTLE, 8 *August*, 1702.

SIR,—The Lords Justices have directed me to send to you the enclosed Warrant for the transportation to Portugal of . . . and also of one Martin, a Fryar, which will be brought you from Lymerick, orders being sent thither by this night's post to send him forward to Corke.—Yours, etc.,

J. DAWSON.¹

There is, however, something apparently mysterious about the Rev. George Antony Martin, as we may provisionally call him, who was destined to be a prisoner in Newgate for at least twenty years. While in the case of all the other priests (except Father Chamberlain, S.J.), whom we know from either an indictment or a return to have been convicted in Dublin, the Vice-Treasurer's ledgers contain both their names and those of the informers, and the amounts of the 'blood money,' the name of Father Martin does not occur, nor is there any entry which can with certainty be connected with him.² We know exactly

¹ The writer was Under Secretary for Ireland. Dawson Street, Dublin, is called after him.

² There is, however, an entry of a date earlier than the 20th of November, 1703, which may be connected with Father Martin. Our readers will recollect that in the Indictment they read, 'vicesimo die Novembris' and 'diversis aliis diebus et vicibus antea et postea,' and, therefore, they will understand that money might be paid for information given before November 20. The entry we allude to in the Vice-Treasurer's Ledger is this :—

'1703 (p. 76) Paid Narcissus, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, for secret service as by warrant dated the 10th August, 1703, and Acquittance appears £11 os. 0½d.'

Dr. Marsh was translated from Dublin to Armagh in 1702. We own to a suspicion (not uncharitable, we hope,) that he received this, the exact sum, for the detection of a regular priest, since we know of no one besides Father Martin against whom the Archbishop, or someone acting in his name, could have informed. We have the entries for all the other priests (except Father Chamberlain) in which they are mentioned by name. There is only another entry according to which the Archbishop is paid for secret service, and that in all probability was the detection of Father Chamberlain. The date corresponds.

As regards Marsh himself, our readers have already seen in the first of these articles that in his own library in Dublin there is still preserved a list drawn up on March 2, 1697, for a special purpose (as regards regular priests, of committing them to prison). Why, if our surmise regarding him be correct, Archbishop Narcissus Marsh should have got the money for secret service is, however, more than we can explain. Public opinion in Protestant circles was just the same at this time as it was six years afterwards (1709), when the Irish Parliament passed a resolution declaring that to inform against a priest was an honourable act, deserving the nation's gratitude.

the price (£11 os. 1½d.) which at the time an informer got for a priest, and we know the year in which Father Martin was arrested (1703), yet there is no subsequent entry that can apparently refer to him. At this time the same amount was paid for the arrest of a regular priest, and for 'bringing in a Tory alive or dead' (i.e., *his head*, in the latter case), and several instances of both may be seen recorded in the Vice-Treasurer's ledgers. The persecuting spirit was strong in the reign of Queen Anne, even though it might not be so violent as in 1657, when a certain worthy called Major Morgan is reported to have said :—

We have three beasts to destroy. The first is the wolf. The second beast is a priest, on whose head we lay ten pounds—if he be eminent, more. The third beast is a tory, on whose head, if he be a public tory, we lay twenty pounds, and forty shillings on a private tory.'

We may now resume our examination of Judge Coote's return. Four of the priests (Patrick Ffarrell, Daniel Falvey, Richard Hartnett and Dominick Gough) whose names occur in it have been mentioned in these pages before, and the career of three others (Gregory French, Patrick O'Connor and Thomas Blunt) has been described at considerable length. Nothing further is known about the Rev. John Moelan, so we may conclude this article with a few remarks about the two priests still remaining, Father John Colgan and Father James Hegarty.

There is reason to think that the former was a Dominican. The contemporary *Liber Provinciae* contains this entry, 'In conventu Derriensi, Joannes Colgan, ann. 1683.' In a letter of the Mayor of Derry which we shall give, mention is made of an Edmund McColgan, who was presumably identical with the Clement O'Colgan of whom O'Heyne or De Burgo quoting him speaks. His name does not appear in the list of Parish Priests of Co. Derry,¹ and as our readers will notice, the Mayor of Derry says that he intruded himself into the parish. If our provisional identification be correct, the explanation is, as in so many other cases,

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. xii.

that one name (Edmund) was his baptismal name and the other (Clement) his name in religion. What O'Heyne has to tell us about Father Clement O'Colgan may be summed up as follows. In his youth he was sent to Spain, as was the custom of the Irish Dominicans, after the profession made by stealth in his native land. No longer was the taking of the religious vows celebrated with befitting ceremonial; in some secluded and safe spot the young novice uttered the solemn vow of self-consecration that he knew might be for him the passport to a martyr's death. He then went through the ordinary course of studies in preparation for the priesthood, either at Toledo, Salamanca, or Valladolid. On his return home he was assigned to the Derry house, for which he had been received into the Order. Great was his holiness and abundant the fruit of his missionary labours, which he continued till 1691, when in consequence of the defeat of James II the holy priest was sent, or was banished to, France. He afterwards made a journey to Rome, where he taught philosophy to some students of his own province residing in the Priory of San Sisto.¹ At last in order to assist his persecuted brethren at home, he came back to Ireland in 1702, but as his returning was a treasonable offence, he was arrested and imprisoned in Derry. For two years

¹ During his residence in Rome, as we learn from the Consistorial Record, Father O'Colgan was one of those examined in 1694 by Cardinal Paolucci (Altieri), Protector of Ireland, as to the merits of the Rev. Fergus Laurence Lea, a priest of the diocese of Ardagh, and his qualifications for the see of Derry.

Father O'Colgan's testimony is thus prefaced:—

'Examinatus fuit Romae ubi et per quem supra R.P. Fr. Clemens Colgan, D., Phelimi filius presbyter Diren. Dioc. Ord. Praed. aetatis suae annorum 40.'

Two parts of his examination are worth quoting here. In reply to the question about Derry, he says—

'La città di Deri é situata nella provincia di Ultonia nel Regno d' Ibernia in collina di giro circa due miglia, fará da quattro mila Anime fra quali sono alcuni pochi Cattolici et il remanente sono tutti eretici sotto il dominio temporale del Re d' Inghilterra e lo so per esser Diocesano et haver dimorato ivi per molti anni nel nostro convento di detta città.'

In reply to the question, 'Is the see at present vacant?' he incidentally bears valuable testimony to the martyrdom of one whose cause, like his own, is now being presented to the Congregation of Rites.

'(Ad XII.) Vaca la sudetta Chiesa per la morte della bo. me. di Mons. Raimondo O'Gallagher ultimo Vescovo morto in Residenza martirizzato dagli eretici da cento quaranti [anni] in circa il che é notorio.'

he bore the horrors of that dungeon, till God called His servant to the joys of heaven, and placed on his brows the brilliant aureola of martyrdom.

O'Heyne, who wrote in Louvain, did not know—if a part of the Mayor of Derry's letter refers to this priest—that another specific offence of his consisted in assisting at the marriages of Catholics with Protestants, and in some cases with Protestant soldiers. These acts were in direct violation of a penal law, the relevant portion of which will interest our readers. The preamble to the Act, which is written in the canting tone characteristic of Williamite legislation, complains that marriages contracted with Catholics have tended 'to the corrupting and perverting such Protestants so marrying,' because 'they forsake their religion and become papists to the great dishonour of Almighty God, the great prejudice of the Protestant interest and the heavy sorrow of their Protestant friends.'

An Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists. Ninth William III (1699), c. III.

Sect. II. And whereas the marriages of protestant persons to and with popish maidens and women have proved pernicious to the protestant interest, it commonly happening such protestant persons and their issue being influenced by such popish wives are reconciled to popery and become papists; for remedy whereof be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that in case any protestant person or persons shall, after the said first day of January next, marry any maiden or woman without having obtained a certificate in writing under the hand of the minister of the parish, bishop of the diocese, and some justice of peace living near the place, etc., of her being a known protestant, such person or persons so marrying any maiden or woman shall from and after such marriage be in law deemed and esteemed to all intents, constructions, and purposes to be a papist or popish recusant and shall for ever afterwards be disabled and rendered incapable of and from being heir, etc.

Sect. III. And whereas several popish priests have of late endeavoured to withdraw several of the soliders enlisted in his Majesty's army, from his Majesty's service, by marrying them to popish wives: be it therefore enacted, That any popish priest, or protestant minister, or other person whatsoever, that shall marry any soldiers enlisted in his Majesty's army in this Kingdom to any wife, and without such certificate as aforesaid, shall forfeit

the sum of twenty pounds for every such offence, to be levied by warrant from any justice of the peace in any county in this Kingdom where such offence shall be committed, off the goods and chattels of the offender, or in default thereof, the party so offending to be committed to the County Gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize, until he shall pay the said sum.

It would be satisfactory if, as regards Father O'Colgan's condemnation and imprisonment, legal documents were forthcoming. But we fear that these no longer exist. Through the courtesy of the officials at present in Derry who afforded every facility for the search, it has been ascertained that the earliest documents in the Crown Office there (cases from Assizes and Quarter Sessions) bear the date of 1713. All possible investigation was made also in Dublin, but with the same negative result. In default of information from legal sources, we are glad to be at least able to place before our readers a letter in which Father O'Colgan is mentioned, and Father James Hegarty also ¹:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The intimation I had by your letter of the 27th of April last, that one Edmund McColgan, a popish priest, and who intruded himself into this parish, had married severall and amongst others, several soldiers, contrary to an Act of Parliament made in y^e 9th year of his late Majestie King William put me upon taking informations against him, which I did in May last, and committed him to gaol thereupon where he hath remained till our City Sessions which were held this week, where he appealed for relief, but upon exam. of the matters of fact it was fully proved that he had married five of the Queen's soldiers, two of them to papists, and all contrary to y^e said Act, according to my apprehension of it and according to y^e opinion of Baron Echlin our last judge of Assize, but some gentlemen in y^e County of Donegall appearing very vigorously on behalf of y^e said papist, and particularly one of them who appeared at our Sessions saying publickly that if he could not get [the word in the MS. is illegible] here, he would get it done in spite of us, hath occasioned us to consult our Recorder and the Attorney Gen^l herein, and to have his opinion and advice, for if we cannot now [another illegible word] to plaine matters of fact, that Act is useless and the papists hereafter will be at liberty to do what they [other

¹ From the Lyons' collⁿ of Archbishop King's MSS.

illegible letters] or can do, to y^e detriment of y^e nation and of this place in particular, in that way, which we cannot but believe Your Grace will endeavour to prevent, it being a matter of such fatal consequence to this kingdom and what I humbly pray your direction and advice in on this occasion. I would have sent a coppie of what was sent to y^e Attorney Generall but this contains y^e substance of it, therefore do intreat your Grace's favour herein, that we may not be misled or discouraged in y^e execution of so good a law as this. The prosecution for y^e Queen offered to prove many more marriages done by him of soldiers and others, but we believe there is sufficient already against him to keep him in custody and to prevent his doing so for the future, if by these he is under y^e penalties of y^e Act.

The papists in this country having all refused the Abjuration Oath, I beg your Grace to inform us of what methods y^e government will order to be taken therein, and which shall be duly put in execution to our power. We lately issued a warrant against one James O'Hegarty in y^e County of Donegal as being a Regular, who had given security at last Assizes at Lifford to appear at next, but I fear it will not be made out against him. I hope Your Grace will pardon this trouble, you having always signalized yourself by taking care of y^e Church and y^e rights thereof, and that God may long preserve you to be a happier influence for y^e preservation thereof shall be the prayer of

Your Grace's most dutyfull humble servt.,

SAMUEL LEESON, May^r.

Londonderry, 23rd July, 1703.

Apparently this Father James Hegarty was the priest of this name who is known to have had in the beginning of the eighteenth century pastoral charge of the districts of Fahan and Desertegny, where his memory is still held in benediction. Among the traditions of Inishowen, none is better preserved than that about Friar Hegarty, as he is affectionately called. He must have been a man of extraordinary holiness and zeal, seeing that for two hundred years the people have the utmost veneration for his memory. A reverend correspondent says that he probably was a Dominican, and adds: 'We hear of James Hegarty, a Dominican Friar of Derry, being wanted at the Lifford Assizes in 1702.' Evidence of

a James O'Hegarty, a regular in Co. Donegal, having appeared at the Lifford Assizes, either late in 1702 or early in 1703, is contained in the Mayor of Derry's letter here published in full for the first time. There is no direct and conclusive proof of Father Hegarty being a Dominican. It is true, however, that in those days the Dominicans were numerous in Derry, and that they were the only regulars we know to have been there. Throughout the penal times they kept the lamp of faith lit by the shores of Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly. When in 1755 De Burgo visited the place he found nine of his brethren hiding in the woods or on the mountains and ministering to the faithful. He does not say that the Father James Hegarty, who half a century before laboured in Fahan and Desertegny, was a member of his own Order, nor does he even allude to him. Neither does O'Heyne mention him. What is perhaps still more remarkable is that the contemporary *Liber Provincias Ord. Praed. in Hibernia* contains the name of only one O'Hegarty, a Father Andrew, living in Donegal Priory in 1688. O'Heyne mentions another O'Hegarty, a Father Patrick, who died in 1704 at St. Malo. It is possible, as in numberless cases, that James is the baptismal name and Andrew the religious name of the same individual. There is at any rate a belief prevalent in Donegal that 'Friar Hegarty' was a Dominican, while at the same time there is no documentary evidence to that effect.

The reverend correspondent, whose words were quoted above, says that Father James Hegarty's offence was, that having formerly lived as a friar he held communications with the friars again, and also that he must have satisfied the authorities about his good behaviour in future, for he succeeded in getting himself registered under the Act of 1704 (?). It is not so easy to reconcile an estreatment in 1702 with a registration in 1704. Father Hegarty must have availed himself of the good offices of some friendly magistrates. But at all events his being called a Vicar-General by Judge Coote is not incompatible with his being called a regular by the Mayor of Derry. There are in-

stances on record of regulars being Vicars-General in those days, as happens even now on some foreign missions.

We wish that more were known about the life and labours of this regular priest. One thing, however, is certain—he ended his career by a glorious death. ‘Friar Hegarty’ was martyred by Colonel Vaughan on the headland ever since known as Hegarty’s Rock, near Buncrana, in the first decade of the eighteenth century. It may be added that he was not the only one of his clan that at the time bore willing testimony to the Catholic faith. A Father James Hegarty, P.P., in the diocese of Raphoe was, we are informed, killed by a magistrate named Buchanan. This priest is buried in Fahan churchyard.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

To be continued.]

GENERAL NOTES

CATECHETICAL CONGRESS IN MUNICH

IT may interest Irish priests who are engaged in Catechetical work, to hear that a Congress devoted entirely to the discussion of the most effective and scientific method of teaching the Catechism and imparting religious instruction generally, will be held at Munich this year, from the 1st to the 7th of September. Any Irish priest who wishes to attend, will be sure of a warm welcome from his German brethren. The Organizer and Secretary of the Congress, or rather Summer School discussion and exposition of method, is the Rev. Edmund Wölffe, 17 Cornelius Strasse, Munich. The programme embraces such questions as 'Method and Matter,' 'Bible History,' 'System of Interrogation,' 'Exposition of Doctrine,' 'Attention of Children,' 'Thought-Process,' 'Analysis,' 'Memory Work,' etc., etc. These are certainly questions which it behoves teachers of Catechism to study carefully. Slovenly methods of teaching Catechism have a bad effect educationally. The thing should be done according to some well-thought-out plan which will stand the test of psychological as well as of logical analysis. The German clergy who, as a rule, do all things scientifically attach great importance to this matter, and between 600 and 800 of them will be found assembled at Munich to take counsel together as to the best line to follow. Many priests will come there also from Austria, Switzerland, and other countries for the same purpose. The speakers and readers of papers will include experts in all kinds of religious instruction, college men, city-priests, country-clergy; and the occasion will be particularly interesting for diocesan Catechists, and all priests who have to teach Catechism to large classes of children. Any Irish priest interested in the question who wishes to confine the useful with the pleasant could scarcely do better this summer than attend this gathering.

PROGRESSIVE THEOLOGICALS IN FRANCE

SOME years ago anybody who ventured to question the orthodoxy or devotion to the Church of a certain school of apologists in France was put down as a reactionary and a sort of ecclesi-

astical machine. In countries where shallow catchwords take on more readily than they do in Ireland, the works of the Abbé Loisy, of M. Le Roy, and Father Tyrrell, were welcomed and praised for the vastness of their learning, the depth and penetration of their judgment. Many old things were to go by the board, and the shaping and vigorous thought of new movements and new thinkers were to give an impetus to speculation that it sadly needed, to make the dry bones of Catholic dogma emerge from their medieval dust, and walk in the daylight of modern science encased in rejuvenated flesh and clothed in the habiliments of the prevailing philosophy. 'Fine sounding language, good friends!' said some of us, 'but where will it land you?' In France it has certainly landed some of its partisans outside the Church.

One of the first of the French Abbés to be fascinated by the extreme doctrines of evolution and of Kantian philosophy was the Abbé Marcel Hébert. I knew him well in former days, and a very attractive and amiable man he was. He directed a very flourishing and fashionable school called the *Ecole Fénelon*, in the Rue de Lisbonne, in Paris, was greatly devoted to his pupils, and was loved and respected by them. He had to prepare young men for the University where Kantian and Evolutionist philosophy was in vogue, and he set himself with eagerness to reconcile the teaching of the University with the teaching of the Church. It was Kant and Spencer, however, that conquered him, not he who overcame the Kantists and the Evolutionists.

Some years ago he published a book which has been translated into English by the Hon. William Gibson. It is a sort of imaginary conversation between Darwin and Plato, and seeks to extend the evolutionary principle to matters which had hitherto been left outside its scope. Later on he paid a pilgrimage with some of his pupils to the tomb of St. Francis of Assisi in Italy, and imagined another dialogue between the Seraphic Saint and the modern philosopher. Here matters of sacred interest such as the Resurrection are explained on the subjective principle. The pamphlet in which it was expounded was intended only for private circulation; but it got into the hands of some *inimicus homo*, and was denounced to the authorities. The writer was called on to explain and to retract. He would explain as much as people wished, but he would retract nothing. The result is that he has now left the Church, and is occupied in the Radical University of Brussels teaching philosophy as a layman. It is to be hoped that his secession is only temporary. By most of those who knew him he was held in the highest

esteem and affection, and I sincerely hope that he will find his way back once more to the Church in which he spent, I am sure, the best and happiest years of his life.

The Abbé Loisy, a priest, and M. Edouard Le Roy, a layman, are also known wherever an interest is taken in matters theological and Scriptural. They have both stepped recently down from the clouds, and have formulated in clear and intelligible language their notions of the Resurrection, the Trinity, and the Virgin-Birth of our Lord, and of miracles in general. Frankly their conclusions differ very little from those of the Rev. R. J. Campbell, the Rationalist orator of the City Temple in London, whose 'New Theology' has edified the Christians of these countries during the past few months. Plain speaking, however, has this advantage, that it enables people to know exactly where they are; and many former partisans of the 'advanced thinkers' have at last opened their eyes and recognized their danger. Thus, for instance, the *Revue du Clergé Français* was always sympathetic with Loisy and his school. Indeed it was in its pages that he expounded some of his most dangerous theories under the name of J. Firmin or Jacques Simon; and it will be remembered that this review was specially noted by Mgr. Montagnini in his reports to Cardinal Merry del Val, for its dangerous latitudinarian tendencies. Now, the Abbé Bricout, director of the review, is obliged to cry halt.

'We may have endeavoured formerly,' he writes, 'to give rash and ill-sounding assertions an interpretation in keeping with orthodoxy. Such indulgence is no longer possible. It is only too clear, indeed, that they are now in flagrant opposition to the teaching of the Church. The heresy is manifest to all, and the authors themselves would be the last to be surprised if the Church did not condemn them' (June 15, p. 673).

This ought to be warning enough to those pretentious but superficial reviews which seem ready to welcome any silly innovation provided it is decked out with flowers of rhetoric and enveloped in clouds of vapour. Theologians worthy of the name, who understand progress in the real sense, and are truly progressive with the times, have nothing in common with these gentlemen who are now lifting the curtain somewhat and giving the public a glimpse at their real aims. The contributions of M. Le Roy to the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, of M. Dupin (probably a pseudonym) to the *Bulletin d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse*, and of the Abbé Loisy to several newspapers have been condemned by the Archbishop of Paris and other bishops, and are practically denounced by the whole Catholic body in France, clergy and laity.

ATTEMPT TO FABRICATE AN HISTORIC LIE

WHEN His Holiness Pope Pius X, in his second Encyclical on the Separation of Church and State in France, declared that the 'Associations Cultuelles' projected by the Law of Separation were condemned by the almost unanimous voice of the French Bishops, who *fere ad unum* declared them to be opposed in essential and fundamental matters to the Divine constitution of the Church, an audacious attempt was made to give the lie direct to the Pope by several French newspapers and by their English admirers, notably by *The Times'* correspondent in Paris. 'Did not the bishops actually sketch out a plan,' they inquired, 'and draw up statutes for the adoption of the Associations?' And were not these statutes drafted by Mgr. Fulbert Petit, Archbishop of Besançon, and approved by the vast majority of the French hierarchy before they were forwarded to the Pope, who must have had them before his eyes when he wrote this scandalous falsehood in his Encyclical?' The French Bishops did indeed, draw up a plan, and Mgr. Fulbert Petit did draft statutes for religious associations, but not for the 'Associations Cultuelles' of M. Briand and M. Clemenceau. This has now been made plain even to the most prejudiced readers by the Comtesse de Franqueville, herself an Englishwoman, and, I believe, a Protestant, in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The plan of the enemy was to confuse two things which they knew, or should have known, to be distinct. They applied to one set of associations what was done in the case of another set. The thing could not well be made plainer than it is in the letter of Mgr. Fulbert Petit, quoted by the Comtesse de Franqueville. He says:—

'Non certes; l'on n'a aucun motif d'accuser le Souverain Pontife d'avoir blessé la vérité dans sa seconde Encyclique. Ce qu'il y expose est absolument exact.

'Après la première Encyclique condamnant la Loi de Séparation, et dans leur première Assemblée plénière, les Evêques de France furent consultés, non pas sur la *légitimité de la Loi* puisque elle était condamnée, mais sur cette double question :

'1°. Les Evêques pensent-ils qu'il soit possible, *pratiquement*, d'accepter les *Associations Cultuelles* telles qu'elles sont déterminées par la Loi de Séparation, sans porter atteinte à la divine constitution de l'Eglise, à ses droits et à sa hiérarchie? Les Evêques à la presque unanimité (*fere ad unum*), et très librement ont répondu : Non.

'2°. Les Evêques pensent-ils qu'il serait possible de constituer des associations qui, sans violer la Loi de Séparation,

maintiendraient saufs les droits essentiels de l'Eglise, sa divine constitution et sa hiérarchie ?

' La majorité de l'Assemblée pensa que cela était possible ; mais se soumettant respectueusement son opinion au jugement du Pape.

' Celui-ci, après avoir réfléchi et prié, usa du droit que lui donne son suprême magistère. Dans sa seconde Encyclique il proclama, d'accord avec la presque unanimité de l'Episcopat (*fere ad unum*) qu'on ne pouvait instituer des Associations Culturelles telles que les prévoit la Loi de Séparation, sans violer la constitution divine, les lois et la hiérarchie de l'Eglise et qu'elles restent définitivement condamnées.

' Quant aux associations proposées par les Evêques avec des Statuts établis par eux, le Pape jugea qu'il ne pouvait en autoriser l'essai, "*tant que ne lui serait pas donnée la garantie certaine et légale que dans ces Associations, la constitution, les droits, la hiérarchie et les biens de l'Eglise seraient en pleine sécurité.*" Cette garantie certaine et légale l'Episcopat ne pouvait pas la Lui donner. Les pouvoirs publics, seuls, le pouvaient faire. S'ils avaient donné cette certitude légale la conciliation pouvait être tentée Ils ne l'ont pas voulu.'

I hope for the sake of common decency, to say nothing of truth and honesty, that with this authoritative statement before the public, nothing further will be heard of the disgraceful and malignant charge that Pope Pius X perverted the facts in his second Encyclical.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

COMMUNION OF THE SICK WHO ARE NOT FASTING

ACCORDING to the decree of the Congregation of the Council, published on the 7th of December, 1906, the sick, who have been ill for at least a month, and who according to medical advice, are not able to fast, enjoy the privilege of sometimes receiving Holy Communion unfasting. There was some diversity of opinion about the kind of illness required to verify the clause: *qui jam a mense decumberent*. While some confined the privilege to those who are sick in bed, others extended it to those who, though seriously ill, 'cannot or do not remain in bed.'¹

It has been recently decided,² with an extending clause *ad cautelam*, by the Congregation of the Council that all are included 'who, while seriously ill and having medical testimony to their inability to fast, cannot remain in bed or are able to be up during some hours of the day.'

J. M. HARTY.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Feb., 1907, p. 192.

² Cf. text of decision amongst the documents published in this number of I. E. RECORD.

CANON LAW

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADULTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Shall we understand that Parish Priests in this country will, henceforth, be bound to preach two sermons on Sundays and holidays, one during the Mass in the morning, and the other at the evening devotions? Please tell us what is exactly the new regulation of the Irish Bishops on this point.
P.P.

It is a general law of the Church¹ that those entrusted with the care of souls, in addition to preaching the Gospel, are bound to give catechetical instructions to their people. In order to supply a programme for these instructions the Council of Trent prescribed that a catechism be drawn up, in a special and definite form, which was afterwards compiled by order of Pius V, and published under the title of Roman Catechism for Parish Priests. Subsequently the learned Cardinal Bellarmine restricted it to brief formulæ for the use of children, and published it under the title of Christian Doctrine. This rule of the Church regarding catechetical instructions to adults has been recently confirmed by the present Holy Father in his Encyclical, *Acerbo nimis*, of the 25th April, 1905.

Owing to the special difficulties under which the Irish Church has hitherto laboured this law has not found its full application in this country, at least as far as the preaching of special sermons in the way of catechetical instructions is concerned, and the practice up to the present has been to preach only the usual homily after the Gospel during the parochial Mass. Some authors incline to hold that the practice of preaching only one sermon on Sundays and holidays may be retained wherever it is prevailing, provided in that sermon, both the explanation of the Gospel and the catechetical instruction are combined together, fulfilling in that way the requirements of the law of the Church.² If the Council of Trent, they tell us, binds pastors of souls, both to explain the Gospel and to

¹ Cf. Conc. Trid. sess. v. c. 2; sess. xxii. c. 8; sess xxiv. c. 4-7.

² Cf. Berardi, *De Parocho*, p. 107.

impart practical instruction to the people as to the different points of faith and morals, it is not evident from the wording of the Tridentine law that all *that* must be accomplished in two distinct and different sermons, and if two sermons are preached for that purpose in some parts of the Church that is only a practice introduced by custom; a custom which either was never introduced in some countries or may be abolished by contrary custom in the same manner as it was introduced.¹

Other and more competent authorities hold the opposite view, maintaining that by general law of the Church two sermons must be preached, and that the delivering of only one sermon was due either to special local circumstances or custom in some parts of the Church. Benedict XIV, for instance, in his Constitution *Etsi minime*, clearly points to the fact that the injunction of having two separate sermons is contained in the Council of Trent, and the present Pope in the aforesaid Encyclical writes: 'Non enim fortasse desint qui minuendi laboris cupidi persuadeant sibi homeliā pro catechesi esse posse. Quod quam putatur perperam consideranti patet.' But whatever may be the opinion of experts as to the lawfulness of the custom of preaching only one sermon, now after the publication of the *Constitution* of Pius X on the teaching of Christian Doctrine, there is no doubt that all parish priests are bound to preach two sermons on Sundays and holidays, in one explaining the Gospel, in the other giving a catechetical instruction. In fact, in the sixth rule of his document he orders that:—

Parochi universi ceterique animarum curam gerentes praeter consuetam homeliā de Evāgelio quae festis diebus omnibus in parochiali sacro est habenda, ea hora qua opportuniorem duxerint ad populi frequentiam . . . catechesim ad fideles instituant facili quidem sermone et ad captum accommodato.

He orders, moreover, that this law be carried out completely, at once and everywhere.

¹ Berengo, *Enchiridion Parochorum*, n. 65, says, 'Hinc laudabilis omnium inolevit consuetudo peculiarem tradendi catechesim rudioribus adultis.'

It may be urged against it that this is a general law and does not abolish particular contrary practices without special mention, but this objection disappears when we take into consideration that the Irish Bishops have already made a new regulation for the Irish Church, by which they approve of and carry out the rules of the Encyclical on the teaching of Christian Doctrine, somewhat modifying them as to mode and time in virtue of the powers granted to them by the Holy See, 24th July, 1905. They dispose that catechetical instructions to adults must be given in this country, following the subjects of the programme to be drawn up by each bishop who has to make it in conformity with the directions laid down in the Encyclical. As regards the time, they wish that the catechetical instruction be given at the evening devotions on Sundays, or at one of the Masses in the morning in churches where there are no evening devotions. In churches where there is only one Mass and there are no evening devotions the sermon and catechetical instruction may be preached on alternate Sundays.

This arrangement, if found impossible or inconvenient in some parishes, is subject to modification by the diocesan superior, provided the modification be within the limits of the powers granted to the bishop by the Holy See.¹

**HOW FAR THE USE OF PRAYER BOOKS NOT BEARING THE
ECCLESIASTICAL APPROBATION IS FORBIDDEN**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly state whether it is lawful to use prayer or meditation books, or other books of similar character which do not bear any *imprimatur* of the competent ecclesiastical authority. At present the shelves of Catholic book-sellers are full of those books which are sold to the people, and are kept and read throughout the country, without the slightest notion of violating any law. Some say that if books and especially pamphlets, are composed of prayers taken from approved collections, they do not require a special approbation of the superior. How far is that true?

LECTOR.

According to Art. 41 of the Constitution, *Officiorum*

¹ Cf. *Appen. of Maynooth Synod Decrees*, pp. 402-403.

et munerum, of 1897, issued by the Congregation of the Index, all sorts of books concerning faith, morals and religious subjects of every description are subject to ecclesiastical revision, and require the superior's approbation before their publication. Moreover, the ecclesiastical censure and approbation of these books is necessary, not only for the first edition, but for the second and further editions, as Art. 44 of the same Constitution clearly points out ; because the competent ecclesiastical authority must be certain, and testify that the subsequent editions of a book are identical with the first, and that modifications and additions, if any, are not objectionable from the religious and moral point of view.

Now, prayer books coming within the purview of those laws, not only require ecclesiastical revision and approbation for the first edition, but also for further editions ; and even in the case that prayer books are composed of a number of articles or prayers taken from approved books or collections. The reason why these latter books must be submitted to ecclesiastical censure is the same as in the case of the second or further editions of already approved book ; and whenever there is the same reason, the same disposition of the law must be applied, according to the rule of law : ' Ubi eadem est ratio eadem esse debet iuris dispositio.' Only in one case religious books of any kind do not need ecclesiastical approbation and that is when these books are not to be published in the strict sense of the word, but are compiled for private use and circulation within the precincts of a college or seminary and like institutions ; as the aforesaid Constitution requires an ecclesiastical approbation only for those works which are to be *publ ci iuris*.

As to the use and retention of prayer and similar books without the approval of the superior, the ecclesiastical law is more strict than in the case of other books. Some works which require an *imprimatur* of the superior, if published without it may be read and retained, whereas if prayer books fail to show any signs of the superior's revision and approval they cannot be lawfully used and kept.

The Art. 20 of the Constitution *Officiorum* states : ' Libros aut libellos precum, devotionis vel doctrinae, institutionisque religiosae, moralis, asceticae, mysticae aliosque huiusmodi, quamvis ad fovendam populi christianam pietatem conducere videantur, nemo praeter legitimam auctoritatis licentiam publicet ; secus prohibiti habeantur.' Here we have a double prohibition, one regards authors and editors who are not allowed to publish those books before submitting them to ecclesiastical censure, the other regards the faithful who are forbidden to use them if devoid of the necessary approbation.

As to the first part of the prohibition we maintain that there is no instance when editors and authors do not commit a fault—unless they are in *bona fide*—if they disregard this rule, and no matter whether it be question of the first or further editing of prayer books or similar religious works ; but with regard to the prohibition of using them, we share the opinion of those who maintain that this prohibition is not to be interpreted as strictly as the other. Hence a distinction is to be made. If there is question of prayer books and books of similar nature of which it is morally certain that they received the ecclesiastical approbation in their first edition, and which do not show any signs of the superior's approval in their further editions, they may be used and kept if perfectly identical with the first edition already approved by the competent superior. But if, on the contrary, they are published for the first time, although devotional and good, they cannot be used ; we believe, however, that it is not a grave fault to read and keep them if they are well known and positively good books and recommended as such by theologians, spiritual fathers and other similar competent authorities.¹

¹ Cf. Gennari, *Monit. Eccl.*, vol. 18, p. 231.

SUSPENSION OF CURATES BY PARISH PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—What is meant by saying that in certain cases a Parish Priest may suspend a Curate? Could, for instance, a Curate hear confessions validly during that time?

AMICUS.

It is a common opinion among canonists that if a curate commits a grave and public crime by which he renders himself unworthy of exercising his ministry, he may be suspended from his office by the parish priest of the place, who is mainly responsible for the discipline and administration of the parish, and has the duty of preventing scandal and improper administration of the parochial office. This suspension lasts until the bishop is communicated with and acquainted with the case in order to give his decision. However, that suspension is not to be confounded with the canonical penalty and censure of that name: it is a suspension in a loose sense of the word, or properly speaking a mere prohibition and an act of administration. Hence if a curate under such a prohibition continues exercising his ministry and, for instance, hears confessions, he commits an act of disobedience and is responsible for the scandal he may give; but all his acts of jurisdiction are valid since he is not deprived of his powers; nor does he incur the irregularity attached to the violation of ecclesiastical censures.

S. LUZIO.

DOCUMENTS

COMMUNION OF THE SICK NOT FASTING

Proposito in S. Congregatione dubio : An nomine infirmorum qui a mense decumbunt, et idcirco juxta Decretum diei 7 Decembris 1906, S. Eucharistiam non jejuni sumere possunt, intelligantur solummodo infirmi qui in lecto decumbunt, an potius comprehendantur quoque qui, quamvis gravi morbo correpti et ex medici judicio naturale jejunium servare non valentes, nihilominus in lecto decumbere non possunt, aut ex aliquibus horis diei surgere queunt.

Eadem S. Congregatio diei 6 Martii 1907 respondendum censuit : *Comprehendi, facto verbo cum SSmo. ad cautelam.*

Die vero 25 Martii currentis anni SS^{mus} Dñus Noster Pius PP. X, audita relatione infrascripti Secretarii S. C. Concilii resolutionem ejusdem S. C. ratam habere et confirmare benigne dignatus est et publicari mandavit, contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

VINCENTIUS Card. Episc. Praen., *Praefectus.*
C. DE LAI, *Secretarius.*

L. ✱ S.

CATHOLIC CLERICAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL

THE Fifth Annual Meeting of the Central Council of the Catholic Clerical Association of Managers of Irish National Schools, was held in Dublin, on June 13. The Chairman, Right Rev. Mgr. Keller, v.g., p.p., Youghal, presided. The members present, and the diocese they represented were as follows :—

Meath—Very Rev. John Curry, v.f., p.p., St. Mary's, Drogheda ; Ardagh—Right Rev. Mgr. O'Farrell, v.g., p.p., Ardagh ; Clogher—Rev. P. Keown, Adm., Monaghan ; Derry—Very Rev. J. Doherty, v.f., p.p., Roseville, Carndonagh ; Down and Connor—Very Rev. F. O'Donnell, p.p., Antrim ; Dromore—Very Rev. D. Mallon, v.f., p.p., Rostrevor ; Kilmore—Very Rev. P. Finegan, v.g., p.p., Ballyconnell ; Raphoe—Right Rev. Mgr. M'Glynn, v.g., p.p., Stranorlar ; Dublin—Very Rev. M. Canon O'Hea, p.p., Ballybrack ; Kildare and Leighlin—Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, d.d., v.g., p.p., Maryboro' ; Ferns—Very Rev.

W. Canon Whitty, v.F., P.P., Newtownbarry; Ossory—Very Rev. P. Canon Phelan, v.F., P.P., Slieverue, Waterford; Cashel—Very Rev. J. J. Duan, v.F., P.P., Murroe, Limerick; Cloyne—Right Rev. Mgr. Keller, v.G., P.P., Youghal; Cork—Very Rev. Dean Shinkwin, v.G., P.P., St. Patrick's, Cork; Kerry—Ven. Archdeacon O'Leary, v.G., P.P., Kenmare; Killaloe—Very Rev. Dean Scanlan, v.G., P.P., Birr; Limerick—Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, D.D., v.G., P.P., Newcastle-West; Waterford and Lismore—Very Rev. Dean Flynn, v.F., P.P., Ballybricken; Tuam—Right Rev. Mgr. Barrett, v.G., P.P., Headford; Achonry—Very Rev. Dean Staunton, D.D., P.P., Kilconduff, Swineford; Clonfert—Very Rev. J. Corcoran, v.F., P.P., Kilmalinoge, Portumna; Elphin—Right Rev. Mgr. Kelly, D.D., v.G., P.P., Athlone; Killala—Right Rev. Mgr. O'Hara, v.F., P.P., Crossmolina; Very Rev. Canon Macken, Adm., Provincial Secretary, Tuam.

Apologies for unavoidable absence were received from: Armagh—Right Rev. Dean Byrne, v.G., P.P., Dungannon; Ross—Right Rev. Mgr. O'Leary, v.F., P.P., Clonakilty; Galway and Kilmacduagh—Right Rev. Mgr. Fahy, D.D., v.G., P.P., Gort; Very Rev. P. Canon M'Geeney, v.F., P.P., Crossmaglen, Provincial Secretary for Armagh; and Very Rev. M. A. Canon Fricker, P.P., Rathmines, Provincial Secretary for Dublin.

Reports were read from the Provincial Councils of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam. The following resolutions were adopted:—

I.

'That, being convinced that the first condition of the development and progress of Primary Education is the possession of an efficient and contented body of teachers, we see no prospect of this being secured until the questions of salary, pension, and promotion are placed on a satisfactory basis, and until the unreasonable restrictions of the civil rights of teachers are removed.'

II.

'That we have learned with surprise that Mr. Bryce, the late Chief Secretary, told the House of Commons in August last that the continuance in office of the present Resident Commissioner was not objected to by the Catholic Managers of Ireland. That we direct our Secretaries to draw the attention of Mr. Birrell to the resolution we had unanimously adopted at our previous meeting on June the 5th, and which had been duly forwarded to Mr. Bryce. That we renew that resolution (a copy of which is subjoined) regarding the unfitness of Dr. Starkie for his present position, and the difficulty of the Managers and the Board acting in harmony, in the work of education, as

long as he continues to exercise authority or control. That his recent utterances in London as representative of the Board of Irish National Education, when he sneered at the character of his countrymen after the manner of the stage Irishman, and spoke of the Managers of the National Schools of Ireland with studied affront and insolence, confirm us in regarding him as unfit for his present position. That we earnestly hope that the sentiments of Dr. Starkie and his manner of expressing them find no favour with any other member of the National Board.'

III.

'That we protest against the action of the Imperial Treasury in refusing the sum of £100,000 a year for five years applied for by the Board of National Education for school buildings, and promising instead a miserable £40,000 a year for three years. We declare that the amount promised, especially in view of the number of pressing applications for new schools since 1902, and of the suspension of grants for several years, is altogether inadequate to meet the wants of better school accommodation.'

IV.

'That we renew our objection in the strongest manner we are able to the amalgamation project of the National Board.'

V.

'That we are gratified to learn that the fees are to be restored for the teaching of Irish in the Primary Schools of the country, and we would strenuously urge that the payments be extended for the lower standards, otherwise, as all experts know, the teaching of Irish in the schools can never be effective.'

VI.

'That we earnestly impress upon Managers and teachers the importance of having Irish taught in all Primary Schools.'

VII.

'That we thank the Munster Managers for their vigorous action last year in objecting to certain publications in the journal *Our Schools*, and we are pleased to find that no necessity now exists for any expression of our views on the matter.'

VIII.

'That we request the Chief Secretary to require that proposed changes in the Rules and Regulations of the National Board be laid on the Table of the House of Commons for a month before being put in force.'

IX.

'That we learn with regret of the refusal of the Board of National Education to admit *The Story of Ireland*, by A. M. Sullivan, as an historical reader, for use in our National Schools, and that we regard this refusal as a continuation of the Board's ancient policy of keeping the Irish people ignorant of the history of their country, and stamping out the spirit of nationality amongst them.'

The following is the resolution referred to in No. 2 :—

'That, as a new Government has recently come into office, our Secretary be directed to bring under the notice of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the profound and widespread dissatisfaction that exists amongst the Catholic Clerical School Managers at the continuance in office of Dr. Starkie, Resident Commissioner, who unwarrantably slandered us in a public address delivered in Belfast, in 1903, and by the aid of garbled and distorted official documents not then, nor for months, after available to the public. In that address he sneered at our exertions to erect and adorn our churches, and almost avowed his desire to deprive us of our position and powers as School Managers. His conduct unrepented of, makes impossible the existence of such good will and cordial feeling as the interests of education require, between the virtual head of the Education Department, and the Managers of the vast majority of the Schools of Ireland.'

The reports of Dr. Starkie's London addresses, upon which the Council relied for its information, are to be found in *The Times* of the 25th and 27th May.

THE NOTES OF THE NEW EDITIONS OF GREGORIAN CHANT

SS. RITUM CONGREGATIO

CIRCA FORMAM NOTULARUM IN EDITIONIBUS CANTUS
GREGORIANI.EPISTOLA AD EDITORES PARISIENSES BIAIS, LETHIELLEUX ET
LECOFFRE.

Messieurs,

Rome, ce 2 mai 1906.

En réponse à votre lettre du 9 avril dernier, j'ai l'honneur, de la part de mes supérieurs, de vous confirmer que, pour ce qui est des signes rythmiques, le décret de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites du 12 février est très clair et très précis. L'édition Vaticane typique, avec sa notation la plus purement traditionnelle,

donnant le rythme de la tradition, renferme sans doute les indications nécessaires et suffisantes pour la pratique. Néanmoins le Très Saint-Père a cru devoir tolérer, sous certaines garanties et réserves spécialement exigées, l'adjonction de certains signes supplémentaires avec la permission des Ordinaires, *permittenter Ordinario*, et encore avec une grande circonspection. La décret du 12 février ne condamne donc pas d'une manière absolue toute édition contenant des signes de ce genre ; mais il ne peut être, d'autre part, regardé comme une approbation. Ce qui résulte des termes mêmes du décret, c'est que celui-ci oblige de respecter toujours l'intégrité de la notation typique. Les commentaires erronés qui ont présenté ce décret comme une approbation de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites ne pourraient avoir aucune valeur, ni ne sauraient tirer à aucune conséquence.

Je suis, Messieurs les Editeurs,

Votre très dévoué,

✠ D. PANICI, Archevêque de Laodicée, *Secrétaire*.

INDULGENCE OF PORTIUNCULA

S. CONGREGATIO INDULGENTIARUM ET SS. RELIQUIARUM.

INDULGENTIA PLENARIA QUOTIDIANA BASILICAE S. MARIAE ANGELORUM DE PORTIUNCULA APPLICARI VALET ETIAM DEFUNCTIS.

Beatissime Pater,

Hodiernus Procurator generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, se ad Sanctitatis Vestrae pedes humillime provolvit, enixe implorans ut indulgentia Plenaria per Summum Pontificem Innocentium XII, in Bulla *Redemptoris*, die 18 Augusti 1695, fidelibus concessa ad Basilicam Sanctae Mariae Angelorum de Portiuncula intra fines dioeceseos Assisiensis '*confluentibus, qui illam vere poenitentes et confessi ac sacra communione refecti, in quocumque anni die devote visitaverint, et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, ac sanctae Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint*' ; non solum pro vivis, sed etiam pro defunctis valeat applicari, sicque fidelium votis annuatur, qui ad Sanctuarium illud Assisiense etiam animabus suorum defunctorum suffragaturi per annum saepe conveniunt.

Et Deus etc.

Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, utendo facultatibus a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X sibi tributis, benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, e Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis, die 14 Novembris 1906.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

THE BISHOP AT MASS AND BLESSING THE PEOPLE
OUTSIDE OF MASS

DE CHIAPAS.

DUBIA CIRCA RITUS SERVANDOS AB EPISCOPO MISSAE ADSISTENTE
ET POPULO EXTRA MISSAM BENEDICENTE.

Reverendissimus Dñus. Franciscus Orozco y Liménez Episcopus de Chiapas in Mexico, qui responsionem accepit a Sacra Congregatione Rituum posse, attentis circumstantiis locorum, thronum conscendere mozzetta tantum indutus, postea ulterius quaesivit :

I. An, attentis iisdem circumstantiis, cum ipse Episcopus mozzettam gerens Missae solemniter assistit, ritus iidem servari possint praescripti a Caeremoniali Episcoporum, cum Episcopus cappa magna indutus Missae solemniter assistit ?

II. An Episcopus qui sacram Communionem extra Missam distribuit, post eam debeat benedicere more solito dicendo : *Sit nomen Domini benedictum* etc., et efformando tres cruces ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, omnibusque perpensis rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. '*Negative, sed servantur Caeremoniale Episcoporum et decreta S.R.C., scilicet :*

1°. Episcopus rochetto et mozzetta indutus non habet assistentiam canonicorum.—Decr. n. 650.

2°. Incensum non imponit nec benedicit.—Decr. n. 3110 ad 21.

3°. Nec benedicit subdiaconum post Epistolam nec diaconum ante Evangelium cantandum, nec librum Evangeliorum osculatur.—Decr. n. 3110 ad 22.

4°. Semel tantum thurificatur post oblata.—Decr. n. 2195 ad 2, et Caerem. lib. II, cap. 9, n. 8.

5°. Pacem accipit a diacono Evangelii.—Decr. n. 2089 ad 5.

6°. In fine Missae populum non benedicit.

Ad II. '*Affirmative.*'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 23 Novembris 1906.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

TEMPERANCE CATECHISM and Manual of the Total Abstinence League of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, for the use of Colleges, Schools, and Educational Establishments. By the Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J. Dublin : *Messenger Office*, 5, Great Denmark Street. New Edition. 1907. Price 1d.

WE can sincerely welcome this new edition of the *Temperance Catechism*, and hope it will be used in the 'Colleges, Schools, and Educational Establishments' even more largely than the original edition has been. Instruction in Temperance and Hygiene is now—nominally, at least—compulsory in our National Schools. The compulsion might, with profit, be extended to our intermediate schools and seminaries as well. It is sad to see how slow we are about instructing the youth, about safeguarding them against the insidious dangers of meddling in a free and easy way with intoxicating drink. If the rising generations—before their tastes are vitiated by indulgence and their young minds poisoned with ignorant prejudice—were only taught the naked truth about alcohol, the priest would have a very easy task indeed in keeping them temperate in after life.

In this little *Catechism* we have the 'plain, unvarnished tale,' the long litany of facts and figures that none can or dare gainsay; and they form sufficiently sad and instructive reading. But I am wrong: they *are* gainsaid, for they form such a terrible indictment of the drinking custom, of the drink traffic, of those who have allowed it, and are allowing it to throw out its dreadful tentacles over society, and to suck the physical and moral vitality out of the nation,—that vain efforts are made to question the trustworthiness of those facts and figures, not, indeed by any honest attempt to disprove them, but by the unworthy insinuation that they are unreliable and exaggerated because they are compiled in the interests of temperance, and show only one side of the question. They *are* compiled in the interests of temperance, undoubtedly; but alas! the advocates of temperance do not need to have recourse to any exaggeration of the evils they combat. Advocates of temperance merely want to have the light let in on the naked enormity of those evils. They court the fullest and openest discussion of every *pro* and *con*, of every fact and detail concerning alcoholic drinks; for they are

convinced that once *public opinion is enlightened*, once the people generally feel and realize the evils of excess and the blessings of temperance, they will not hesitate to make a right and reasonable choice.

An all-important centre of enlightenment is the school: let us trust that Father Cullen's *Catechism* will be as widely availed of as it certainly deserves.

It is almost needless to refer to the plan of the little book. An elementary section of simple questions and answers covers nearly every aspect of the drink question within a dozen pages. Then an advanced section, extending over some fifty pages, takes up each aspect in detail, adding readings and remarks by way of illustrating the answers. The religious motive is very rightly made to predominate and to permeate the whole; an appendix is added explaining the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, and enumerating the recently granted Indulgences.

P. C.

MANUAL OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Compiled for use with the Catechism ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth. By Rev. P. Power. Dublin: James Duffy & Co., Ltd.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of catechists the above named manual, by Rev. P. Power, Lecturer in Christian Doctrine at the Training College, Waterford. It is intended as a supplement to the Maynooth Catechism, the order of which it follows, chapter by chapter. It is rarely that condensation and clearness can be combined with success, but in the present case the author has perfectly succeeded. There is not an unnecessary sentence from beginning to end; each has something to convey that is worth remembering—theological nuggets would not be an inappropriate title. An important feature is the gradation that is marked by the use of asterisks, indicating matter for First Communion class, for Confirmation class, and for advanced pupils. In the marking much judgment and experience have been shown, and the Manual for this alone will be found of great importance to teachers. For them it has been intended throughout, and the author shows that he understands that characteristic of human mind, namely, its liking, after just enough has been said, to do the amplifying for itself. Under the lesson on prayer, he gives the old Irish forms of salutation, so full of piety and beauty, and makes an appeal for their use again. The little volume costs only sixpence, and by catechists it will be found worth many times that small sum.

P. A. B.

A HOMILY OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT ON THE PASTORAL OFFICE. Translated by the Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M.
Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. London : Art and Book Co.

THIS little pamphlet comes in very suitably at the present season when so many priests are preparing to make their yearly retreat. It is a translation of a very important homily of St. Gregory on the duties of the clergy ; and the fact that it comes from the respected President of the Irish College in Paris is enough to recommend it. This particular homily has been strongly recommended to Bishops and priests by His Holiness Pope Pius X, who says :—

‘Read, Venerable Brethren, that admirable homily of the holy Pontiff, and make your clergy read and ponder it, especially at the time of their annual retreat.’

Father Boyle prefaces his translation with a very interesting and suitable little sketch of the life of St. Gregory.

J. F. H.

MEDITATIONS FOR SECULAR PRIESTS. By Father Chaignon, S.J. New York : Benziger Brothers. Price 18s.

FATHER CHAIGNON, though not a secular priest himself, had a remarkable knowledge of the life, trials, and temptations of the secular clergy. Practically thirty years of his life were spent in giving retreats to them. In these Meditations we have the burning thoughts and fatherly advice which he impressed during these retreats. These Meditations have run through many editions in French, and are now translated into English by Dr. De Goesbriand. In the first volume, in Father Chaignon's own words, ‘the whole system of the sanctification of the priest, according to the admirable plan of the exercises of St. Ignatius, is what we offer to our brother priests.’ Here the whole evolution of the spiritual life is unfolded, and everywhere the Great Model and High Priest is kept before our eyes. In the second volume meditations are arranged for the different seasons of the liturgical year. Here we are led to a new and deep understanding of the solemnities and mysteries which are commemorated in the different seasons. It is impossible to ponder on these subjects as suggested by Father Chaignon without catching at least some measure of his solid piety and religious joy.

What is specially to be admired in these Meditations is their cohesion and connexion. The great truths of religion are so bound together and made to support one another that, as we meditate, we instinctively feel we are being nourished with the

strong living word of God. Most other Meditations that we are acquainted with are either incoherent homilies, or a collection of pious ejaculations. Father Chaignon's work is so large and exhaustive that it would be fruitless to endeavour to outline the ground over which it travels. Suffice it to say that these Meditations will furnish food for a life's reflection. We sincerely recommend the work to any priest in search of a suitable meditation book.

P. B.

THE DECREES OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. Edited by Father M'Nabb, O.P. London: Burns & Oates. Price 2s. net.

THIS little work is an English translation of the Decrees of the Vatican Council. Of course those who know Latin will prefer to read the Decrees in their original form. Yet it must be remembered that though all do not know Latin the teaching of the Vatican was intended for all. Thus, although perhaps no crying need was felt for such a translation, a great service has been rendered to the English reading public by Father M'Nabb. He has put within easy reach of all the momentous results at which the Vatican Fathers arrived after those 222 days of labour and deliberation.

P. B.

JOSEPHINE'S TROUBLES. By Percy Fitzgerald. London: Burns & Oates. Price 5s.

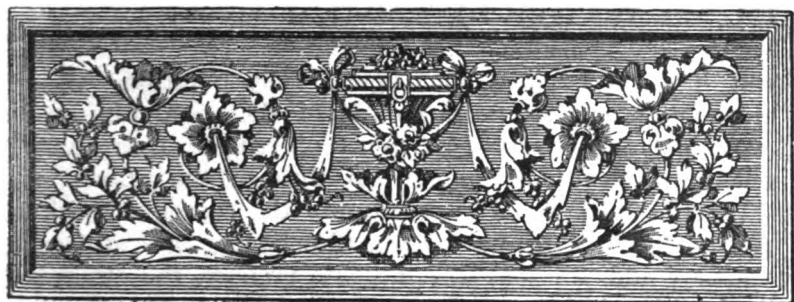
THIS work is a story of the great Franco-German War, and is told with considerable skill. No remarkably dramatic scenes, however, are painted, nor stirring episodes introduced. The pictures given of the exactions of the German soldiery, and of the sufferings and humiliations of the French are vivid. Whether the author has succeeded in communicating the interest of those stirring times each reader must decide for himself. The author claims one merit for his story, 'that it faithfully reflects the whole time and agitations of the great war of 1870.' The title would hardly suggest such a large programme. The author at any rate succeeds in telling a pretty little story, in which occasionally we feel 'the strain and local colouring of those days.'

P. B.

THE TRAINING OF SILAS. By Rev. E. J. Devine, S.J.
New York : Benziger Brothers. Price 1s. net.

IN the *Training of Silas* the priest will find a book which he can recommend to even the tenderest of his flock. It is the history of the establishment of a Free Library, worked into a charming story. We may be surprised how quickly things are done in America—thus, it only requires a few months to subscribe about £20,000, and have it converted into a flourishing library. In Ireland we would require a somewhat longer time. Father Devine does not stop to unravel any deep psychological processes. Silas, the conceited old millionaire, is converted 'by leaps and bounds.' Information on many points will be found in the book. The question of the Index, the attitude of the Church to error, and many questions relating to Free Libraries are discussed and ably treated by the characters. Father Devine has given us a work thoroughly Catholic in tone, which will not fail to instruct and amuse.

P. B.



THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION ✓

I HAVE already glanced,¹ in a general way, at the main position of evolutionary ethnology regarding civilization. Taking morality and religion as the test of civilization, and judging by this standard, I could not help concluding that retrogression and not advance produced the state of culture in the world at the coming of Christ when the Christian religion was to form the basis of a new and lasting civilization. The subject I wish to consider briefly now is the evolution of religion itself. I should deem it superfluous to treat of morality as a separate question. { Morality and religion have ever gone and must ever go hand in hand—notwithstanding Huxley, Tylor and others to the contrary. Morality without religion is a thing impossible, and religion, in any true sense of the word, without morality is a thing unknown. } In any case what we shall have to say on religion will throw sufficient light, for the present purpose, on the allied subject of morality.

By religion I understand, not that very latest (if indeed it be at all new) in the way of theories of religion, that modern mysticism, that religious *feeling* which to the human being is as natural and necessary, we are informed, as eating or breathing, but a belief in God or gods and relations of some kind between Him or them and man—a meaning which all men, with very few exceptions (and their number is not likely to increase very rapidly), give

¹ I. E. RECORD, February and March.

and have ever given to religion. The question, then, before us is : What is to be said of that final phase of evolution, the development, viz., of religion from hazy phantoms of primitive man up through the ghosts of savagery, the gods of classic times, the supreme Deities of Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, and still on, must we add, towards that ultimate product, the etherealized spirit, which (not 'who,' remember) is engaging the attention of the most 'advanced' school of 'modern thought' ? We find religion in almost every possible state all over the world, among the savage races of Australia, Africa, North and South America, among Brahmins, Buddhists, Mohammedans, Christians. How are we to account for such differences in the religions of the world ? Two theories are put forward : 1st. There is 'the old degeneration theory,' which explains the polytheism of the savage and of the barbarian as degeneration from a primitive monotheism, and the monotheistic religions of the world as a continuation of, or reversion to that original monotheism ; and 2nd. There is the evolution theory of many anthropologists, according to which all the religions of the world, polytheism first and ultimately monotheism, had their origin practically in *Phantoms of the Night*. The anthropological position may be sufficiently outlined as follows.

We are now dealing with early man, be it understood, as conceived of according to the Darwinian hypothesis.

The first psychological conclusion arrived at by primitive man was that there was *something* in him or belonging to him, not identical with his body. How was the notion of this something acquired and developed ? It was not difficult for him to observe a difference of some kind between the sleeping and the waking states, and that there was a great similarity between sleep and death, with this difference, however, that persons woke from sleep but not from death. Looking for an explanation of all this, dreams gave him the key to the mystery. Observing that in sleep he sometimes visited distant places, and perhaps conversed with distant persons, he naturally concluded that something of him must have gone off and wandered

abroad during sleep, returning after a time to make him again the moving, walking, speaking man he had been before. Then it did not require much reasoning to come to the conclusion that if the *something* had not returned, he could move, walk, speak no longer—he should be dead.

Man has now reached the notion of soul, life, breath, something, at all events, separable from the body, though still undefined. The next step is not a long one. Seeing that other men live, move, and sleep just as he does, it is but natural to conclude that they also should have a similar something by which they live and act. And, indeed, what are those human shapes he sees in sleep? Are they, too, souls wandering about just like his own? Undoubtedly. Now his thoughts are taking shape; the mystery is unravelling; the riddle is being solved. He has now an idea of life and of *phantom* separable from the body. *Componendo*, his conclusion is that the principle of life is that 'shape' he sees in dream, that 'apparitional soul,' that 'ghost soul'—call it what you will, the thing is there. And this is the thing which leaves the body in sleep to return again, leaves it in death to return no more. Already we have primitive man provided with a theory of souls separable from the body. In fact, the conviction is irresistibly borne in upon him of the truth of one of our most cherished doctrines, and at the same time one most difficult of proof, the immortality of the human soul.

Once our ancient ancestors got it into their heads that souls separated from the body continued in existence they would see at once that these spirits might be agents for good or evil. So, in their practical wisdom, our savage forefathers, still in the flesh, would be friends with the departed spirits and try to please them. Behold 'ghost' or 'ancestor' worship!

As the number of spirits increased it was only natural that some should get more attention than others, that those who were superior to the rest during life should be looked upon as superior after death, that the spirit of the head chief who ruled the tribe in his mortal days should continue his headship in Ghostland. 'The

theory of family manes,' says Mr. Tylor, 'carried back to tribal gods leads us to the recognition of superior deities of the nature of Divine ancestor or first man.' Already our primitive philosophers have arrived at the conception of Primacy amongst the spirits, and working along these lines they must ultimately come to the notion of one Supreme Being. As the evolution was going on in this way it would occur to men that there may be, in fact that there very likely are, spirits that were never incarcerated in clumsy flesh. Given these and the idea of supremacy amongst spirits generally, we can easily account for the evolution of the God of Israel, of Islam, of Buddha, of Christianity and the rest. While the multiplicity of spirits increased in men's minds, other things besides persons and animals began to be regarded as living, and Animism slowly but surely rose to the dignity of an article of faith in the savage creed.

Animism is generally understood to mean a belief in the animation of *all* things, that everything is somehow or other possessed of a spirit. I am not certain of the meaning Mr. Tylor, with whose name animism is inseparably linked, attaches to the word. He defines animism as 'a belief in souls and in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits.' Elsewhere he calls attention to the fact that children beat chairs, stones, sticks, etc., which have hurt them, just the same as if they were living; the children thereby showing that they look upon these, to us inanimate objects, in the same way as they look upon persons and animals. 'The savage mind, therefore,' he concludes, 'well represents the childish stage.'¹ Whatever meaning be given to the word the idea of animism is not innate, neither is the animistic doctrine a self-evident necessary truth. It must, therefore, be a conclusion arrived at by some process of reasoning. You must have acquired some knowledge of spirit, before you can believe in its existence; you must have got some notion of a life-giving principle before you can attribute life to all things, as children are said to do. In fact, according to the anthro-

¹ *Primitive Culture*, i., pp. 285, 286.

pological teaching animism *must* be a conclusion from some kind of premises. If this is so, how, it may be asked, does the childish stage correspond to the hypothetical savage mind? Does the child beat the chair because it has seen people asleep and people dead and marked the difference, because it has dreamed and seen phantoms of others in dream, and then by some process of mental gymnastics has come to the conclusion that the chair is living? If this be not the case, and evidently it is impossible, how does the action of the child represent the primitive state of the race? The action of the child is absurd, and Mr. Tylor would at once admit its absurdity. It is downright nonsense to attribute life to a stone or block of wood over which a child may have chanced to fall. But this represents the state of mind of the early savage. The conclusion is obvious. All religion is a 'scientific absurdity,' based as it is on savage dreams which are as nonsensical as the action of a child beating a chair for having caused it pain. This, therefore, is the direction in which anthropology would have us follow.

This ingenious theory—proposed to explain the origin and development of the religions of the world—it will at once be observed, credits the primitive reasoner with such an amount of intellectual acumen as would entitle him to rank with the foremost thinkers of the twentieth century. Away back at the hardly perceptible dawn of human intelligence, when the mind rose 'into its first prominence during a long, silent and dateless interval which preceded the era of monumental records,'¹ the human animal, just coming out victorious from the fight for existence (by the way, what was the fight? and were not the enemy victorious too?), set about originating and working out a theory practically the same as that which, after incalculable ages, philosophers are now putting forward with the greatest hesitation.

It is just this reasoning power, with which the early metaphysician was presumably gifted, that makes the whole

¹ H. Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, p. 163.

theory to my mind a real dilemma. *Ex hypothesi* early man must have been possessed of intelligence enough to originate and work out such a theory, and this amount of intelligence would have been sufficient to discover to him the difficulties (to be noted presently) which would make his psychology impossible; in other words, the intelligence required to work out the theory would be sufficient to realize its absurdity. I purpose to examine briefly the system from two view-points—its origin and its development. 1st. Is the theory in itself a natural, reasonable, consistent method by which we might suppose primitive man to start on the way towards a Supreme, Eternal, Creative Being? 2nd. Does our knowledge of the religions of the different races support or contradict the theory? It is with the savage races we are principally concerned, for, according to anthropology, these are the best representatives of primitive culture.

A.—THE GHOST THEORY, ITS ORIGIN

1. We must bear in mind that in discussing the origin of religion according to the anthropological hypothesis, as expounded by Mr. Tylor and his school, we are treating of an age in the history of the race of which we have absolutely no knowledge, nay, the very existence of which, from a strictly scientific point of view, might be very seriously questioned. Palæolithic man, on the Darwinian hypothesis, is a being of whose mental condition we can scarcely, if at all, form any idea. In the almost 'palpable obscure' of that extremely remote age we must confess we can see exceedingly little. We may invent theories till we are tired, we may form hypotheses to fill volumes, yet after all, the most we can say is, this might perhaps have happened. But, can even this much be claimed for the theory now under consideration?

It is quite reasonable to suppose that early savages, with whatever degree of intellectuality we conceive them to have been endowed, could observe the difference between the sleeping and the waking states, and also the similarity and difference between sleep and death. But here, I fear, the primitive reasoner would find

himself face to face with a difficulty altogether insuperable, notwithstanding the intellectual endowments with which anthropologists are willing to credit him. To the early observer the only difference between sleep and death is breathing. Breath then is the something which gives life; it is the something which makes a dead man different from a living man. Proceeding then to imaginary wanderings in dream he asks himself: Is it this breath which goes off when he himself dreams? Surely not; for even a savage breathes in sleep. If he does conclude that it is this breath or breathing principle which in some way or other leaves the body, he must give up the distinction he already made between sleep and death—for *ex hypothesi* his sum total of psychological lore being so far confined to that distinction, if he does give up that distinction, then he finds himself in *statu quo*.

Perhaps he starts, not with observations of sleep and death, but with his experiences gained in dreams. Let us see how this would work out the idea of soul or spirit. Remember, again, our hypothesis is that he has absolutely no notion of anything in his nature distinct from a material body. He is going to acquire his first conception of spirit; or rather we are going to try to form that first conception for him. He dreams that he visits distant places and converses with distant persons. What does this mean to the primitive savage mind? *He* has been away, during sleep, over the mountains, through the woods, wading the rivers, leaping the streams, 'catching the wild goat by the hair, and hurling his lances in the sun,' yet awakens up where he laid him down! Will he at once jump to the conclusion that something of him has been away in the interval, if as yet he does not even suspect the existence of that something? And even if he had a vague idea of something like soul, how could he consider it capable of leaving the body? Would you undertake to convince him of the possibility of such a thing without a surgical operation? And if he did consider it possible, how would he regard death?

Though I do not agree with Mr. Spencer that a savage could not distinguish between 'I saw' and

'I dreamed I saw,'¹ still no matter what be the richness or poverty of the savage vocabulary the subject of his sentence would be *I*, which to the savage we are considering is a material body and nothing else.

In order to arrive at the idea which this theory demands, the early dreamer must have distinguished between himself lying in a certain place and himself at the same time in a different place, a distinction which to my mind neither primitive man nor any other man, with a few modern exceptions, would ever think of making. It is putting rather a strain on human faith to ask us to believe that these primitive savages would hit upon a theory which some of the ablest men of the present day, after devoting their lives to the study of the subject, are putting forward with the greatest diffidence. I confess I cannot see how the savage we are discussing could get on at all, having nothing but dreams and death to work on. I am strongly inclined to think he would give it up.

2. The phantoms of others seen in dream are the source of difficulties equally great. Does the dreamer see or think he sees phantoms—an idea yet unknown to him—or the persons themselves? How do we ourselves speak of such visions :—

When in the down I sink my head,
Sleep, Death's twin brother, times my breath,
Sleep, Death's twin brother, knows not death,
Nor can I dream of thee as dead.

In dream we fancy we see the persons or things themselves not phantoms of them. We never think of phantoms at all. The same should be *a fortiori* true of primitive man, who has never had any idea of such a thing as phantom. And does he not see many other things as well as persons—rocks, caves, fields, trees, rivers, lakes? Are all these souls? Are they, too, living, breathing? Surely waking experience would contradict any such supposition. And may not a corpse come within the range of the savage dreamer's vision? How is he to account for it?

¹ *Sociology*, i., p. 150.

Finally our primitive philosopher, having acquired the idea of separable souls, attributed life to all things. Here, I fear, our ancient metaphysician would find himself in something closely allied to a vicious circle. This is the mental process. First conclusion: the difference between a dead and a living body is that the dead body has not *life*—by whatever name primitive man would call it. Second conclusion: all bodies have life. The further conclusion is obvious: a dead body has life. If the test of syllogistic law were applied to it, the argument would at once break down; it is labouring under an evident fallacy. But let us not be too hasty in attributing such a *modus argumentandi* to primitive man. We are not at all sure that he ever did argue in that way; all we are sure of is, that that should have been the process of reasoning according to the philosophy of many modern anthropologists.

3. Having got troops of hungry ghosts we are asked to believe that from them moral spiritual beings were evolved, and from these again One Supreme, Ethical God, the idea of supremacy being primarily derived from notions of headship in life. Against this hypothetical step in the evolution, for the present, I merely note the following: (1) The ghosts of the dead are regarded by most savages, if not indeed by all, as malignant beings whose peculiar vocation is to do evil. It is difficult to see how these could, after any length of time, give moral gods or a moral Supreme Deity; an easy-going devil is about the most we could expect. (2) As far as we can gather from the only evidence anthropology can accept, an Ethical, Eternal, Creative Being *preceded* the family or tribal ghosts who were a product of more recent times. (3) This Being, the guardian of morality, is the god of savage races who are not, and, as far as we know, never were ancestor worshippers, and who recognize no earthly superiors. These points will be considered more fully later on. It may be remarked in passing that the greatest blunders made by anthropologists are to suppose that ghost gods preceded the Supreme Being and to suppose, moreover,

that the religion of the lowest savages is without morality :—

The enquirer [says Dr. Lang¹] must be careful not to adopt the common opinion that gods improve morally and otherwise, in direct ratio to the rising grades in the evolution of culture and civilization. This is not necessarily the case ; usually the reverse occurs. Still less must we take it for granted, following Mr. Tylor and Mr. Huxley, that the alliance (of religion and morality) belongs, almost or wholly, to 'religions above the savage level, not to the earlier and lower creeds ; or that ' among the Australian savages ' and ' in its simplest condition, theology is wholly independent of ethics.' These statements can be proved (by such evidence as Anthropology is obliged to rely upon) to be erroneous.

In fact we have as much evidence (if not more) as we have for any other question in the region of ethnology to show that the lowest savages, who are not known to be ancestor worshippers and who have no dead chiefs, recognize One Supreme Being who is essentially ethical. Take, for instance, the Big Man of the Fuegians,² who will not allow an enemy to be slain even when caught in the act of robbery ; or Darumulun³ of the S.E. Australians, who insists so much on unselfishness ; or Mungar Ngaur⁴ of the Kurnai, with his wonderful code of precepts—these the lowest types of savage humanity we know. Then consider the almost wholly forgotten Supreme God of the Zulus who are, materially, on the highest level of savage culture. What does Unkulunkulu care for unselfishness, reverence for old age, respect for women found alone, regard for human life, etc., which so characterize the Supreme Gods of lower races ? The Zulu religion is decidedly degenerate, as we shall see more particularly afterwards. And what is to be said of a theory which makes the foul Bacchanalia of classic culture the ethical outcome of advancing evolution from a primitive non-ethical state ?

Are anthropologists serious when they tell us that classic culture, whose distinguishing feature was revolting orgies in which the worst of human passions played the

¹ *The Making of Religion*, pp. 176, 177.

² *Ibid.* p. 188.

³ *Ibid.* p. 193.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 196.

most prominent part, was advance from any state at all? Is it not a fact that the Emperor, the Nobles, the Plebs, yea the Vestal Virgins, could come forth attired in holiday apparel to be actors in scenes so repulsive that the savage of North Australia, for instance, would turn away from them in disgust. Allies, reviewing the state of heathen worship in the Empire of Augustus, says: 'A nature subject in itself to the sway of passion was stimulated by an authority supposed to be divine to the commission of every criminal excess.' Again, 'Places there were in abundance consecrated to the celebration of infamous games, rightly termed *fugalia* since they put modesty and decency to flight.' Further:—

Another turpitude, the Asiatic idolatry added to the Greek and Roman forms. By consecrating the sexual relations themselves in one male and one female god, they effected this crowning connexion of idolatry and immorality, that unchaste acts became themselves acts of sacrifice and so of worship.¹

Yet this is development, advance—Evolution, that blessed word!

4. I have already referred more than once to a rising school of philosophy which is represented in these countries by the members of the Society of Psychical Research. A great field of psychology has been opened up into which the pioneers themselves have yet scarcely entered. Though we may not see our way to agree with the conclusions provisionally accepted by the ablest exponents of the new psychology, we must nevertheless recognize a considerable *substratum* of reality in the mass of evidence collected and sifted by such men as Podmore, Gurney, and especially W. H. Meyers in that wonderful work on 'Human Personality.' Anyhow, it is astonishing the aspect which sleep, hypnotism, trance, epilepsy, telepathy, telæsthesia, ghosts, possession, fetishism, and spiritualism generally, are assuming in the light of modern experimental psychology.

Whether the supernormal occurrences which are engaging the attention of many present day philosophers

¹ *The Formation of Christendom*, ii., pp. 19, 20.

fell under the observation of primitive man or not, we cannot say ; but if even a small portion of the accumulated facts contained in the proceedings of the S.P.R. came under his cognizance, we should be slow to assert that his conclusions about God and spirit were without any *fundamentum in re*.¹

And there is good reason for thinking that savages, at least as known to us, are far more conversant with the practice, at any rate, of supernormal feats than are civilized men. Nay, it seems to be a fact that civilization tends to prevent the exercise of these supernormal faculties or, should we say, the supernatural use of ordinary faculties.

Though observations of this kind may not have originated the notion of spirit, still if such phenomena do and did exist in *rerum natura*, and if they came under the observation of hypothetical primitive savages, then these makers of religion would have more extensive grounds on which to philosophize than anthropology has been inclined to allow them. This is an aspect of the question which should have occupied the foremost place in the investigations of anthropologists, and yet it has been left practically untouched : Mr. Tylor, for instance (the only writer of the school worth reading), satisfying himself with not much more than a passing reference to it, though it must be said that this phase of the question had not, when he wrote, the prominence it has to-day. Dr. Lang is an exception. He devotes some of the most interesting chapters of his learned work, *The Making of Religion*, to the discussion of this side of the question. The author's object is to show that theories about ghosts may not rest on so absurd a foundation as Mr. Tylor and those of his way of thinking would have us believe ; that considering the attention the divining rod, clairvoyance, and kindred subjects are commanding at the present time, even though religion was primarily based on observations of phenomena of this kind, it may, after all, rest on a very substantial foundation.

¹ I am not, of course, now concerned with the question how men did acquire a knowledge of spirit and God, but merely criticising the animistic theory from what its champions would call the scientific point of view.

Even though observations of primitive man by which anthropology accounts for the origin of religion were erroneous, it by no means follows that the conclusions are false. Malobservation may lead to the discovery of truth, and true conclusions may be deduced from false premises. The real question, therefore, that ought to be squarely faced at once is: Is there such a Being as a Personal God?—the *Utrum res sit* of St. Thomas, which should be the first question answered in any proposed discussion. Theories about religion are started not by any means to explain it but to disprove it. Would it not be well to lay the theories aside, by times, and go right to the heart of the question? Is there a spiritual soul in man? Is there a God? If these questions are to be answered in the affirmative, it is preposterous to go concocting theories to explain them away. If the answer must be negative we are willing to consider the theories put forward to explain the error, but in the name of common sense let us not take it for granted as a starting hypothesis that all theistic teaching about spirit and God is so much nonsense.

In all this matter, let me repeat it, we are discussing a problem for which we have not a shadow of direct evidence. All our knowledge of savage theology is derived from observations of modern or comparatively modern savage life. To attempt a solution of the question by forming hypotheses on the dim back-ground on which Palæolithic man is supposed to have begun his existence is simply to put the question outside the range of all evidence. You may assert, deny, postulate, surmise, but prove—you cannot. No one appreciates the difficulties more than Mr. Tylor, though he seems at times to forget them. His aim is, from the observable facts of savage religion, to argue back to a probable beginning; for even 'the thoughts and principles of modern Christianity,' he says, 'are attached to intellectual clues which run back through far pre-Christian ages, to the very origin of human civilization, perhaps even to human existence.'¹ But, to any person who

¹ *Primitive Culture*, i., p. 421.

accepts the Darwinian theory of the evolution of man, does it not seem manifest that all theorizing about the origin of religion must ever remain the merest guess-work. Darwinians, who speculate about the origin of religion, might sum up their position in the words of Darwin himself concerning the origin of mind: 'In what manner the mental powers were first developed in the lowest organisms, is as hopeless an enquiry as how life itself first originated.'¹ Precisely the same must be said of the origin of religion, as materialists try to explain it.

R. FULLERTON.

¹ *Descent of Man*, p. 66.

THE IRISH COLLEGE AT BORDEAUX ✓

1603—1794

AMONGST the Irish establishments in France, which served so well the interests of the Church in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the College of Bordeaux deserves honourable mention. Some fragments of the history of that venerable institution have been preserved by various writers. A list of its earliest students is to be found in the *Calendar of Irish State Papers*, A.D. 1615-25, Vol. 235-55, pp. 318-22, No. 733, and in a paper by the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue in the I. E. RECORD, June, 1899, p. 515. A brief outline of its history has been elsewhere given by the present writer.¹ A fuller account is given by a French writer, Abbé L. Bertrand, in his *History of the Seminaries of Bordeaux and Bazas*.²

The purpose of the present paper is to gather together the information contained in these sources and present it to Irish readers. For sake of order the writer will trace, first of all, the origin and growth of the College and of its endowments. Then he will describe its organization and discipline, and give some accounts of its students and its superiors, as well as of the services in the College church; and lastly he will sketch the closing scene of its history in the last years of the eighteenth century.

I.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE COLLEGE

In the closing years of the sixteenth century, Dermot McCarthy, of Muskrey, in the diocese of Cork, and about forty companions left Ireland to make their ecclesiastical studies on the continent. They found a home for a time

¹ *The Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, by Rev. P. Boyle, C.M. (pp. 114-18.), Dublin: Gill & Son, 1901.

² *Histoire des Séminaires de Bordeaux et de Bazas*, par L. Bertrand, P.S.S. 3 vols. 8vo. Bordeaux, 1894. Vol. i., p. 321-405.

at Douai, then under Spanish rule. From Douai they proceeded to Rome, where they were paternally received by Clement VIII. Here they made the acquaintance of Abbé Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld, brother of the Cardinal of that name, and from him they learned that if they wished to establish themselves in France, they would find a patron in Cardinal de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux. From Rome Father McCarthy returned to Ireland, but driven from thence by persecution, he made his way with a few companions to Bordeaux, which he reached in November, 1603. Here Cardinal de Sourdis received the Irish exiles with open arms; gave them a residence, and placed them in charge of the church of St. Eutropius. The little colony of Irish ecclesiastics was formed into a community; rules for its government were approved by the archbishop, and Father McCarthy was appointed superior. Soon the number of Irish ecclesiastics, seeking education at Bordeaux, began to increase, and the residence in that city was insufficient for their accommodation. Little bands of Irish clerics were therefore placed here and there in the neighbouring towns of southern France, viz., at Toulouse, Cahors, Auch, Agen, Condom, and Perigueux. But all were subject to Father McCarthy, superior of the college at Bordeaux. For many years the Irish priests and students continued to occupy the residence given them by Cardinal de Sourdis. About 1682, they took up their abode in the Rue du Hâ, in a house which they occupied at first as tenants. In 1696, Father Thady O'Mahony purchased the house for the sum of 10,000 livres. The price was paid in instalments. First 4,000 livres were paid; a payment of 2,000 livres followed in 1714; and in 1717 the balance (4,000 livres) was cleared off.

Rev. Daniel O'Dea enlarged the College by the addition of a wing, at the cost of 6,300 livres, about 1743. Yet the College was unable to lodge all who sought admission, and in 1766 the superiors acquired an adjoining plot of ground with a view to further extension. Soon after, Rev. Martin Glynn, superior of the College, undertook a journey to

Ireland to collect money for the enlargement of the seminary. Such was his success that he brought back sufficient means to enable him to construct an additional wing, and to repair the older buildings together with the church of St. Eutropius. When the work was completed, Lord Hervey, Earl of Bristol, and Protestant Bishop of Derry, paid a visit to Bordeaux, and he declared that in his travels on the Continent he had not met with any Irish college so well equipped as that at Bordeaux.

II.

ENDOWMENTS

But what were the means of subsistence possessed by the College? At first they were small indeed; such as may have been derived from the service of the church of St. Eutropius. To these were added a source of income, which in modern times would be regarded as singular. In 1607 Cardinal de Sourdis granted to the Irish priests at Bordeaux the privilege of serving at funerals within the city of Bordeaux, and carrying the dead to the place of burial. This privilege had long been enjoyed by the secular clergy of the diocese. The honorarium was forty *sols* for each clergyman. But abuses and discussions had arisen. The *privilegium Canonis*, says a local historian, was not always a sufficient restraint. The archbishop, therefore, withdrew the privilege from the diocesan clergy, and conferred it on the Irish. In 1611 the good Cardinal granted to Father McCarthy permission to solicit alms for the support of his community; and in 1613, in a synodal address, he recommended to the charity of the faithful the poor Irish students and priests in exile for the faith. The course of years brought additional means of support.

In 1653 the rebellion of the Fronde was active in the Bordelais. Spain sent an armed force, and amongst them some Irish troops, to support the *Frondeurs*. On the conclusion of peace it was stipulated that the Irish troops should have the option of returning to Spain, or proceeding to Flanders. At this juncture Father Cornelius

O'Scanlan, superior of the Irish College at Bordeaux, interposed ; and prevailed on the Irish troops, to the number of 5,000, to enter the service of France. An Irish regiment stationed at Perigueux also abandoned the service of Spain for that of France. In gratitude for this service the Queen-Regent of France, Anne of Austria, bestowed on the Irish College at Bordeaux, an annual subsidy of 1,200 livres¹ for the maintenance of ten priests and ten students, together with the privilege of naturalization, to enable them to receive gifts and enjoy benefices in the kingdom. She also ordered that the church of the Irish College should be ornamented with the royal arms, and should be styled *Sainte Anne la Royale*.

In the Letters Patent conferring these privileges, dated February, 1654, the motive of the grant is stated, viz. :—

That as the Irish priests of the aforesaid Seminary have displayed a very laudable zeal for the service of the king, it is hoped that those who shall in future receive the benefit of Education in the said establishment will be animated with the like sentiments, and display the like zeal and fidelity for the interests of the Crown.

The endowment granted by Anne of Austria was further ratified by Louis XIV in the following April, and again in 1678.

Valuable as this endowment was, when 500 livres were deducted for rent, and 300 for an annual mission, only 400 livres remained for the maintenance of the inmates of the College. Hence we find them again appealing to the royal bounty. We find also the Archbishop of Bordeaux again recommending them in 1661 to the charity of the faithful. The lapse of years brought some further endowments. By will dated 29th May, 1702, Father Thady O'Mahony, a former superior of the College, and then Curé of Cardan, bequeathed to the College the sum of 5,200 livres, with the obligation of a daily Mass for the

¹ The obligations attached to this subsidy were as follows : A High Mass on the Feasts of St. Anne and St. Louis—the recital of the Psalm *Exaudiat* daily for the prosperity of the king, four Masses daily for a month following the death of the queen, and a daily Mass for ever for herself and for Louis XIII.

repose of his soul. A French lawyer bequeathed a sum of 8,000 livres; and the wife of the President of the Parliament of Bordeaux, gave 1,200 livres with the obligation of two Masses each week, one for her own soul and the other for that of her husband. In 1766 the total revenue of the College amounted to 2,531 livres, a small endowment indeed, to board and clothe about thirty-three persons, including superiors, students and servants.

With an income so limited the board of the students must have been less than frugal. For breakfast they often had only bread and no wine. In consequence there were murmurings.¹ In the closing years of the eighteenth century the financial condition of the College seems to have been more flourishing. When the College was seized in 1793 its property, according to the statement furnished by the President of the Bureau de Surveillance in Paris, about 1812, was estimated at 215,600 francs or £8,624 sterling.²

III.

DISCIPLINE

Valuable as are buildings and endowments for carrying on the work of a college, much more valuable is a wise code of discipline. The rules of the Irish College

¹ Some pleaded the deficiency of the food supplied by the College as 'Ce qui est cause que nous sommes contraints d'aller au cabaret boire quelque canette de vin.'

² The estimated value of the College property was as follows:— fr.

1. Church, St. Entrope (St. Anne la Royale)	.. ..	21,000
" Chalices, vestments, etc.	.. ..	6,000
2. College Buildings sold for (in assignats), but no doubt more valuable..	.. ..	136,000
3. Furniture—		
(a) 53 beds at 300 fr.	.. ..	15,900
(b) 4 servants' beds at 200 fr.	.. ..	800
(c) 300 pairs of sheets at 30 fr. each	.. ..	9,000
(d) Table linen	.. ..	2,000
(e) {Table service and kitchen utensils	.. ..	6,000
{Tournebroche, gift of Count Lynch	.. ..	1,200
4. Provisions in stock—		
(a) 30 casks of wine at 300 fr.	.. ..	9,000
(b) 1,000 bottles of Medoc at 30 sols	.. ..	1,500

Total about 215,600

All this property, with the exception of the College buildings, was lost at the Revolution.

at Bordeaux were approved by Cardinal de Sourdis in 1603, and again in 1613, and a few years later they were solemnly sanctioned by Pope Paul V in a Bull, *In supremo Apostolicæ dignitatis*, dated 26th April, 1618. These rules are interesting for many reasons, but chiefly because they show what was the standard of ecclesiastical discipline in the seventeenth century, and because they throw light upon some of the usages of the Church in Ireland at that period.

According to the terms of the Bull *In supremo*, it was prescribed that the Rector of the College should be an Irish secular priest, an *alumnus* of the College, elected by the votes of the students, for a period of three years, and confirmed by the Archbishop of Bordeaux. On being appointed, the Rector was required to select at his own discretion three assistants to aid him in the government of the College during his term of office. To him belonged the admission of students. None were eligible for admission unless they were of Irish birth, and fitted for the ecclesiastical state. On admission freshmen were obliged to make a profession of faith. During the first four months following their admission, they were regarded as probationers, and at the end of that time the superiors were free to dismiss them if they judged them unsuited for the ecclesiastical state. When finally admitted, freshmen were obliged to sign a declaration, and to bind themselves by oath to take orders, and to return to Ireland to labour on the mission as soon as the superiors should deem them qualified.

Moreover, they were obliged to promise under oath, and to present sureties, that they would refund the expenses incurred in their education, should they withdraw from the College, or fail to go to the mission assigned to them in Ireland. But as places of Catholic education were at that time wanting in Ireland, young laymen of noble birth might be received, provided they paid the expenses of their board, and gave security for the future, and conformed to the rules of the College, except in what regarded taking orders.

The daily life of the students according to rule was as follows. They rose at 4 a.m. Then followed prayer, meditation and Mass. After Mass, after prayers, and after meals, they recited the *De Profundis* in common. Study followed. They attended the lectures, not at the College of Guyenne, but at the Jesuit College of La Madeleine. At a given signal they went out to class under the guidance of a prefect, and on their return applied themselves again to study.

Dinner was preceded by examination of conscience, and certain vocal prayers. During dinner a portion of the Sacred Scripture was read, and then a book in one or other of the four following languages, viz.: Latin, French, English, or Irish. Recreation followed, and then study, and classes in the afternoon. Supper was preceded by the recitation of the Litany of Loreto. Night prayer was said at 8 p.m. Students in Holy Orders recited the divine office. The juniors recited the beads daily, and on Sundays and festivals the Office of B.V. Mary. On Sundays and festivals they assisted at the sermon, High Mass and Vespers in the public church.

In daily conversation they were obliged by rule always to speak Latin or French, and to fit them for the work of the confessional they were exhorted to learn Spanish and Italian. The study of the Greek language was also recommended.

On all Fridays they observed a strict fast, and on all Wednesdays, unless dispensed by the superior, they abstained from flesh meat, as was then the usage in Ireland.

The practice of selecting monthly patrons was observed. St. Patrick was specially honoured. The more advanced students preached in the refectory on the feast days of their patron saint.

During residence the students were not permitted to have anything as their own. All was in common. None were allowed to write letters, or to go outside the College without due permission. Their dress was black, with a white cross on the left breast.

The College was known as the Irish Congregation, and

during residence the members of it might be promoted to orders *titulo Congregationis*, a privilege which was superceded by the Bull of Urban VIII, authorizing the ordination of Irish students on the Continent *titulo Missionis in Hibernia*.

Students who left the College without the sanction of the Rector, or who were expelled, were *ipso facto* suspended from the exercise of orders.

Such was the standard of discipline in the Irish College of Bordeaux. No doubt it was not reached by all, and, as in all things human, there were imperfections. But the faults committed were quickly corrected by diocesan authority, and they were such as might be expected from the circumstances in which the students were placed. The practice of serving at funerals continued until 1780. In a letter addressed to the Bishops of Ireland in 1774 to recommend the appeal about to be made by Father Martin Glynn, the Vicar-General of Bordeaux laments the abuses to which that practice gave rise. It was, he states, a source of frequent interruption of study, of distraction, of fatigue, and of murmuring. It exposed the students to derision and contempt. Hence some became disgusted with college, and sought lodging elsewhere, others, to the detriment of piety and learning, took a more worldly view of that unattractive but profitable duty. The triennial elections, too, were a source of disturbance. But when all this has been admitted, it still remains true, that the rule of life set before the students was calculated to promote a spirit of order, culture and solid piety.

IV.

STUDENTS

Let us now go on to inquire from what quarter of Ireland the students came, what was their number, and who amongst them became most distinguished. Irishmen from every province were eligible for admission, but in practice, those from Munster always formed the majority. What was the number of students? This may be gathered from various

authentic documents. The earliest document is a list of Irish priests who studied at Bordeaux and in the neighbouring towns, printed at Bordeaux in 1619, a copy of which was sent to Lord Carew in 1621, and is inserted as above mentioned in the *Calendar of Irish State Papers*. On that list appears 215 names.

It contains the names of Irishmen who studied at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Auch, Agen, Cahors, Condom, and Perigueux, etc. The period which it covers extends from 1603 to 1619. Other documents furnish more precise information. The Letters Patent of Anne of Austria in 1654, conferring an endowment on the College, state that its object is to provide for the support of ten priests and ten students. In 1665 the students of the College presented a petition to the Archbishop requesting permission to solicit alms. It was signed by five priests, seven clerics, and six students, or in all eighteen persons. A decree of the *Conseil d'Etat* in 1722 fixed the number of students at twenty. From the minutes of an election held in 1729, it appears that there were in the College at that date twenty-four students, viz., seventeen from Munster, three from Leinster, three from Connaught, and one from Ulster. In 1766 the total residents in the College, including superiors students and servants, amounted to thirty-three. In 1793 all the inmates of the College were arrested and cast into prison, and Rev. James Burke, who procured their liberation, states that their number was fifty. Finally, in a document presented to the British Government by the Bishops of Ireland, about 1794, setting forth the number of ecclesiastics educated at the Irish Colleges on the Continent, it is stated that the number of students at Bordeaux was forty. We may, therefore, conclude that in the seventeenth century the average number of students in the Irish College at Bordeaux was twenty; while in the eighteenth century it increased to thirty, and ultimately to forty.

But beside those resident at Bordeaux, there were some other Irish students at various towns in the neighbourhood. Thus in 1675, at the request of the Superior of the College

at Bordeaux, the managers of the hospital at Agen consented to lodge some Irishmen pursuing their studies in that town. In 1713, and again in 1723, there was an Irish student resident in the same hospital, and receiving for his support the customary allowance of 40 *sols* per month.

But though the number of its students was relatively small, many distinguished Irish ecclesiastics were *alumni* of the College at Bordeaux. First amongst them may be mentioned the Irish historian, Geoffrey Keating. Relying on the authority of Brennan¹ and Bellesheim,² the present writer has elsewhere claimed Keating as a Paris student. And considering the practice amongst students at the period, of migrating from one college to another, he does not yet abandon the claim. But it seems fairly certain that Keating was for a time, at least, a student at Bordeaux. In the list of Bordeaux students, given in the *Irish State Papers*, the name, Geoffrey Keating, Waterford is found; and in the *Vindiciae* against Dempster by 'Veridicus Hibernus,' Godfredus Kettin and others are mentioned as doctors of Bordeaux or Toulouse (*Doctores Burdigalenses aut Tolosani*).

Another distinguished Bordeaux student was Robert Barry, subsequently Bishop of Cloyne. Having studied philosophy and theology at Bordeaux, Robert Barry was ordained priest in 1613. He then proceeded to Paris where he attended the lectures of the Sorbonne for three years, after which he returned to Bordeaux and was received doctor of theology in 1617. He was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Ross in 1620, and consecrated as Bishop of Cork and Cloyne in 1648 by Rinuccini at Waterford. Obligated to quit Ireland in 1651, he took up his residence at Nantes, where he died in 1662.

Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, was also a Bordeaux student. Born at Waterford in 1586, Comerford proceeded to Bordeaux at an early age, and began his ecclesiastical studies. Thence he went to Lisbon, where

¹ *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, by Rev. M. J. Brennan, O.S.F. vol. ii., p. 247. Ed. 1840.

² Bellesheim's *History of the Church in Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 687.

he entered the order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. Having completed his studies at Coimbra, he was employed in teaching at Terceira in the Azores. Thence he passed to Florence, where he was admitted doctor of theology, We next find him professor at Brussels, whence he was sent to Ireland by Paul V. By Brief dated 12th February, 1646, he was appointed Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and received episcopal consecration from Cardinal Bentivoglio in Rome. In 1650 he went into exile at St. Malo, and died at Nantes in 1652.

Other distinguished Irish prelates made a portion of their studies at Bordeaux. Such were Dr. Cornelius O'Keeffe, Bishop of Limerick, such, too, his successor, Dr. Robert Lacy, who while superior of the College, was appointed Coadjutor of Limerick, and received episcopal consecration at Bordeaux in 1738. Such also were Bœtius Egan, Archbishop of Tuam, and Dominic Bellew, Bishop of Killala. Two other eminent Irish ecclesiastics spent a short time at Bordeaux. In the spring of 1762, Abbé Edgeworth and Richard O'Reilly arrived at Bordeaux, but not finding the accommodation at the College suitable, the former set out for Paris, where he afterwards became so prominent. The latter proceeded to Rome. In course of time he returned to Ireland where he became Archbishop of Armagh, and died in 1818 at the age of seventy-one.

V.

SUPERIORS

But it is time to give some account of the superiors of the College.

According to the terms of the Bull *In supremo*, of Paul V, no one was eligible to the office of superior but an Irish secular priest, who had been an *alumnus* of the College. The electors were the students, and the term of office three years. The triennial elections in Bordeaux, as in the other Irish Colleges in France, were the source of frequent troubles. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, to whom it belonged to confirm the election, was obliged from time

to time to use all his authority. In 1679 he quashed an election which had been held, and deprived some of the electors of active and passive voice. The latter appealed to the civil power, but eventually submitted, and were absolved from censure.

As the majority of the students were natives of Munster, the vote of the Momonians ruled the elections. The better to maintain their preponderance, the admission of students was so manipulated as to secure that the Momonians should exceed in number those from the other three provinces combined. In violation of the Bull of Paul V, the franchise was extended to students who had not received tonsure. The Bishops of the provinces of Armagh, Dublin and Tuam felt this to be a grievance, and in 1717 they addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Bordeaux requesting him to obtain from the Regent, or, if necessary, from the Pope, power to appoint the superior of the College for the usual term of three years, and they recommended that the office be filled by a priest from each of the provinces of Ireland in rotation. The matter was referred to the *Conseil d'Etat*, and in 1722 that body issued a Decree ordering that students from all the Provinces of Ireland should be admitted to the College on equal terms, until the prescribed limit of ten priests and ten students was reached; and restricting the franchise to such as had received at least tonsure. But even this Decree did not put an end to dissensions. At an election held in 1729, the number of voters was twenty-four, viz., seventeen from Munster, three from Leinster, three from Connaught, and one from Ulster. The three provinces last mentioned united their votes in favour of Andrew McDonagh. The Momonians divided their votes, and in consequence there was not an absolute majority for any one. The Vicar-General of Bordeaux, who presided at the election, nominated Ignatius O'Connor, doctor of theology, and Vicar of St. Remy, to be superior. The students of the three provinces appealed, and the appointment was declared null.

Finally, to put an end to an ever-recurring source of trouble, a Decree of the *Conseil d'Etat* was issued 28th

March, 1733, depriving the students of the right of electing the superior, and conferring it on the Archbishop of Bordeaux. The latter was directed to choose the superior as far as possible from amongst the subjects of each of the four provinces of Ireland in rotation. He was at liberty, however, at the expiry of the term of three years, to re-appoint the same person.

The first superior and founder of the College was Father Dermot McCarthy, of the diocese of Cork. He is stated to have been a man of singular piety and erudition. He possessed jurisdiction, not only over the Irish ecclesiastics at Bordeaux, but also over those resident throughout Aquitaine and Languedoc.

He was succeeded by Father Cornelius O'Scanlan, who in authentic copy of the Bull of Urban VIII, *Piis Christi fidelibus*, is described by the Apostolic Notary of Bordeaux as 'Hibernorum per Aquitaniam et Occitaniam sub titulo missionis in Hiberniam studentium primarius meritissimus.' The students held him in great esteem; and when at the end of his term of office, he wished to retire, they addressed a petition to the Archbishop requesting him to command Father O'Scanlan not to abandon the government of the College without his Grace's approval.

Father O'Scanlan also acted as confessor to the nuns of the Visitation from 1649 to 1669, an office for which he received an annual honorarium of 300 livres. The service which Father O'Scanlan rendered to the Crown of France in 1653, and the manner in which it was requited by the Queen-Regent, have been already narrated.

Father Fleming succeeded Father O'Scanlan as rector of the College, and confessor of the nuns from 1669 until 1682. Father La Hide held the same offices from 1682 to 1684. Father Thady O'Mahony who was rector in 1696, at his death bequeathed a considerable sum to the College. He was succeeded by Father Maurice Lee and by Father Daniel O'Dea, both of whom proved themselves successful administrators.

The last superior of the College was Father Martin Glynn. Martin Glynn, the son of Denis Glynn and Honora

Hosty, was born 10th November, 1728, at Boffin in the diocese of Tuam, and ordained priest at Bordeaux, 3rd April, 1756. In 1769, he obtained the degree of doctor of theology. Having been appointed superior of the Irish College at Bordeaux, he made a journey to Ireland in 1774 to collect means to repair and enlarge the College. After his return, and while still continuing to hold the office of superior, he was appointed Canon Theologian of the Cathedral Chapter of Bordeaux.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Dr. Glynn refused to take the oath prescribed by the civil constitution of the clergy, and was in consequence sentenced to deportation. For some time he succeeded in concealing himself. But he was at length arrested, and on 19th July, 1794, he was brought before the Revolutionary tribunal. On interrogation he admitted that he was a native of Ireland, a non-conformist priest, sixty years of age, and that he had not obeyed the sentence of deportation. When he had given this answer, Lacombe, the president of the tribunal said: 'Sit down, the court is decided.' Then ten French citizens were brought forward. When their answers were heard, and the documents concerning them read, the court gave its verdict as follows:—

Convinced by the testimony of several witnesses, that the above-mentioned are marked out by public opinion as violent aristocrats, fanatics, and enemies of liberty, that they have not attended the meetings of the Section, nor accepted the Republican Constitution, but on the contrary desire its dissolution; convinced that Glynn, a non-conformist priest, has sought to escape the law of deportation; convinced that for all these reasons Geslin, etc., and Glynn should be ranked as aristocrats, and enemies of the Republic, the Court orders, in virtue of the law of 18th March in the case of Glynn, and 27th March in the case of the others, that they shall suffer the penalty of death, and declares all their goods forfeit to the Republic.

Immediately Father Glynn and the other prisoners were led to execution. Dr. Everard, Vice-President of the College, who had succeeded in escaping arrest, was a witness

of the scene, and in a letter to a friend he stated that Father Glynn's execution was accompanied by circumstances of revolting cruelty.

VI.

COLLEGE CHURCH

Before relating the closing events in the history of the College, it still remains for us to speak of the church served by the Irish priests at Bordeaux. On their arrival in 1603, Cardinal de Sourdis gave Father McCarthy and his companions charge of the church of St. Eutropius, which was situated near the apse of the cathedral. In 1653, by order of the Queen-Regent, its title was altered to that of Ste. Anne la Royale. The manner in which the services were conducted did not always meet with the approval of the curé of the parish. In 1687 a complaint was made by him against the Irish priests. The archbishop, to whom the point in dispute was referred, decided that no marriage should be celebrated in the Irish church, except by the curé; that in case of a death occurring at the College, notice should be given to the curé; that if he deemed it expedient, he might assist as parish priest at the obsequies. In all other matters the Irish priests were authorized to conduct the services in their church without molestation.

The public were admitted to the functions in the church; and in the eighteenth century two confraternities were established in it. One of these, under the patronage of St. Crispin, was established in 1744; and enriched with indulgences by Benedict XIV. The other, under the patronage of St. Anne, and consisting of tailors, was established in 1759.

For the advantage of the English-speaking residents at Bordeaux, sermons were preached in English, especially during Lent. The following announcement bears testimony to this practice, and shows how the feast of the national apostle was observed:—

Notice is hereby given, that for the instruction and edification of the Irish, English, and Scotch, who are always numerous in this city, the Archbishop has thought proper to direct the

superior of the Irish to have sermons preached by the ecclesiastics of that nation, in English, on every Sunday in the ensuing Lent, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in the Church of *Ste. Anne la Royale*.

For the convenience of those who attend, Mass shall be celebrated immediately after the instruction.

Notice is also given that on Tuesday, 17th March, there shall be celebrated in the same church, the feast of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.

There shall be a Plenary Indulgence. The Most Holy Sacrament shall be exposed. After Compline there shall be a sermon followed by Benediction.¹

The church of *Ste. Anne la Royale* was closed by order of the Directory of the Gironde in 1792. It was soon after confiscated, and in 1796 it was sold for 21,000 francs. The purchaser converted it into a saltpetre factory. In 1803 it was restored to worship. But soon after it was again desecrated, and it is now used as a shop. No compensation for its loss was ever obtained.

VII.

CLOSING SCENES

For two centuries the Irish College at Bordeaux had rendered good service to the Church in Ireland. But like many other ecclesiastical institutions it perished in the tempest of the French Revolution. In 1792, as has been stated, the church attached to the College was seized and closed. In 1793 Lacombe, a prominent revolutionary leader, armed with the decree of the Convention ordering the arrest of all British subjects resident in France, seized the Irish College. Dr. Glynn the superior was arrested, and eventually put to death. The students, to the number, it is stated, of fifty, were carried off and imprisoned at the Carmelite convent. Lacombe took possession of the College, and made it the headquarters of the Committee of Public Safety. Dr. Everard escaped. The other priests and students owed their safety to the intervention of an Irish priest named James Burke.

James Burke was born in the diocese of Killaloe in

¹ The Plenary Indulgence for the feast of St. Patrick was granted by Clement XII, 1st September, 1734.

1739, and made his clerical studies at Bordeaux. Having been ordained priest, he was named Canon of the church of St. Astier in the diocese of Perigueux in 1772. Two years later, in virtue of a licence granted by Clement XIV, he commuted his canonry for the parish of Bec-d'Ambes, in the diocese of Bordeaux. At the outbreak of the Revolution he had the weakness to take the oath prescribed by the civil constitution of the clergy, and was regarded as a good republican. His church and property at Ambes he sold for a life pension of 2,000 livres. He next purchased a farm, and for some time devoted himself to agriculture. But in 1793 he was put under arrest as a British subject, and detained in prison. Being already well known as a republican, he expressed his indignation at such treatment, and petitioned the Revolutionary Committee to be set at liberty. He urged that his detention was contrary to the interests of the Republic, inasmuch as he had drained his farm, and was about to sow sixty bushels of wheat, and that consequently his imprisonment deprived sixty citizens of employment. At last he was liberated on the ground that he was a naturalized French subject.

But in spite of his faults, Burke took a lively interest in the welfare of his fellow-countrymen. On learning their arrest, he hastened as soon as possible to Ysabeau the revolutionary leader, and appealed to him to save his countrymen, and the College in which he had been educated. His appeal was successful. Ysabeau liberated the Irishmen imprisoned at the Carmelites and put them on board a vessel which brought them in safety to Ireland.

Burke then set to work to save the College. It had been put up for sale as national property, and adjudged to a manufacturer for 136,000 livres. At the instance of Father Burke, an adjournment of the adjudication was obtained. In 1803 he obtained a decree removing the sequestration of the Irish property at Bordeaux, and was himself appointed administrator. The title deeds to the property, enclosed in a safe, had been carried off when

the College was seized. Burke discovered the person in whose possession they were, and purchased from him the safe and its contents for a barrel of wine and five Louis d'or.

The documents thus recovered were soon found to be useful. The diocesan authorities put forward a claim to the property of the College; but the production of those documents easily established that it was Irish.

Father Burke was fully reconciled to the Church; and for many years he laboured hard to bring about the re-opening of the Irish College at Bordeaux. The archbishop of the diocese favoured the project. But it did not meet with success. Not being able to secure the re-opening of the Irish College, Father Burke bequeathed by his will, dated 23rd March, 1821, all he possessed to the diocesan Seminary of Bordeaux. He stipulated that a portion of his property should go to found a daily Mass for his own soul, and for his brother Thomas Burke who predeceased him, and a solemn Requiem Mass each year on 23rd March. The residue he directed to be applied to found burses for the education of young Irishmen destined for the priesthood. He died in April, 1821.

After the Revolution all that remained of the old Irish College at Bordeaux was the house in Rue du Hâ. It was let to tenants, and the rent was paid to the administrator of the Irish foundations in France, and formed part of the income of the Irish College in Paris. In 1885 the property at Bordeaux was sold by the Bureau Gratuit, charged with the administration of the Irish foundations in France, for 285,635 francs and the sum realized was invested in French Government stock.

Father Burke's foundation remained in the possession of the diocesan Seminary of Bordeaux. In recent years the superiors of that Seminary, acting on the suggestion of the Very Rev. Abbé Hogan of St. Sulpice, adopted the practice of paying to the Irish College in Paris the annual value of the burse, in favour of a student from the diocese of Killaloe. But in December, 1906, the capital of the Burke foundation was sequestered by the French Government along with the property of the diocesan Seminary

of Bordeaux, and there is grave reason to fear that it is permanently lost.

The Irish College at Bordeaux has passed away, but the services it rendered to the Church in Ireland for nearly two hundred years ought not to be forgotten. If this paper contributes to rescue them from oblivion, it will not have been written in vain.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

ON RIGHT AND WRONG

EVEN when it has been granted that theology is queen of the sciences, having all other branches of knowledge as its ancillaries, there still remains to be decided the question of pre-eminence between two rival claimants. Moralist and dogmatist each strenuously contends that the title of sovereignty applies peculiarly and properly to his department. The marshalling of the moralists to enforce this claim of theirs constitutes the most characteristic theological movement of our time. Their propaganda is being vigorously preached in every Catholic land. Their adherents, too, are becoming daily more numerous, while the growing respect everywhere prevailing for the *practical* as it is called for whatever materializes in action, and the proportionately increasing disregard for the merely speculative and curious seem to bespeak their ultimate victory. Thus is the science of right and wrong fast coming to be regarded as the centre-piece of all knowledge. To the consideration of a subject of such transcendent importance we now invite the attention of the reader.

The words 'right' and 'wrong' are correctly applied only to the controllable actions of free agents. We do not say it is right or wrong though it is good or bad that a cloud should pass before the sun, or that a person should be five feet rather than six feet high, but it is right or wrong as well as good or bad that a person should be eating, working, or amusing himself. Hence the science of right and wrong is called the science of ethics from the Greek word *ethos*, meaning 'character,' and also the science of morals from the Latin word *mores*, meaning 'manners.' By a moral or ethical act, therefore, is meant the controllable act of a free agent such as man. The differentiation of rightness and wrongness in these actions is accordingly the ethical problem.

I.—ORDER AND UTILITY

Since in every science there are various schools of thought the first duty of the scientific explorer in any matter is to choose his company. In ethics this is not difficult, for there are practically but two schools, and even those though distinct are not opposed to one another. The disciples of one school say the test of rightness is order, the disciples of the other school say it is utility. In reality both tests are correct for the orderly and the useful are always to be found together. 'Orderly' is but a synonym for 'beautiful,' and 'useful' is a synonym for 'good.' That the good and the beautiful are identical has ever been one of the commonplaces of metaphysics:—

Beauty and goodness [writes Aquinas¹] are undoubtedly the same thing in a subject, for they are founded on the same reality, the form, and on this account the good is praised as beautiful. They are, however, different aspects. Goodness properly appertains to the appetitive faculty, the good is that which all desire; while beauty appertains to the cognoscitive faculty for those things are called beautiful which it pleases us to see.

However, though the metaphysicians of old knew that goodness and beauty were but the same reality in different ways, radiating within our ken, and though references to the beauty of virtue are to be found in the older ethical writers, it is a well-authenticated historical fact that modern Europe has only recently become cognizant of the beauty and order of all right action. On this point Count Tolstoy bears useful testimony, though strangely enough he mistakes the phenomenon for a fleeting artificiality of contemporary thought. In his book *What is Art?* he writes:—

In all the European languages, that is the languages of those nations among whom the doctrine has spread that beauty is the essential thing in art, the words 'beau,' 'schön,' 'beautiful,' 'bello,' etc., while keeping their meaning of beautiful in form, have come also to express 'goodness,' 'kindness,' that is, have come to act as substitutes for the word 'good' . . . What is remarkable, moreover, is that since we Russians have begun more and more to adopt the European view of art, the same evolution has shown itself in our language also, and some people

¹ P. I. q. 5, Art. 4, L1.

speak and write confidently of beautiful music and ugly actions, and even thoughts, whereas forty years ago, when I was young, the expressions 'beautiful music' and 'ugly actions' were not only unusual but incomprehensible. Evidently this new meaning given to beauty in European thought begins to be assimilated by Russian society.

Just as this talk about beauty in action marks a recent advance in the moral evolution of the race, so, too, as Irishmen are proud to remember the general application of the order concept to ethics is a quite recent advance in the development of moral science.

Now it is precisely because the idea of order belongs to a more civilized state of society that we choose utility in preference to it as our watchword in the realms of ethics. One would naturally expect that the more primitive concept is also the more simple, and on examination the surmise proves to be correct. The notion of order or beauty is far too complex to shed any light on the practical problems of ethical science. It does not illumine the present generation very much to be told that goodness is the proper interrelation between essences, yet that is the last word the order system says on the matter. The utility test is at any rate much more tangible and workable than this. The value of the recent ethical discovery in our opinion lies in a higher plane, and consists in the new emotional element it introduces into the art of life rather than in any cold intellectual light it sheds on the purely scientific aspects of ethics. We believe, therefore, that utility as the more elementary notion is the more useful for philosophic purposes, and accordingly become disciples of the utility school.

What, then, is the difference between right and wrong, between the good and the bad actions of free agents? The right or good is that which promotes the greatest happiness of the greatest number. In the words of Stuart Mill, the most prominent exponent of the utility system in modern times, 'happiness is pleasure and the absence of pain, . . . and to the pleasures of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination and of the moral sentiment,

is assigned a much higher value as pleasures than to those of mere sensation.' The wrong or bad is that which does not promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Utilitarianism is formally defined by Mill as 'the rules and precepts for human conduct by the observance of which a happy existence might be to the greatest possible extent secured to all mankind, and not to them only, but to the whole sentient creation.'

The historical aspect of the system is not of striking interest. In the *Protagoras* of Plato, Socrates argues well for the fundamental position of utilitarianism :—

Pain you esteem to be an evil [he says] and pleasure to be a good, since you say that pleasure itself is evil when it deprives you of greater pleasures than itself contains or produces pains which exceed its own pleasures. For if you call pleasure itself an evil for any other reason or with any other end in view than this, you may tell us, if you can, but you cannot. . . . And is it not exactly the same on the other hand with suffering pain ? Do you not call pain itself a good when it rids you of greater pains than its own, or produces pleasures which exceed its pains ?

In this, as in so many other philosophic questions, the Greeks were plainly the pioneers. Socrates, however, seems to speak mainly from the individualistic standpoint. Subsequently in the Christian ethics of the schools the 'common good' and 'the good of society' became the constant refrain and the striving for this end as the great aim of mankind became fully conscious. In the century that is past Mill expounded the system in the vernacular, and coined the current terminology including that not very happy nor euphonious appellation, 'utilitarianism.' What was more important still, with his profound logical acumen, he helped to give scientific expression to the positive tradition of the schools.

II.—PROSCRIBED AND NON-PROSCRIBED ACTIONS

'The more general laws of any science are too general to give sufficient indication of what happens in individual cases ; hence the middle principles of a science principally constitute its value.' So writes Mill, quoting Bacon in his

work on logic, though he neglects to act on his own suggestion when treating of utilitarianism. The truth of the observation, however, cannot be gainsaid. Accordingly we now proceed to draw on the rich treasury of scholastic tradition for the great secondary principles of moral science.

In consonance with the greatest happiness, principle, the intuitions and experiences of the race, have divided actions into two very important classes—proscribed and non-proscribed actions. Proscribed actions are those of which it is expedient for society to reduce the number of occurrences to a minimum, however much good on particular occasions might follow from performing them. This proscription arises partly by law and partly by custom. That it exists is clearly proved by an appeal to the conscience of the community. The peculiarly pernicious results which would arise if the actions in question were universally indulged in, is the sole and sufficient reason for proscribing them. Such actions are the following : lying or the deception of one who has a right to be not deceived ; murder or the slaying of an innocent person ; squeamishness or the taking of disproportionate care in any matter, such care as society generally cannot afford to have always expended in the circumstances.

Against the utilitarian position it has been objected that even in cases where complications such as are referred to hereafter are not present, to tell a lie would sometimes promote greatest happiness, would be highly advantageous to certain individuals without doing any injury to society. An alleged case in point is keeping from dying people the sad truth about their condition. But is it not obvious that if we once admitted this principle and gave medical men license to lie, invalids could never again believe anything from others, be it truth or falsehood ?

Neither can the slaying of innocent men ever promote the happiness of mankind. It is, indeed, sometimes alleged that killing diseased men would be as advantageous to the human species as the killing of diseased swine is to the porcine species. But a great disparity exists between the two cases. The nerves of the porcine community are not

upset by foresight of the danger. But if amongst men, St. Guillotine replaced St. Vincent, if there was a hangman in every county capital instead of an infirmary, all of us would be painfully conscience of it, and in proportion to our keener realization would be embittered against and would act similarly towards the society which would tolerate the institution. What would be the upshot of such a condition of things? Imagination is stunned by the outlandish circumstances, but memory comes to her aid by supplying a parallel to almost every detail of the situation in the story of the French Revolution. Killing people for being diseased would cause far greater, because far more general panic than killing people for being aristocrats. No reasonable sociologist believes that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is to come to pass under the genial influence of a universal reign of terror.

Seldom do we advert to the fact that squeamishness or the taking of disproportionate care is a proscribed evil, but that it is so cannot be doubted. A gentleman, for instance, on entering a familiar room wishes to strike a light. It occurs to him suddenly that there may be explosives concealed in his neighbourhood. Though he has not the slightest reason for the surmise, he searches the room. This action of his is wrong, and even though, say, after an hour's search he discovers a case of explosives and thus saves himself, and it may be thousands of others from destruction, his action is as immutably wrong as a lie told to prevent the explosion would have been in the circumstances.

Besides such proscribed actions which society has resolved to exterminate as far as possible, there exist non-proscribed actions which do not conduce to the greatest sum of happiness. Such acts would be the amputation of a human limb, or the devastation of a country, when the happiness consequent on these acts would not compensate for the pain they involve. But if greater happiness would follow in any particular case these actions would be right since they are not proscribed. To determine therefore, whether actions of this sort are good or bad,

one has to weigh the pros and cons in each separate occasion to find whether in the one case the sum of happiness is greater than in the other, and, furthermore, whether the greater certainty of the lesser good turns the balance in its favour.

Here it may not be amiss to speculate a little on the nature and possibility of progress in ethics. Of course as the world grows older new lights will be constantly thrown on old ethical problems. But besides this is not another sort of progress possible in ethics? Is it not conceivable that as man's personality progresses his relations with his fellow-men will also be changed? If such an evolution in ethics is to come to pass it seems not unlikely that progress will mean the proscribing of other actions—the promotion of what are at present mere plebeian wrongs to the proscribed aristocracy of evil. What appears to us a slight tendency in this direction is observable at present. Count Tolstoy is proclaiming trumpet-tongued to the world, that the use of physical violence or any force other than moral suasion is always wrong. He holds that it would be as wrong for a person to stay the hand of his murderer by any corporal force however slight, as it would be to stop the murderer by telling the smallest lie. Though contemporary Europe seems to be a little hard of hearing as regards this preaching, it is just possible that a gentler age amidst the felicities of the future may harken to the doctrine. In olden times, for instance, it was sometimes right to retain a slave. Now such a thing seems to be a proscribed action. We believe that the enslavement of a fellow-man to-day would not be justifiable though the slave-owner made through him limitless wealth which otherwise would never have been produced. The possession of private property, too, is at present an action of which the rightness or wrongness is to be determined by the circumstances of each particular case. But if once the socialistic programme is accepted the retention of non-consumable wealth will certainly be closed as a proscribed action.

III.—THE OCCASIONAL RIGHTNESS OF PROSCRIBED ACTIONS

Though society is trying to reduce the performance of proscribed actions to a minimum, it may not hope to exterminate them completely. If even only two actions are proscribed the complete extermination of both becomes impossible. Situations can arise in which there is but a choice between the two proscribed actions—doing a particular thing will produce one proscribed action and not doing it will cause another proscribed result. In such a dilemma when only two courses of action are possible, some one of them must be for the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and hence one of the proscribed actions in the case is right or good. At first sight it might appear that either of the proscribed actions might become lawful in the circumstances. This, however, is not so. Just as a proscribed action becomes right only when absolutely inevitable so its performance is to be deferred as long as possible, and hence one is compelled to choose the proscribed action which comes second in order of time in preference to that which comes first. The unerring moral instinct of the race shows to fine advantage in this arrangement. If people were permitted to choose a proscribed action to prevent the occurrence of other proscribed actions in the future, they could easily persuade themselves they were often preventing future proscribed actions when in reality they were not doing so. Thus would the bulwark of proscription be completely swept away.

The principle of subordination amongst proscribed actions may be stated thus: *in circumstances where there is a choice only between two proscribed actions, the proscribed action which comes second in order of time is right or good.* The working of the principle is sufficiently illustrated in the subjoined examples. If my telling a lie is the only way of preventing a tyrant from murdering a thousand innocent men, either the telling of the lie or the slaying of the innocent men is inevitable. The rule is to abstain from causing a proscribed action as long as possible. The lie comes first in order of time. In the circumstances,

therefore, the proscribed action of causing the death of so many innocent people is lawful or right. From my conduct, too, it is clear that I wish innocent men to be murdered rather than that I should tell a lie to save them. Again, no one will deny that with the speed-rates at present necessitated by the exigencies of society, numberless accidents to human life and limb are unavoidable. City cabmen, for instance, can preclude all possibility of killing innocent people only by taking disproportionate care, such care as society cannot afford to have always expended in similar circumstances. Since, therefore, the only way of preventing innocent people being killed is by previously performing the proscribed action of taking disproportionate care the causing of the death of the innocent persons is lawful or good. It would appear, too, that the cabman wishes such people to be maimed or killed rather than that he should take disproportionate care.

In this connexion Catholic ethicists emphasize very much the truth that it is never lawful to wish another's death or deception as such. However, there is here nothing peculiar to proscribed actions. It is never right to wish any evil proscribed or non-proscribed as such. To wish to tire a horse uselessly, to wish that evil as such, is as unalterably wrong as would be the wishing of the death of an innocent person. But in matters of such serious import the emphasizing of the general truth is obviously most opportune.

When speaking of the external act our ethicists usually express what we have been enlarging upon by saying that it is not lawful to kill or deceive people directly, but that it is lawful to do so 'indirectly' and as a 'by-product.' These terms are, as it were, algebraic expressions, and what may be called their arithmetical equivalent is obtained by the rule of subordination among proscribed actions above enunciated.

IV.—LEGISLATION IN ITS INFANCY

Principles of morality which are ultimately founded in the essences of things become known to us only as laws

or customs. The respect due to these laws and customs, when as yet we are but partially cognizant of them, constitutes an interesting question in ethics. The problem arises, not only in the case of new laws, but also when old enactments are fading from the public memory, when laws are so to speak, lapsing into their second childhood. If the existence of a law is not certainly known what respect is to be shown to it? Probabilism is the accepted philosophy dealing with this phenomenon. It is a theory which says that a law does not bind in so far as its message may be doubtful. It is so called because the person who follows it would act on a *probable* opinion that the doubtful enactment does not exist against a more probable opinion that it does exist. Probabiliorism is the name of a discarded system which always compelled a person to follow the more probable opinion. An example will best illustrate the scope of the principle. Suppose, for the moment, that the head of a temperance association is a legislator. The members are doubtful whether there is a law forbidding them the use of cider. In the system of probabilism they are not bound to abstain from cider, although it is more probable that the law against it exists. On the other hand, if a total abstainer were doubtful whether a particular drink before him were cider or some intoxicant, he would be bound, as in all his other actions, to follow the more probable opinion, the reason being, as we shall see, that it is in no way the legislator's business to instruct him in this affair. Similarly when the legislator has decreed that water is the matter of the sacrament of Baptism his work is done, and since he is not supposed to tell me whether this particular liquid, about whose nature I am doubtful, is or is not water, I cannot follow a probable against a more probable opinion in determining that question. All that we have been saying about enactments whose existence is doubtful holds equally for the probable explanations which ethicists give of laws and customs that are certainly existing.

The justification of the system of probabilism is that the mere laic in such matters is not supposed to do what

is the business of legislators and ethicians. Of no man should it be required that he do another's work. It has now become so easy for lawgivers to make known their behests, and the division of labour has progressed so far in setting apart moralists as a distinct class, that the ordinary man is no longer expected to be puzzling over probabilities in these matters. In olden times, of course, when means of intercommunication were not so good, legislators expected and were entitled to more indulgence. A law whose terms are doubtful is, as Father Lehmkuhl concretely puts it, like a partially illegible document. A legislator would naturally wish that such a document be interpreted though with difficulty, and acted upon when there was no likelihood of a full copy of the law being had for a long period. On the other hand, if a legible duplicate could soon be had, time spent in interpreting the previous hieroglyphic would be regarded by legislators as by everybody else as time misspent. Similarly, when moralists did not form a class apart, everyone was bound to find out the law for himself as best he could, just as people were compelled to make their own clothes ere the advent of the sartorial epoch. Then, in this matter, as in his other work, a person was bound to follow the more probable opinion. Now it is only when moralists have smelted solid certitude from out the bullion of probability, that the public need become interested. The history of thought on the subject curiously reflects this explanation of it. The system of probabilism is first referred to in history towards the end of the sixteenth century by a Spanish Dominican Father Medina. It is reasonably conjectured, however, that the system may have been in vogue for some time previously. With but a slight set back under the sinister influence of Jansen, it has ever since been growing in popularity, and is at present all but universally accepted. With increased facilities of communication, therefore, and with the more perfect division of labour, the system of probabiliorism has gradually and naturally emerged into the system of probabilism.

V.—TWO ETHICAL MISCONCEPTIONS

We shall now deal briefly with two bogies which keep many sincere inquirers from embracing the utilitarian system.

In the first place it is alleged that utilitarianism cannot be made to square with the idea of punishment. Of course if you ask the ordinary man why should murderers and rogues be punished, he will tell you that otherwise honest people could not live, which is his way of saying that punishment is preventive of future crime, and tends to promote the general happiness. This, however, applies only to the preventive aspect of punishment, for the notion of retributive punishment, of which the existence cannot be denied, prescinds completely from utility. The elemental idea of retribution is that when a person inflicts a certain amount of pain voluntarily, an equivalent amount of pain is to be meted out to himself without any reference to the usefulness of the proceeding. This ethical phenomenon is, at first sight, slightly startling to the utilitarian, and fierce controversial strife has for long raged about it. But on closer examination the doughty combat proves to be but another of the many sham battles got up by ethicists between order and utility. Preventive punishment and retributive punishment are really the same thing viewed under different aspects. When one adverts to it it is easy to perceive that preventive or corrective punishment is punishment regarded as useful or good, and that retributive or vindictive punishment is punishment regarded as in the fitness of things, as orderly or beautiful.

The punishment of hell presents no special difficulty to our system. 'That horrible place,' writes Father Faber,¹ 'is not without a most blessed result on the salvation of many souls through the holy and salutary fear which it breeds in them, and the loose and low notions about God which it corrects in the unthinking.' The fear of hell, therefore, causes many people to go to heaven, and causes others to merit greater happiness therein. When our opponents have shown that the

¹ *All for Jesus*, chap. ix. sec. i.

actual sufferings of the reprobate are in excess of the pleasures which the fear of hell has caused to such souls in heaven, they can compel the attention of utilitarians.

The second difficulty urged against utilitarianism is that it imposes on men unbearable burthens. It is true that according to the greatest happiness principle a person is bound to be always doing his best. But start not, comfort-loving reader! You will soon perceive that this composes no herculean task. In the French comedy a gentleman is surprised to discover that quite unknown to himself he had been all his life speaking prose. Perhaps we, too, may have been all our lives unconsciously doing our best. Here then is a herculean task which we *do* propose to the reader—we challenge him to mention any deed which certainly did not promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and which is not at the same time condemned as wrong in all recognized systems of morality? The truth is that the phrase 'doing one's best' is habitually misunderstood in this connexion. It is usually applied to individual actions, and of course when thus particularized it always implies strenuous endeavour. But utilitarianism extends the phrase to the whole span of life. Then it no longer means unremitting labour without rest or sleep. Our best would be very small if we acted thus for any length of time. Rest and recreation are needful for efficient working, and it is only by resting and recreating ourselves sufficiently that we can attain our greatest results.

The necessity of always doing one's best involves this admission, also that whenever it is right for us to do any act it is wrong for us not to do it. An objection is urged against this position from the practice of heroic virtue. Utilitarianism says that when it is right for a man to be a teetotaller it is wrong for him not to be a teetotaller, and *vice versa*. But in a parallel case of even a more heroic virtue a great body of Catholic moralists and canonists teach the same doctrine. If a person has a vocation to virginity, that is, if he can preserve perfect chastity and sees the good of doing so, they lay it down that it would

be wrong for him not to follow his vocation, while if having no vocation he undertook the task, that, too, they decide to be wrong. Of course in myriads of our action through life the advantages on either side of a question will be equal. In all such cases except for the unmortified, it is for the greatest happiness of the greatest number that men should follow their own inclinations or predilections.

The unsympathetic always laugh consumedly at this tenet of utilitarianism. They profess to be intensely amused at the idea that people are bound to be ever doing their best. As some slight aid towards enabling them to keep their countenances, we submit the following problem for consideration. If, as is by all admitted, the less of two evils is so far good and therefore lawful, how does it happen that the less of two goods is not so for evil and therefore unlawful? If minus six subtracted from minus two gives plus four, how does it happen that plus six subtracted from plus two does not give minus four? Mathematicians are dangerous people to fall out with, so we hope that our opponents will be successful in clearing up this little misunderstanding.

Now in parting from our theme let us glance back to see in perspective its relation to human thought generally. The conscious and avowed acceptance by mankind generally of utilitarian ethics will quickly dispel from the popular imagination a certain quaint belief which has long survived. It will completely divest moral science of that sombre puritanical character in which it is shrouded. To the uncultured mind all law is unlovable. Moral precepts are regarded in much the same light as unthinking youth regards parental restrictions. Assuredly, to contemplate the staid moralist as master of the revels to humanity in its enjoyment of the pleasures of life gives such a profound shock to the popular concept of him as to appear almost comical. Yet that such he is is a hard utilitarian fact. This mind-opening it is which in our opinion makes acquaintance with utilitarian ethics the most grateful of all philosophic experiences. Bacchanalians

and wrong-doers of every kind are in their selfish blindness but fools who cheat themselves or knaves who rob their fellows of the full meed of happiness. This world will never be a really merry place until it is a world of saints. In this way the doctrine of utilitarianism is a species of new natural revelation of God's goodness. In the laws of nature the love of the Legislator is in striking manner shown forth. All His ordinances are directed, not as the untutored invariably imagine to any end peculiar to Himself in which His creatures do not participate, but solely for the greater happiness of the whole human family. Omnipotent and all-sufficient God though He be He seems to have no purpose other than the comfort and happiness of mankind. Is it not marvellous that Lord of heaven and earth as He is, His sole desire is that in this world and the next, aggregate humanity should enjoy itself to the utmost? In symphony with this sublime truth the majestic melody of the Psalmist is uttered :—

When I consider the heavens the work of Thy fingers the moon and stars which Thou hast ordained, what is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou visitest him? For Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels and crownest him with glory and honour, Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands, Thou hast put all things under his feet. O Lord, our Lord! How excellent is Thy name in all the earth.

J. FERRIS, B.D.

THE FEVER OF YOUTH

YESTERDAY, as I was reading a letter from a lad to one who had been his master, there rose before me the strange antithesis of youth, its irritating self-assertion and its beautiful loyalty. Not that these were openly expressed in the letter, for it is also of youth to shrink from plain speech in revealing either its need of sympathy or its eagerness for self-devotion. For a moment, there seemed to be a strange medley in my memory. One of the Hebrew Psalms, Plato's *Republic*, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the *Confessions of St. Augustine* appeared confused with one of the Penitential Lyrics, which reveal the soul of ancient Babylon.

The matter grew clearer, as there unfolded itself in its inner meaning the story of youth, born outside the Catholic sphere, and devoting itself to wild activities, in order to still those faculties which find their peaceful exercise in the service of God, and there alone. The tale ran on and showed the youthful heart and mind glowing with the happiness of the convert, till its morning gladness was, veiled in sudden eclipse. This, the well-known 'Convert's Desolation,' full of pain for many, and of peril for some, passed at length, and left the soul alone with God and His saints.

When the whole tale was told, the unmeasured words of the lad's unripe and unconverted lips lost much of their repulsiveness, for his absurd and boastful utterances were found to be far from positive assertions, and indeed to be little more than questions, which he flung to plumb the unknown deeps of the world around him. Sometimes they were soliloquies, in which he sought to probe the world within him, to gauge its mysteries, and define its struggle.

But the trouble is manifold, and in many stages, as the Psalm, the *Republic*, the Epistle, the *Confessions* and

the Lyric disclose ; for the differences between these are not to be explained only by reference to the difference of authorship. It is true the writers all show that sense of guilt, which so irritated Whitman as to turn him towards the dumb animals, unable to vex him by bewailing their sins. But the crises in the soul, which the works represent, are distinct, though all may be known by one who has become a Catholic in the time of his full manhood.

To the confessor, a study of the subject is important, for his penitent may be a convert, to whom the confessional is often a means of spiritual direction as well as the tribunal of penance. And in many a case, there is more often a craving for a little sympathy with spiritual struggles than a need of Liguorian keenness or Thomist learning. Yet those very struggles and, still more, the manner, in which they are expressed, will suggest heresy and, perhaps, apostasy, if the priest has never known a similar experience.

Still stranger to the submissive mind, and more difficult to calm, are those storms, which overwhelm youth's reverence for established custom. Polus, drawn so finely by Plato, is a figure for each new generation. The young man, indeed, was a picture of young Athens, then awaking to question the ancient principles of conduct, and passing from routine and settled forms to a turmoil of individual opinions and irresponsibility. And our own young friends, whose fluent omniscience and obtrusive manners often compel us to silence, are such symbols as the old world found in Athenian Sophists, the medieval in German Protestants, and the modern in French Atheists.

The necktie of vivid hue, the newspaper of emphatic speech, and the watchwords of capacious vagueness, are only signs that the youth, so far from understanding the needs of his time more fully than his elders, has not yet discovered the nature of the world in which he lives. Those institutions which provoke his scorn, even his grammars, which he regards with consciousness of larger wisdom, and the store of knowledge in the very language he speaks so imperfectly, are really the products of many

men in many ages and in many lands, co-operating in the life of reason.

But it may be that many a brilliant youth would not have belied its promise, and many an early faith would not have withered, had there been some one near who would understand and explain with the sympathy born of his own youth's fitful fever. The difficulty in this instance does not arise from an effort to live the supernatural life of faith, but belongs to the natural order. The young man, like Wordsworth, is moving in worlds not realized ; and feeling life itself an unintelligible mystery, he wanders without star or pilot.

It is not knowledge, that will heal the soul of the youth, becoming conscious of himself and of the world. Nor is it knowledge, that will sooth the convert, when he enters upon the visible darkness that may meet him just within the threshold of the Church. In both cases the soul has its own armour, for loyalty to a noble aim will guard it from the confusions of the time, and loyalty to God and the Virgin Mother of God will fill it with more gladness than it knew when it became one with the people of God.

Instinctively the soul seems to recognize some shadow of this, for Polus declares allegiance to a Sophist rhetorician, and St. Augustine finds his comfort in his mother. The peace is not final, nor even real. The Sophist ferment was but an episode in the life of Athens ; and while it lasted it expressed, but could not calm, the soul's disquiet. St. Augustine's rest in the words of St. Monica could not outlive her departure. But in this he was fortunate, that her farewell pointed to the secret of peace. Indeed, it may be that the desolation and darkness which, for a time, parch and cloud the soul of many a convert, are given in the mercy of God to let the heart feel its own helplessness, and to detach it from the beauty of the Catholic life, that it may rest in God and God alone.

In the tenth book of St. Augustine's *Confessions* we can find traces of that experience ; and it would seem he trod the path so many converts tread. At first, there is

an intellectual calm, so still that the soul wonders where its difficulties have fled. There is satisfaction in the harmony of the faith ; and there is illumination of philosophy's highways by the revelation, now dawning on the mind. Then, when the intellect is at peace, a flood of horror suddenly sweeps over its world. It is the flesh, the baser passions, the brute in man, come to struggle for mastery. And the convert wonders how this can be allowed by God.

But there is in this the crowning of the path Polus has only begun. That lad questions the world in his own name. It is another and a loftier issue when Antigone questions the State in the name of Eternal Law. And it will be still more prophetic of final issues when the soul questions itself in the name of God. Then will spring up the consciousness of sin ; but that bitterness will become a fount of sweetness. There was one man, who was asked in his old age how he had been able to work so for God ; and he answered that God had given him a deep sense of sin.

None the less, the price of the experience is that which most repels the heart of youth. Loneliness, the most complete and drear, is his, who has closed his ears a moment to the voice of the world, and for whom God and his own soul are veiled in cloud. To be patient then is beyond youthful powers, for the minds of young men, especially in western lands, are so little disciplined that they can hardly sit still and think. If they make the effort, it is generally with the aid of a narcotic.

But from without may come the impulse which compels him take the first step from Polus to Augustine. It may be he is held down by sickness, or feels in some dim way that a pain or grief is the penalty of an offence against the Almighty. Yet God is no longer known to him as in childhood ; and because he has not yet known the less imaginative and more intelligent faith of manhood, he calls himself an Agnostic, and regards his darkness as a creed. Unlike the Athenians, he builds no altar to the Unknown ; but like the Babylonians, he cries at times to the God he cannot name

Sometimes the older and more tranquil mind, that has never known, or has forgotten, the hectic of youth, is surprised to hear the young Agnostic speak of God. But the lad's heart is full of contradictions, none more sure of it than he himself. And the riper mind would not be so troubled by utterances, which seem to verge on blasphemy, were it considered how changeable are the young man's moods, and how rudimentary are his ideas of the Supreme. He thinks of God, now as taking vengeance for that which has been committed against Him unconsciously, now as pitiful and hearing prayer.

Such were the thoughts and feelings, the Babylonian expressed in this lyric :—

I do not know what faults I have committed.
The Lord has looked on me in His heart's anger :
God has visited me in His heart's rage.
I seek help ; but none takes my hand :
I weep, and find no one near me.
I cry out, and none hears me ;
Sad, lying on the ground, without raising my eyes,
I groan, and turn to my pitiful God.

No doubt, it tends to irritate us, when the youth ceases to bewail his ills in secret, and avenges himself by condemning heaven and earth. At this time, it is often nothing more than some flippant remark of a newspaper reviewer, by which he justifies his dismissal of a poet from the Court of the Immortals. But this disrespect, which he extends to the legislature and his own sisters, is little more than an expression of his soul's misery. And much of the annoyance we feel in his neighbourhood may be caused by unwelcome remembrances of what we said and did in days when we were as miserable and as foolish as he.

It is well God's pity reaches beyond ours. In some way, by different ways with different souls, God touches the lad. Not merely a new ideal, of which he may dream, but a new life becomes known to him. Like Browning, he will cry that he is singled out by God, and that no sin may touch him ; and like Wordsworth, he will feel

himself a dedicated spirit, else sinning greatly. But if he cannot express himself in verse, he may join an obscure political party or a new religious sect, in eagerness to fulfil an undefined mission, and with a desire, as he assures us, to leave the world better than he found it.

Now he moves in an atmosphere, charged with excitement, and healing neither soul nor body. In some cases, the nervous system is shattered by the prolonged tension. In others, there is a sudden and utter collapse of self-control and then the imagination is seared by evil. But sometimes a gentler and lovelier mood succeeds. However, his revolutionary period, which has made his relatives distrustful of him, has made him still more distrustful of himself.

It is for him the parting of the ways. He can, and he may, hereafter wander through life aimless and pessimist, and become one of those whose religion consists in imitating the more mournful office of the Recording Angel. But he can, and he may, condemn his own rebellion; and craving for the life that touched his life, he may repeat the plea of the Hebrew Psalmist, who sang his own soul out to God's face, when he chanted these words :—

Veil Thy face from my sins :
And blot out all my iniquities.
Create a clean heart for me, O God :
And renew an upright spirit within me.
Do not cast me away from Thy Face :
And do not take Thy Holy Spirit from me.

The lad has not found peace but war, more war. Once, he warred with the world, and then with God. Now he is at war with himself. His discomfort, while he harboured contradictions in his soul is a trifle compared with his anguish now, when his very life seems torn in two. Some have attempted to voice such a soul in its sorrows and aspirations, but none has made it speak more briefly or in a clearer light than Paul the Apostle has done.

Well indeed must the saint have known the unhappy condition, for in the seventh chapter of his Epistle to the Romans he makes the sufferer unfold himself. He does

not know at what he is working, for he does not do what he wills to do, but produces what he hates. He does not produce what good he wills but does that evil he does not will. He finds then the law that evil is present with him, when he wills to produce what is noble. He is pleased with God's law according to the interior man, that is, in his inner being. But in his members he sees another law warring against the law of his intelligence, against the principle of his conscience, and making him a captive in sin's law, which is in his members.

Occupied with himself, the lad may become morbid, and waste much ink and paper in diaries and autobiographies. He will study the Rabbinic doctrine of a good and a bad impulse in the soul of man; and he will mouth Hamlet's soliloquies, or monotone Tennyson's 'Two Voices.' He will also probably write a psychological novel and charm himself with a psychological analysis of himself; but the novel and the analysis will have nothing in common with psychology, except indeed that they are based on introspection. He will have no leisure to think of others, except as spectators of his own drama. And he will expect his friends, and especially his elders, to look on him with the same interest with which all Europe, according to Arnold, regarded Byron, when he displayed the pageant of his bleeding heart.

In pity to him, and perhaps to our own youth, we must remember that he is still living on the plane of the natural world. The sacramental life of God's kingdom and its peace lie beyond his vision. But when his limitations become dimly visible to him, his longing, if it could become articulate, would find its expression in such words as St. Paul's, when he declared himself miserable, and asked who would deliver him from this Death's own body. Sin and Sin's murder of his soul are real enough now.

It is easy to tell him of peace in the faith. But it is only the inexperienced would expect him to seize it at once. Not seldom, already, has he been disappointed. He has lived earnestly, for, like Browning, he is made up of the intensest life; and yet he is still homeless in

the world of thought and in the world of action. Of the faith itself, he knows little ; and of that little the greater part has flowed through poisoned channels.

Argument and the proud passions of argument have fed upon his life. Could he express his need in simple words, he would say he wanted the peace that God, and God alone, can give. Two young women went in such a state to meet a nun. Afterwards, they were asked the result. They hesitated, spoke of their difficulties, and hinted that they did not like the nun as instructress. But they consented to meet another nun, a woman of wonderful gentleness ; and on their return they said they would be instructed by her. Questioned as to what she had said, they answered that she had told them she was not clever, and could not answer difficult questions, but she would show them the convent grounds. Both were received into the Church, and one of them has since become a nun.

On the day of his reception, our lad first learns true calm of soul. There is no eagerness to wave a flag, or shout a war cry. He feels the rock beneath his feet. He kneels before the Blessed Sacrament, and wonders if he is really the same person who alternated between excitement and despair. At the Holy Mass, there are times when he forgets the world and himself, and simply rests both mind and heart at peace.

In a deeper and fuller sense than Carlyle intended, he has passed from the everlasting No of disbelief to the everlasting Yea of faith. His peace of mind is the more assured, because he has sounded the deeps of the matter at issue. Those who have become converts because the Church was found superior to their sect, may be troubled when they are called to their ranks in the war between the Catholic Faith and the foes of Revealed Religion. And two such young men abandoned their duties, candidly telling the priest that when they left the High Anglicans to become Catholics, they had never faced the real question, Rome or Nothing.

But our lad's trials are not over. As our Lord was

driven from the scene of His Baptism to the wilderness of the Temptation, the newborn soul may be swept away to meet a darkness more dense than any he has known. And, perhaps, it will be well for him if all men fail him. His trial will be the briefer. The sooner he will learn that God will have him rest, not on the beauty of the Catholic life, nor on the wisdom of the holiest men, but on Him alone, whose Sacred Heart is beating for him now and on the Throne of God.

G. S. HITCHCOCK, S.J.

SCOTLAND AND JOHN KNOX

SCOTTISH Presbyterianism has raised John Knox to the dignity of a national hero. It has white-washed him beyond all recognition. It has artistically 'stippled out' the wicked and unworthy features of his character. It has transformed him, now into a beneficent giant, anon into a second Samuel,—a prophet, wise, noble-hearted and majestic, like his great Hebrew prototype.

For her triad of national heroes Scotland has chosen John Knox, Robert Burns and Walter Scott. These are the historic figures that occupy the most honourable niches in the modern Scottish temple of fame. Wallace and Bruce have been deposed from their pride of place and relegated to a secondary position. So we are informed by Mr. Robert S. Rait, himself a Scotsman and a fairly prolific writer upon subjects connected with the history of his native land :—

Every Scotsman feels [writes Mr. Rait ¹] that if he were to enter his country's Valhalla there are three shades of the mighty dead whom he would recognize and know as if he had lived with them in the days of their flesh—as if he had listened with awe and reverence, or in terror and hatred, to the voice [Knox's] which in one hour put more life into the enemies of Rome than 'fyve hundred trumpettes continually blustering;' as if he had heard Robert Burns talking in Ayrshire cottages or in Edinburgh drawingrooms, or as if he rambled with Sir Walter by Gala and Tweed. . . . John Knox, Robert Burns, and Walter Scott remain superior to all the changes and chances of the life of the immortals. There is a kind of common consciousness by which and in which they live; about the main lines of their portraits, and even about most of the details, there is, rightly or wrongly, an almost unanimous agreement. It required, therefore, no great effort on the part of the Church of Scotland and its sister Presbyterian Churches to obtain for the quatercentenary of Knox [in 1905] a recognition both general and enthusiastic.

¹ *Quarterly Review*, July, 1906.

Elsewhere the same writer assures us that 'more really than Wallace or Bruce, Knox is the popular hero.'¹

Mr. Rait is himself an enthusiastic admirer of Knox, but his admiration is a trifle more chastened and discriminating than that of other Presbyterian historians. Like all the Protestant writers who have undertaken to recount the deeds and portray the character of Knox, Mr. Rait practises an 'economy of truth' in a way that is sometimes misleading and disedifying.

It is a thousand pities that some Catholic historian has not done for Knox and Presbyterianism what Denifle, Dollinger and Janssen did for Luther and Lutheranism. Until some Catholic writer tears away the tangled web of sophistry that has been woven around this historic figure of Knox, we shall never fully know that 'reformer' as he really was. At present we are, to a large extent, at the mercy of Knox's Protestant biographers; and from them it is well-nigh impossible to get the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The disingenuousness of Knox's biographers has been frequently censured, even by Protestant writers such as Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. Rait; though the two writers just named are rather complacent than severe in their criticism of Knox. What we want is the plain, unvarnished truth about the self-styled reformer. We want the unadulterated truth about John Knox—the truth in all its brutality—and we shall long for it in vain until some competent Catholic gives us the fruit of a thorough study of Knox's life in the light of contemporary documents.

Dr. M'Crie's biography of Knox (originally published in 1812) is deservedly characterized by Mr. Rait as 'a piece of special pleading.' It was stigmatized by Buckle as 'an undistinguishing and injudicious panegyric;' and Mr. Andrew Lang gives a number of rather scandalous instances of M'Crie's literary dishonesty in suppressing the truth. Further on, Mr. Rait tells us that M'Crie's book was written—

with the firm determination to ignore all that had been

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1905.—All our quotations from Mr. Rait are taken from these two articles.

gained by the detached treatment of the subject current at the end of the eighteenth century. It was not only that neither Robertson nor Hailes had said the last word on John Knox, M'Crie declined to admit that they had said anything at all.

Let us see what, according to Mr. Rait, Joseph Robertson and Lord Hailes really said. Principal Robertson 'accepted, without much enthusiasm, the orthodox verdict' of Presbyterianism upon the life and character of Knox. But, greatly daring, he drew attention to the feet of clay that peeped out from beneath the tawdry drapery of the idol,—'he pointed out the defects which David Laing afterwards endeavoured so strongly to conceal.'

Robertson's verdict upon Knox must have appeared shockingly severe to the sensitive admirers of the reformer. To us, in view of the real facts of Knox's career, Robertson's judgment seems to err only on the side of undue mildness :—

His [Knox's] maxims [Robertson says] were often too severe and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncompromising himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the Queen's person and conduct.

As we have said, this judgment errs—and indeed greatly errs—on the side of leniency. Buckle's view, though inadequate, comes nearer to the truth. Buckle admits that Knox—

was stern, unrelenting, and frequently brutal ; he was not only callous to human suffering, but he could turn it into a jest, and could employ on it the resources of his coarse, though exuberant, humour ; and he loved power so inordinately that, unable to brook the slightest opposition, he trampled on all who crossed his path or stood even for a moment in the way of his ulterior designs. The influence of Knox in promoting the Reformation has indeed been grossly exaggerated by historians, who are too apt to ascribe vast results to individual exertions ; overlooking those large and general causes, in the absence of which the individual exertion would be fruitless. Still, he effected more than any single man. . . . His first effort

was a complete failure, and, more than any one of his actions, has injured his reputation. This was the sanction which he gave to the cruel murder of Archbishop Beaton, in 1546. He repaired to the Castle of St. Andrew's; he shut himself up with the assassins; he prepared to share their fate; and in a work which he afterwards wrote openly justified what they had done. For this, nothing can excuse him.

Buckle informs us in a note that 'Lindsay of Pitcairn (*Chronicles*, vol. ii., p. 484) relates a circumstance respecting the murder which is too horrible to mention, and of which it is enough to say, that it consisted of an obscene outrage committed on the corpse of the victim.'¹

In view of facts such as these, it seems rather ludicrous to find sweet enthusiasts like Mr. Rait, at this time of day, writing about the 'clean hands and pure heart' with which, as they are pleased to inform us, their hero 'ascended into the hill of God.' It is more likely that the hero wended his steps in another direction.

Dr. Robertson elsewhere tells us that 'the reformer's violent counsels and intemperate speech were remarkable, even in his own ruthless age;' and he gives fourteen examples of Knox's intemperate language and sanguinary counsels. 'Lord Hailes has shown,' he adds, 'how little Knox's statements are to be relied on, even in matters which were within the reformer's own knowledge.'² This refers, of course, to the statements contained in Knox's *magnum opus*, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*.

Duke George of Saxony described Luther as 'the most cold-blooded liar he had ever known;' and Knox, in this respect, was not far behind the German apostate. Nothing, for instance, could be more revolting than the tissue of mean and malicious falsehoods which Knox inserts in his 'History,' by way of discrediting the Queen-Regent, Cardinal Beaton, and Mary Queen of Scots. Knox, as a purveyor of falsehoods, is worthy of special study; but it were idle to expect such a study from a Protestant pen.

¹Buckle's *Hist. of Civilisation*, vol. ii., pp. 176, 177. American edition (1862).

²Lang's *John Knox and the Reformation*, Preface.

Upon M'Crie's shoulders, in the opinion of Mr. Rait, we must lay the responsibility for 'a style of thinking about Knox that may be called platonically Puritan. Mr. Andrew Lang holds that the principal author of this offence against historical truth was Carlyle rather than M'Crie; but we need not stay to discuss the question. Doubtless Carlyle bestowed sundry unmeaning eulogies upon Knox; but, says Mr. Rait, 'Carlyle was too good an historian to deny that Knox was both narrow and intolerant.'

Mr. Rait tells us—and the fact will seem grotesque and laughable to all who are emancipated from the bondage of Protestant tradition—that, 'after the disruption of the Presbyterian Church, a belief in Knox's infallibility became almost an article of faith in the Free Church.' In the same *Quarterly* article, the writer admits that 'a canonization, none the less powerful in its effects, because it was conferred by popular consent alone, had placed the virtues of John Knox beyond the reach of the *Advocatus Diaboli*.'

It is rather regrettable that men who, like Mr. Rait, undoubtedly know better, should sanction the popular apotheosis of an uncouth and blood-thirsty fanatic. We can hardly blame the rank and file of Protestants for entertaining whimsically uncritical views of Knox's character when we find a professed historian of Mr. Rait's stamp heaping fulsome and ridiculous eulogies upon his hero, thus:—

Like the prophet Samuel, whom in many ways he resembles, [Knox] left on record a statement of his innocency in the great place he had filled. 'Nane I haif corrupted; nane I haif defraudit; merchandise I haif not made.' It was no vain boast. With clean hands and a pure heart he was about to ascend into the hill of God, free from the reproach of selfishness and greed which mars the character of his allies and his followers. . . . It is with gratitude, and even with affection, that Knox is remembered to-day; and no one among men 'renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding' has a surer or a more righteous hold upon the reverence of his countrymen than John Knox. 'The days of the life of men may be num-

bered, but the days of Israel are innumerable. A wise man shall inherit glory among his people, and his name shall be perpetual.'

'Deplorable' is the mildest epithet that one can justly apply to this piece of mawkish and untruthful eulogy. This strange panegyric affords at least one illustration of the truth of Mr. Crosland's satirical dictum: 'To criticise is scarcely the Scotchman's forte, his chiefest gifts lying rather in the direction of admiration, particularly of admiration for whatever is Scotch.' It is true that many of the eulogies applied to Knox might also—by judicious admirers, skilled in the artistic use of the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi*—be applied to Satan or to Judas Iscariot.

In his *Fortnightly* article, Mr. Rait makes the following significant admission: 'Some of the popular works relating to Knox, which have appeared in recent years, indicate only too clearly that the blind are still to be found engaged in their old occupation of leading the blind.' Herein our panegyrist is judged out of his own mouth; though doubtless there are worse offenders than he. The reproach applies in varying degrees to all the Protestant writers who have essayed to delineate the character of Knox.

Far from being a saint or a prophet, Knox was a ruffian in the fullest sense of the term. He declared it the bounden duty of every Protestant, with a call that way, to assassinate his Catholic fellow-citizens if he only gets a favourable opportunity. In his appeals to the sword of the exterminator and the dagger of the assassin, Knox outran the most violent and fanatical of modern anarchists. He proclaimed it the duty of kings and chief rulers to massacre their Catholic subjects. His principles led logically and inevitably to the commission of the sin of murder. He was almost certainly an accomplice in the 'slaughter of Davie' (Rizzio); and he glorified the murderous deed as 'a just act and worthy of all praise.'

Knox was the constant friend and companion of men whose designs and deeds were notoriously murderous. He earnestly recommended the assassination (judicial or

otherwise) of his lawful sovereign, Mary-Queen of Scots. He warmly approved of the horrid murder of Cardinal Beaton, and wrote of it in a strain of coarse and revolting merriment. He styled it a 'godly fact,' and declared, 'these are the works of our God!'—thereby, as Buckle says, making the Deity an assassin. He put into the mouth of the chief murderer of Cardinal Beaton a pious speech, redolent of the Holy Name of Jesus. He glorified the oratorical assassin and pronounced his deed 'godly.'

As a pretended minister of the Gospel of mercy, Knox helped to enact that a priest who offered Mass, or a layman who heard Mass, for the third time, should be judicially murdered. After laying down a preposterous definition of idolatry, he held most constantly that it was the duty of the State, and frequently of private persons—even when there was no question of self-defence—to purge the land of idolatrous Papists by red-handed murder. On two occasions when he gave expression to seemingly moderate views on the question of assassination and massacre, he was merely playing the hypocrite, and giving a misleading version of his doctrines to his opponents for his own unscrupulous ends.

Knox gave conclusive proof that he cherished in his 'Christian' heart a murderous hatred for certain persons—especially for his lawful Queen, and for her mother, the Queen-Regent. He repeatedly expressed regret for not having 'executed God's judgments' on Mary Queen of Scots, by causing her to be murdered. He prayed with much unction that God might send an assassin to imbrue his hands in the blood of Philip II, Mary Tudor, and Mary of Guise.

And when the miscreant reformer was within a single month of his end, he and his preachers clamoured for an Act of Parliament which should compel the hundreds of thousands of Catholics throughout Scotland to abjure their faith publicly, and embrace the Konxian gospel. In default whereof, all their goods and chattels should be confiscated, and they themselves should be transported, homeless and penniless, beyond the seas. In case they

remained in Scotland or returned thither, every Protestant could be empowered by law to murder them without further ado. Such were the demands of Knox and his preachers, just one month before the 'reformer's' death.¹

In view of these and many other damning facts of Knox's career, it is nothing short of disgraceful that a miscreant of his stamp should be held up before too confiding Protestants as a prophet, a saint, and a hero.

The responsibility for this discreditable state of things rests, in a great measure, with Knox's disingenuous biographers. Such has been their invincible partiality for their hero that it has blinded them to his grossest and most glaring defects. Naturally enough, the Presbyterian clergy have also done their share in popularizing the false and fulsome legend.

In his *Fortnightly* article, Mr. Rait asks this pertinent question, in regard to the love and veneration in which Knox is held by the Presbyterians of Scotland: 'Is its basis sheer ignorance, invincible prejudice, the result of long tradition consciously inspired by Knox himself, and cherished by his successors in the ministry?' Though the writer does not stay to answer, the whole trend of his article unmistakably points to an affirmative reply. 'This unquestioning faith in the wisdom and goodness of John Knox,' he tells us, 'does not depend upon any widespread knowledge of the man and his times.' Mr. Rait speaks of 'the constant refusal' of Scotsmen 'to estimate the life and work of Knox in the light of material which has existed for many years.' Of the 'many current popular misapprehensions' regarding Knox, which 'have survived the work of David Laing and of Mr. Hume Brown,' Mr. Rait is convinced that they 'will doubtless persist for many years to come; one reason being that 'the historian, when he tries to combat popular prejudice, is but a voice crying in the wilderness.' Unhappily there are only too many Protestant historians who foster rather than combat these popular prejudices.

¹ For a detailed account of these facts the reader must consult Mr. Andrew Lang's work above mentioned.

Dr. M'Crie seems to have done more than any other nineteenth-century writer towards producing this entirely discreditable state of public opinion in regard to Knox. M'Crie's 'undistinguishing and injudicious panegyric' was followed, fifty years later, by David Laing's edition of Knox's writings. But Laing's estimate of the 'reformer' was merely a reproduction of that pious fraud, the flattering Protestant tradition. David Laing's work, says Mr. Rait, 'represents the orthodox [Presbyterian] tradition of Knox's character and work ;' and that circumstance alone suffices to dispose of its claim to rank as a critical authority. Even Mr. Rait confesses that, in David Laing's time, 'the belief in the Knox of tradition was too strong for even an elementary preception of the true perspective.'

So great was Laing's partiality for the narrow and intolerant Knox, that he actually put forward the amazing thesis that 'freedom from a persecuting spirit is one of the noblest features of Knox's character.' This is a fair sample of the wanton perversions of history in which too many of Knox's biographers have indulged. To the credit of the saner class of Protestant writers, it must be observed that they have ignominiously rejected this absurd contention of David Laing's.

Even when Laing confesses the faults of his hero, his admissions, observes Mr. Rait, 'are frequently guarded by an ingenuous denial of their importance.' To the pensive outsider it rather looks as if such denials were, at times, highly disingenuous. Indeed Mr. Rait himself has noted the obliquity of Laing's mental vision. 'In treating of any other personage,' except Knox, says our reviewer, David Laing 'could hardly have failed to discover a "persecuting spirit" in constant reiterations that the idolater (by which, of course, was meant the Roman Catholic) should die the death, or "rude insolence" in a comparison between the Queen of Scots and Nero.' In a word, David Laing and his fellow-enthusiasts are sensible of the fact that, if Knox is to be whitewashed and made to look decently presentable, ordinary standards of Christian morality must be set aside. Judged by such

standards, Knox is quite the opposite of a saintly hero.

Professor Millar, the author of *A Literary History of Scotland*, is a Protestant with strong prejudices. Yet he cannot help protesting against the blind partiality which Knox's admirers so commonly display. In his recent work, above mentioned, Professor Millar writes as follows:—

Though it is a simple enough matter to talk platitudes about taking into account the spirit of Knox's age, and remembering that he was intellectually, morally, and logically no worse than his neighbours, it is in truth by no means easy to avoid applying to him, I do not say the standards familiar to modern habits of thought, but the standards of reason and common sense as they have existed in every age. It is merely impossible to avoid recognizing that in his first 'reasoning' with his sovereign, of which he gives us so graphic a report, that unhappy lady secured a complete dialectical victory. She said no more than the truth when she pointed out that the necessary result of Knox's theory of government was that her subjects were bound to obey him and not her; and she dealt even more conclusively with his claim to have the authority of the Bible at his back. 'Ye interpret the Scriptures in ane maner and they [the Pope and his Cardinals] in ane other. Whom shall I beleve? And who shal be judge?' There is the whole difficulty in a nutshell. No wonder Knox was persuaded that she had in her 'a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth.' Small indeed, except to a fanatical enthusiast, could have been the consolation of reducing his opponent to tears at a subsequent interview, so that Marnock, her page or 'chalmers-boy,' could scarcely [the words are Knox's] 'get neapkyne to hold hyr eyes drye; and the owling, besides womanlie weaping, stayed hir speiche.'¹

If the best that can be said for Knox is that he was 'intellectually, morally, and logically no worse than his neighbours,' what becomes of the fervid encomiums that have been so lavishly bestowed upon the 'prophet' by his industrious admirers? The truth is, of course, that Knox was intellectually, morally, and logically, one of the worst men that Scotland ever produced. For calumny, chicanery and coarse brutality, Knox stands second to none among the 'pious reformers' of his time. His

¹ *Lit. Hist. of Scotland*, p. 136.

favourite adjectives—as Mr. Lang bears witness—were ‘bloody,’ ‘beastly,’ ‘rotten,’ ‘stinking.’ Every page of Knox’s life-story is blackened by some instance of perfidy, of foul slander, of narrow bigotry, of murderous counsel, or of disloyal and seditious intriguing, on the part of the ‘blessed reformer.’

Nothing could be more revolting or more un-Christian than Knox’s incessant slanders upon the Catholics. He never ceased to inform his ignorant and deluded followers that Catholics were idolaters, though he knew full well that Catholics would shrink with horror from committing any act of idolatry. And then, by a murderous syllogism, he concluded that ‘idolaters should die the death;’ and that Catholics, being idolaters, should be exterminated by the sword of the civil magistrate and by the knife of the private assassin.

Knox’s discourses appear to have consisted largely of grotesque and unprovable assertions that the Catholic Church is ‘the synagogue of Satan;’ that the Pope is ‘the Man of Sin;’ that the Roman Church is ‘that last Beast;’ that she is also Anti-Christ and ‘the Hoore of Babylon;’ that Popes and ‘all shavelings for the most part’ are addicted to personal misconduct; that the Mass is ‘abominable idolatry;’ and so on.

This atrocious rant goes far to corroborate the account given of Knox by a Catholic contemporary, Archibald Hamilton, who was well acquainted with the pretended reformer, both before and after the latter’s apostasy. Hamilton informs us that Knox was a semi-illiterate individual who managed to get ordained priest and who eked out a subsistence by giving lessons to children in lairds’ houses, and by acting as notary at a time when notaries were often professional forgers. Mr. Andrew Lang, in his turn, bears witness that the notarial element is far too conspicuous in Knox’s ‘History of the Reformation.’

It is a plain matter of history that Knox received his mission to preach the new ‘gospel’ from the brutal, licentious, and rapacious murderers—as Andrew Lang calls them—who had slaughtered Cardinal Beaton, and who were

instigated by an unfrocked priest named John Rough to choose Knox for their pastor. It was very appropriate, indeed, that Knox should have received his commission to preach the new-fangled creed from a gang of 'profligate and perfidious murderers,' with a disreputable, broken-down cleric at their head. Indeed the new pastor was worthy of his congregation. A manuscript in the Barberini Archives at Rome, presented to the Holy See during the reign of Elizabeth, speaks of Knox as '*Sacerdos Scotus ob incestus, infamiam et alia gravissima scelera multo antea proscriptus.*'¹ Most probably the 'incestus infamia' refers to Knox's intimacy with the unhappy Mrs. Bowes and her daughter, some years after he had become chaplain to the murderers of Cardinal Beaton. At all events it is universally admitted that Knox, in flagrant violation of the vows he had made to God, took two 'wives' in succession. One of them was Marjorie Bowes; Margaret Stewart was the other.

The narrow and sanguinary creed which Knox continued to preach during the last twenty-six years of his life, was worthy of the murderous gang from whom the 'prophet' had received his mission. That Catholics were idolaters, and that idolaters should die the death: these were two of the cardinal doctrines of Knox's religion. It was a gloomy and fanatical creed which a Sudanese Mohammedan would, very probably, be ashamed to profess.

Not a few of Knox's contemporaries looked upon the 'reformer,' with his narrow, bloodthirsty, and seditious principles, as mainly responsible for 'the sorrows of Scotland,' from the murder of Cardinal Beaton down to Knox's own death. Unhappily the evil that men do lives after them; and the 'sorrows' to which Knox's fanaticism had given rise, persisted in varying forms for many a generation after he had gone to his account.

They persisted [writes Mr. Andrew Lang] in the conspiracies and rebellions of the earlier years of James VI; they smouldered through the later part of his time; they broke into far-spreading flame at the touch of the Covenant; they blazed at 'dark Worcester and bloody Dunbar;' at Preston fight and at the

¹ Vide I. E. RECORD, July, 1869.

sack of Dundee by Monk ; they included the Cromwellian conquest of Scotland and the shame and misery of the Restoration; while to trace them down to our own age would be invidious.¹

If the seditious and bloody principles instilled by Knox into the national mind were largely responsible for these heavy and manifold sorrows, is there not something fantastic in regarding him as a beloved national hero ?

Mr. Andrew Lang candidly admits that Knox's policy in Scotland 'left the seeds of many sorrows.' We may reasonably add that the seeds of many sorrows were sown in Scotland when Knox's gloomy and ignorant fanaticism infected the national mind, and when Scotsmen adopted the sanguinary and anarchical principles of which Knox was the unwearied exponent. The seeds of a multitude of sorrows were sown in Scotland when the Church of God was stamped out of existence there by methods which brand Knox and his followers with the stigma of indelible disgrace.

Mob violence, the wrecking of churches and monasteries, robbery and incendiarism, lewd slanders, ruffianly insults and barbarous persecuting laws—these were the favourite weapons in the armoury of Presbyterianism ; these were the infamous means whereby Knox and his sectaries won the day.

Many other calamities are traced by historians to the unholy influence which Knox exercised over the minds of his countrymen.

As a prophet [observes Mr. Lang²] he [Knox] deliberately tried to restore, by a persistent anachronism, in a Christian age and country, the ferocities attributed to ancient Israel. . . . His influence lasted, and the massacre of Dunavertie (1647), and the slaying of women in cold blood, months after the battle of Philiphaugh, and the 'rouping' of Covenanted 'ravens' for the blood of Cavaliers taken under quarter, are the direct result of Knox's intellectual error, of his appeals to Jehu, Phineas, and so forth.

Let us, with Mr. Lang, 'suppose for a moment that in deference of the teaching of the Gospel, Knox had never

¹ A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 1.

² *Ibid.* p. 245.

called for a Jehu, but had ever denounced, by voice and pen, those murderous deeds of his own party, which he celebrates as "godly facts," what would have been the result? For one thing, Scotland would never have become Protestant; Mr. Lang admits that Presbyterianism owed its triumph to mob violence, church-wrecking and relentless persecution. In the second place, if Knox had refrained from blood-thirsty counsels, 'dark pages of Scottish history might never have been written; the consciences of men might have been touched, and the cruelties of the religious conflict might have been abated. Many of them sprang from the fear of assassination.' Such is the judgment of Mr. Andrew Lang.¹

Knox was a worthy co-religionist of the cruel Calvin and of the bloodthirsty Beza. The manner in which he has been transformed into a beneficent saint, an inspired prophet, and a national hero is surely entitled to rank as one of the disedifying curiosities of history. Had the life-story of Judas Iscariot been written by men like John Knox's biographers, Judas would be a popular hero to-day.

M. H. MACINERNEY, O.P.

¹ *John Knox and the Reformation*, pp. 51, 177.

FATHER EDMUND O'REILLY, S.J., ON A RELIGIOUS VOCATION

TWO letters have lately come into my hands which seem to me to be worthy of publication. Father Peter Foley, S.J., who died in his sixty-seventh year, in 1893, was a singularly holy priest, silent and retiring, but possessed of keen intellect and solid judgment. Father Edmund O'Reilly, who died in 1878, aged sixty-seven years also, is still remembered as a saintly man and a theologian of acknowledged authority. The reader will be edified by the thoroughness with which he enters into the question proposed by his correspondent, though he imagined he was writing for the satisfaction of a single individual.

M. R.

LIMERICK,
13th July, 1872.

DEAR REV. FATHER, P.C.,

I am greatly at sea in the question of vocations—except, of course, in the clear case of a well-defined preference for the religious state in the absence of unfitness for it. In other cases I don't know of any reasonable grounds to go upon, and without them I don't find it right to take action and decide. I have looked up any books we have here, and have failed to find anything.

Take, for instance, the case of one who would gladly go to a convent *if God wished it*, and would as gladly remain in the world *if God wished it*, but can't feel sure which He does wish, though she has prayed sincerely; but she would accept her confessor's decision.

Secondly, of one who at one time prefers a convent, at another time prefers the world, and now and then yields to all its allurements—*v.g.*, thinks with satisfaction of family happiness and meeting friends, and it may be yields now and then to a wrong thought, but then by and by would sooner forego all and be devoted to God, but yet won't decide—whether through lack of character or through lack of vocation does not appear.

Third (perhaps not different from the first), of one for whom marriage arrangements are being made and who does not desire it, because she feels that perhaps God calls her to a convent—and yet will not object because she might be opposing God's will made known through her parents.

Dear Father, I'll be greatly obliged if you tell me what to think in such cases, and anything else that you may see right to add.

Yours in Christ,

PETER FOLEY, S.J.

MILLTOWN PARK, DUBLIN,
21st July, 1872.

MY DEAR FATHER FOLEY, P.C.,

I don't profess to be an infallible authority on vocation. I have a variety of notions, however, on the subject, more than I could set down and develope without writing a small book, which I have not time to do at this moment. All I can attempt just now is to give you a few hints, to be taken for whatever they are worth, not binding myself to any order or systematic arrangement of them.

1. 'Vocation' seems to be practically identified with 'signs of vocation,' as they are called, and I will take it in this sense.

2. Vocation to the religious state seems to consist practically in complete or quite sufficient fitness for the state, without any extrinsic obstacle, either in the shape of impossibility or in that of some obligation inconsistent with the state. This is a *sufficient* vocation, taking into account the intrinsic excellence and preferableness of the religious state. It is the best state for any whom it really answers; and it really answers those in whom the conditions above stated are found.

3. A vocation may be rendered more than sufficient either by a strong impulse of grace towards the religious state or by the spiritual necessity a person is under of taking refuge in it from dangers to his salvation. The first of these circumstances may exist without the second; but not easily, or perhaps at all, the second without the first, if the person understands his position and the need he is in of the religious state.

4. The impulse of grace may be sensible (or accompanied by sensibility) or it may be merely rational and dry. Frequent importunate thoughts of the religious state as desirable may be, and I should say are, at least very often, effects and signs of such impulse, or more properly the impulse itself.

5. There may be a vocation *more than sufficient* without a

sensible attraction, and even with a good deal of sensible repugnance, especially occasional repugnance.

6. There may too, perhaps, be apparent impulses towards the religious state that are rather the effect of speculative reasoning than of the action of God really intended to lead the person into that state. This, however, chiefly occurs in cases in which the vocation is not *sufficient* in the sense above explained (No. 2).

7. Where it is prudently judged on mature reflection that there is a decided impulse of grace towards the religious state, though no obvious necessity exists on the score of avoiding dangers, it is dangerous not to follow the call, considering that it is a *call* of God, on following which the abundance of graces important for salvation may depend.

8. There may be cases, and I have no doubt there are, in which there is enough of vocation to warrant and even to render advisable entrance into the religious state, and yet where, owing to the absence of clearness, the person is not required on the score of safety to do so.

9. I said in No. 2 that sufficient fitness not accompanied by certain obstacles constitute a sufficient vocation. What is to be said of a case in which fitness is accompanied, not by an *obligation*, but by the opportunity of doing some great spiritual good, some singular good, which cannot be done if the person enter religion, the person at the same time not standing in need of the religious state and not being remarkably impelled to it by strong motions of grace? I had this case before my mind when I wrote No. 2, but left it over. The case is comparatively rare. I lean towards the opinion that even in that case—there being *no* degree of obligation—the person would have a *sufficient* vocation, though it *might be* better in the circumstances not to enter the religious state; and I still am unable to pronounce to the contrary, though I doubt somewhat whether the person could be considered as called.

10. There are two degrees—I may say *kinds*—of instability and inconstancy, one of which is an obstacle, greater or less, to a person entering the religious state; the other is a reason for doing so. A man may be so seriously inconstant that his perseverance is rendered very doubtful. On the other hand, a man may be so far inconstant in details of life that he cannot be counted on to manage himself, but would be likely to go on well under the direction and moderate pressure that are to be found in a religious life.

11. Among the obstacles to fitness for the religious state are natural obstinacy, wrongheadedness, difficulty of accommodating one's self to circumstances and persons, a certain want of pliability. These defects existing in a slight degree, or being morally

superable, with a good wish to overcome them, may not be *diriment* impediments. Wrongheadedness is hardly superable. It is a sort of mitigated insanity. If, however, it exist only to a small extent and be joined with great virtue enforcing submission, it may not be a decided bar to the religious state. The whole of this class of defects of which I am speaking in this paragraph require to be looked to very closely. They are the occasion of terrible trouble and discomfort to the persons themselves and to those who live with them. *Coeteris paribus* they are more to be feared in convents of nuns on account of the perpetual association from which there is no escape. I may observe that in this letter, when using the word 'man,' I don't mean to exclude women.

12. In weighing reasons for and against entering religion, merely human reasons should not be put down on either side. But what *are* merely human reasons? Those reasons which seriously affect *fitness* are *not* merely human reasons, though they may be founded in natural circumstances. Thus bad health is not a merely human reason against entering. On the other hand, the mere desire of lawful worldly enjoyments is a merely human reason. But again the likelihood of not being able to stand the restraints of religious life is not merely a human reason. On the other side, an apparently natural liking or taste for religious life is not to be classed among human reasons for it. Of course, it is obvious that there is more ground for fearing human reasons *against* than *for* the religious state. The opposite is the case with regard to the secular priesthood. St. Liguori seems not to have feared the neglect of a vocation to the secular priesthood, but rather the embracing of that state without a vocation, and pretty nearly *vice versa* with regard to the religious state.

To come now to your cases: the typical person of the first, if perfectly fit and not having any obstacle of much account—looking at the matter spiritually—would seem to have a sufficient vocation. There may be *some* reason to doubt of the fitness on account of the very indecision. But this reason *may* not, all things considered, be of much weight. Even though the person have objectively a sufficient vocation, it is a serious matter for the confessor to take on him the decision in favour of the religious state, and he ought to be rather slow about doing it. In some such cases the person would do well to make a *jump* on the side of religion, without waiting to be more decidedly *led* into it. When I say 'led,' I don't mean precisely led by the confessor, but by one's own reason and feelings. It would be desirable for the person, if possible, to make a Retreat with a view to deciding. In this Retreat—or without it, if not feasible—the rules for election might be applied. The place of a Retreat, too, might be

supplied to a certain extent by a series of meditations, one or two in the day, for a few days. One good counsel would often be to *pray for a vocation* to the religious state.

In your second case, the principle I have laid down in No. 12 may be brought to bear, and is more or less called for, or specially applicable, as the allurements you mention directly belong to *merely human reasons*. In this case, however, it is specially necessary to weigh the danger of unfitness from indecision and instability. Yet it may turn out that this danger is not considerable. I may observe that sometimes the attachment to the world may become the foundation, indirectly, of an argument for embracing the religious state. Worldly enjoyments, otherwise lawful, may be looked on as the ten thousand ducats of which St. Ignatius speaks in the *Three Classes*. They may be a weight that cannot be well got rid of without renunciation. The means of settling the question will be substantially the same as in the first case—of your three.

As to your third case, as you say, perhaps it is not different from the first. However, there is a special element, in the last part of it, namely, that idea of God's will being made known through parents. In this, as a general rule, I have no great faith: for, as a general rule, parents prefer settling their children in the world and often resist their vocations to the religious state on the part of the children. Of course all parents are not this way. I am by no means prepared to say that no account should ever be made of the views or opinions of parents concerning the state of life of their children. But I do not look on them as a very leading authority in deciding between the world and the cloister. Something depends on the knowledge the parents have or have not of a child's ideas about the religious state. Suppose a child never to have said anything to them on the subject: how will their provision for the child's marriage prove anything? They take it for granted the child is for the world, and they set about settling it in the world. Suppose they do know of these thoughts regarding the religious state, do they (the parents) entertain the question or disregard those thoughts of the child, etc.?

I must conclude for the present. I have kept you longer waiting for an answer than I intended. I was out a good deal last week, and at times, when at home, rather tired. I return your letter, that you may understand the references to your cases. In page 8 of this letter, in the second paragraph, the words 'looking at the matter spiritually' qualify what precedes, not what follows them. I have just noticed the ambiguity. —Believe me, most sincerely yours in Christ,

EDMUND J. O'REILLY, S.J.

‘A PIECE OF PORPHYRY’

THE French ‘week’ consisted of ten days under the Convention (1792-5), and the Directory (1795-9).

No wonder, therefore, that a Parisian ‘weekly’ founded by one Ginguené under the latter entitled itself *La Décade*. It has been the writer’s lot to spend some time of late in collating extracts from the *Décade* as material towards an account of the educational chaos in France while church-bells were mute, and Napoleon’s star but glimmered on the horizon. This, in due time, will be set forth in another place. Meanwhile, among many piquant minutiae falling outside the frame of a graver canvas, here is one delicious excerpt from the *Décade*. It shows what M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his friends would doubtless call the humours—and perhaps not without reason from their point of view—of an inventory taken under the Terror.

French Governmental inventories are now too familiar for further preface to be necessary. In French affairs, nothing is so startlingly up-to-date as a retrospect.

In the close translation which follows, the almost enviable effrontery of inventory-makers under the First Republic may be allowed to speak for itself to all familiar with the methods of the Third. Comment were otiose :—

During the past week [writes an anonymous scribe in the *Décade*] I went to dinner with my uncle at the house of an honest citizen respected in our city. Seemingly the good man had wished to assemble some friends and feast them as best he could. However, the repast was not magnificent, but grew quite gay, especially at dessert. Our Amphitryon gave us excellent Mocha coffee, and good brandy, very old. When complimented upon this, he said : ‘I am not surprised,’ (and he laughed heartily,) ‘that you find it good. It is porphyry, my friends. So drink at your ease and make yourselves at home.’

‘Ah ! it’s porphyry,’ exclaimed one of the guests, who

appeared to see the point of the pleasantry. And he grinned to his ears.

I understood nothing of this, and was well pleased when several persons of the company asked the meaning of the jest.

The master of the house explained.

'You know,' he said, 'that I was Government Commissary for the inventorying of several emigrés' household effects round here. I went to the Chateau de — with my friend D. there,' indicating the guest who had grasped the joke, 'and S.,¹ whom you know. We set to work and, as we did, we noticed a thousand little things we coveted, but did not dare to finger until we had entered them in writing on the *procès-verbal*. None the less, while we wrote them down, we could hardly help making reflections like these: What use will *that* be to the Republic? It will sell badly! It will be lost! We are over-kind to enter *that*!

'We had with us some day-labourers to shift and arrange the heavy things for us. But at last S. saw a pretty statuette, of plaster of Paris, I think. He could not contain himself.

"Wait!" he said, with the utmost *sang-froid*. "Are you going to write this trifle down, too?" And showing it with fine disdain to the workmen round us: "It's a piece of porphyry," he said, in a contemptuous tone, and slipped it into his pocket.

'We did our best not to laugh, but the word took our fancy. It became our catch-word, our war-cry. Everything we found to our liking after that, if it was not too costly—curiosities, stuffed birds, butterflies, shell-work; a rather handsome herbarium; stores of writing-paper, pens and sealing wax; maps, music, pamphlets (for we would not have dared to take a single *bound* book), a drawing-case, etc.—it was all 'porphyry.' In the pantry we would not have laid hands on *stores* of sugar, coffee, and cordials, but there was so little! Perhaps twenty *livres* worth of each, and a couple of dozen bottles. So we went shares. Did we not do right? What do you think?'

There was no reply, but all fell to laughing. Citizen D., doubtless encouraged by this tacit approval, began in his turn to speak, and told many another story of the kind.

In a later number of the *Décade* a correspondent—some well-meaning and artless son of the Revolution who tells the editor that he is fifteen years of age—finds the

¹ Like modern French journals, the *Décade* is fond of blanks and initials, which its readers had no difficulty in identifying.

pleasantries about porphyry and its countless corollaries not to his liking. He calls the whole thing plainly theft—*vol.*

The *Décade* gives a reply to its precocious correspondent. It might have been dictated in later days by the conduct of certain *citoyens* of September 4, 1870, and of the Commune in 1871, for whom 'porphyry' had an extremely wide significance. Perhaps it may yet have to be re-produced in substance by uncomfortable *Bloc* editors, when fuller details of the latest inventories leak out. In any case, here it is:—

Even if our young correspondent had not told us his age, we would readily have divined it. One must be no more than fifteen to be astonished and revolted, as he seems to be, by so common a thing as what he finds a crime in his uncle's friends. It is well to warn this young man, who seems accustomed to life with the ancients, that the word 'Republican' has for many of our contemporaries a very different sense from the one given it in Sparta, or even in Rome. To be a Republican, with the ancients, was to augment the splendour and the prosperity of the commonweal at the cost of one's fortune and life. With certain moderns, on the contrary, it means to take the most one can from the Republic, and thus to augment one's private weal. In the Government departments, in our armies, who spares the State? Everywhere it is the fable of the dog who carried his master's dinner.

The tart flavour of this editorial rejoinder shows how the French were tiring of the Directory's *Bloc* methods. The reference to the dog and his master's dinner is extremely happy. French loyalists under the Convention, like the poor clergy under Clémenceau, could afford to chuckle at the thought that if the 'master' stole the dinner from *them*, his dog stole all he could from him. 'Love me, love my dog.' Well, the first is impossible, but somehow one's sympathy goes out to the 'demnition bow-wows' as Mr. Mantalini called them. Even inventory-makers 'must live,' and their employers have taught them too well a comfortable means of livelihood.

Going further down my budget of *Décade* extracts, I find a lyrical outburst in honour of a hero 'whose name

and exploits fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, and traverse the centuries,' if you please. This is the Citizen Bonaparte, who, with Citizen (sometime Abbé) Siéyès, and 'their worthy colleague, Roger-Ducos,' makes up the triumvirate having 'initiative of the means of public happiness and felicity.'

Sorry stuff, this. A poor Pindaric of Lebrun soon follows :—

Le peuple souverain, qu'un héros sut défendre
N'obéira qu'aux lois ;
Et l'heureux Bonaparte est trop grand pour descendre
Jusqu'au trône des rois.

Napoleon I. did abase himself 'to the throne of Kings,' and with as little speed as might be after this oracle was uttered. He drove an uncommonly hard bargain with the Holy Father in the matter of the now violated Concordat. But his Corsican eyes saw to it that there was little 'porphyry' going in his day!

JOHN HANNON.

EXTRACTS FROM 'LA DANCE MACHABRE; OR
DEATH'S DUEL,' BY WALTER COLMAN: c. 1632

PRELIMINARY NOTE

WALTER COLMAN, O.S.F., in religion Christopher à Sancta Clara, Confessor for the Faith, and a member of an old Staffordshire family, was educated at Douay. After a visit to France, he renounced the world, and entered the Franciscan Order at his old College. He was ordained priest; was sent to serve the English mission; was seized, imprisoned, released and again served for several years. He then retired to Douay, but returned to England; was again cast into prison and condemned, with others, in 1641, to be drawn, hanged and quartered. At the intercession of the French Ambassador, he was reprieved by Charles I, but was kept in prison for about four years, and died in Newgate, A.D. 1645. A short account of the Confessor appears in Mr. Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, from 1554 to the twentieth century, from which these details are quoted. The present transcript of a portion of his poem was copied, through the courtesy of the owner, from a scarce volume in the Library of Bridgewater House, St. James', London, in 1900, by Orby Shipley, M.A.

I.

OLYMPIC Odes, soft lays, fond lovers' breath,
Domestic jars, nor foreign broils I bring;
Nor crowned Lyæus¹ with a frantic wreath;
'Twixt life and death, the fatal war I sing;
Which whilst I but recite, methinks from all
At every accent should a salt tear fall.

* * *

III.

Stay, not too fast, lest thou impose an end
To what we briefly have discoursed upon,
Before thou truly know what we intend;
Too hasty feeding hurts digestion;
Read not, if not to profit; what's comprised
Herein, is merely epitomised.

¹ Lyæus, in heathen mythology, the God who freed men from care and anxiety—a surname of Bacchus.

IV.

We highly prize this noble friend and that,
 This boon companion, and that parasite,
 Whose smooth tongued language ever levels at
 Those things which do administer delight ;
 But in conclusion, Death's our truest friend
 Tells us what we must trust to in the end.

V.

Tells us that we are mortal, that we know
 Our last night's habitation, not the next ;
 That human pleasures, like sweet roses, grow
 Amidst a thousand miseries perplex ;
 Since joy and grief inseparably go,
 Nor can we reap our pleasures without woe.

* * *

VIII.

The life of Man is tripartite : the first
 Of nature, which is liable to death ;
 The second, after which all good men thirst,
 Of fame, commencing with our utmost breath ;
 The last eternal, consummates our bliss,
 Whither for Death there no admittance is.

IX.

Blest Heavens, defend me, the world's major part
 Reflect not on whose errand they are sent ;
 The stage scarce entered, they forget their part,
 Turn days to nights, and nights to days ill spent ;
 Such liberty unto ourselves we give ;
 Till Death, we know not truly how to live.

* * *

XI.

Consider wisely what thou hast to do
 In this vain world, with serious meditation ;
 How short the time, what's likely to ensue
 And frustrate not the end of thy creation ;
 Since here is nought whereon thou canst rely
 But to be borne, to labour and to die.

XII.

What though thou dost enjoy a greater measure
 Of temporal felicity than those
 That live reclused ; for every draw of pleasure
 Expect a world of happiness to lose ;
 There's but one Heaven, then think not to rejoice
 Both here and hence ; thou must not have it twice.

XIII.

Unthrifty Youth time prodigally spends,
That flies away with undiscovered haste
Mocking our hopes, still future joys pretends,
Takes small content in recreations past ;
 Imagination sets our thoughts on fire,
And what we cannot have we most desire.

XIV.

So little Children wish ; Would we were men
Freed from the fetters of our pupilage ;
Grown old, they covet to be young again,
Pretending in their ways to be more sage
 And circumspect ; what is naught we think best,
And others in their meaner fortunes blest.

XV.

The careful Pilot, wafting from the shore
His full-fraught Vessel, sitteth at the Stern
Judiciously to guide what goes before ;
And from the hoary-headed Pole doth learn
 Which way to steer and furrow up the Ocean,
With a secure, although unsteady motion.

XVI.

The World's the Sea, and we the Vessels are
Consideration, Steersman ; and pale Death
The Stern, in which we have an equal share ;
Swift-footed Time still towards us beckoneth,
 Dappled with age, which careless youth doth know,
Yet all too late believes it to be so.

XVII.

But so it is ; whate'er we do pretend
And fondly flatter our imagination,
Being as near unto our journey's end
(For aught we know) as aged declination ;
 Experience tells us ; whence we may presage
No certainty in youth, no hope in age

XVIII.

The one may live, the other cannot long,
A possibility on which we build
Our certain ruin, and receive a wrong
That's irrecoverable, if we yield
 Unto such reasons Nature will produce,
In her desires ever more profuse.

XIX.

He whose pulse beats the strongest, hath no more
Assurance of his life than he that lies
Upon his death-bed ; and perhaps, before
His dear companion whom he mourns for, dies :
The near allied, whose care the sick attends
Sicken themselves, and die before their friends.

XX.

The Priest doth offer Holy Sacrifice
Upon the altar, for departing souls
Live to be present at his obsequies,
And hear the Sexton's death-bell when it tolls ;
So the Physician while he physic gives
T' another, dies himself, his patient lives.

XXI.

The forward Heir, who thinks that life too long
By which he lives, desirous to see
His father canonized whilst he is young,
And not go limping to Immortality,
Leaves him oft-times, although decrepit, ill,
To be the over-seer of his will.

XXII.

For honour this, for office that Man waits ;
A third gapes for a new-bought benefice ;
Meanwhile Death with inevitable baits
Cancels their hopes, the Priest the Clerk survives.
And many a time and oft when he is dead,
Feeds on the goose that grazeth o'er his head.

XXIII.

Poor wretched Man, why dost thou captivate
Thy knowledge and betray it to mischance,
Striving to hide thy miserable state,
Which thou mayest call thine own inheritance ;
Naked thou wast delivered from the womb,
And naked shalt return unto the tomb.

XXIV.

How soon thou knowest not ; for thou art but here
Tenant-at-will, although for term of life ;
Nor will thy Landlord give a parting year,
Nor be kept out by Law's contentious strife,
What evidence soe'er thou dost produce,
Or long prescription's fraudulent abuse.

XXV.

Why, then, do thy vain thoughts reflect so much,
On glow-worms that have neither warmth nor light ;
Earth hath no real happiness, and such
As careless of their soul, think no delight
But what these bodies taste, time and their grief
Will furnish with repentance, not relief.

* * *

XXVII.

The uncertain, certain hour of death,
The table-book of human misery,
Tells us Mortality is but a breath
Shut in or out by casualty,
Early or late, by day or night, abroad,
At home, or wheresoe'er we make abode.

XXVIII.

Think how a tile-sherd, passing on the way,;
By accident falls down, and strikes thee dead ;
And that ere long thou mayst be wrapt in clay,
Who even now enjoyst thy downy bed ;
He that to such frail evidence doth trust,
Doth carve the water and engraves in dust.

XXIX.

What though thy house be sumptuous and thy fare,
Thy wife both virtuous, beautiful and wise,
Thy children hopeful and obedient are,
Thy servants most obsequious in their guise,
Thy coffers full, thy lordships round about thee—
Yet, thou must go, and they must stay without thee.

XXX.

And these upon thy death-bed shall appear
Like to so many glorious miseries :
Or, like an office thou didst lately bear,
Transferred t' another man before thine eyes ;
For certain 'tis what chiefly doth content thee,
In that sad hour to leave shall most torment thee.

* * *

CCXXVIII.

Suppose thou have the happiness to die
In thine own country, at thy proper home,
And in thy father's sepulchre to lie,
Preserved for his own family alone ;
He that shall come to seek thee there shall find
Naught but a ruined carcase left behind.

CCXXIX.

The poor remainder of thy wanton flesh,
Which scarce the figure of a man retains,
No human application can refresh,
Nor sparkling blood runs in thy parched veins,
Nor unchaste thoughts the wanton heat return,
Wherewith enflamed thy sinful youth did burn.

CCXXX.

Base is the entertainment thou dost give,
Thy living friends resort to visit thee,
Instead of sweet perfumes (when thou dost live,
And fluent words, of course, then deeds more free)
Distilling forth infectious vapours, such
No man thy carcase can endure to touch.

* * *

CCVI.

If wealth abound, be liberal and free,
No man can serve two masters, heaven and earth ;
If poverty do pinch, let patience be
The antidote, with a religious mirth ;
Let no disaster daunt thee, but rely
On stedfast Faith, sweet Hope, blest Charity.

* * *

CCLVIII.

Seek in the first place what's first to be sought,
Nor let thy wandering thoughts at rovers run ;
He sails securest that is easily fraught ;
The work's half ended that is well begun ;
Even in goodness study by all means,
Much more in other things, t' avoid extremes.

CCLIX.

He knows enough that knows how to live well ;
For as men live, most commonly they die ;
And until death, no mortal power can tell
What shall befall him, such variety
Of fortunes we are subject unto all ;
Let him that stands securest fear to fall.

CCLX.

Stain not the beauty of thy noble soul,
With th' ugly foul deformity of sin,
More horrid than the place from whence it stole ;
But, if through frailty it should enter in,
Permit it not a minute there to dwell ;
We cannot say he lives that lives not well.

CCLXI.

Nor can we say he 's dead, although he die
According to the common acceptation,
Whose innocence doth, like incense, fly
Up to the throne of mercy for salvation,
 Steering a course so solid, smooth and even,
 The final object of his labour's heaven.

CCLXII.

The Lord, the Slave, the Peasant and the King
Unlike in life, in death the self-same thing.

DOCUMENTS

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE SODALITIES

AT the General Meeting of the Bishops of Ireland held at Maynooth, in October, 1906, a resolution was adopted appointing the Bishops of Waterford, Down and Connor, and Clonfert, with the Bishop of Canea as Convener and Secretary, to consider and Report to the June Meeting of 1907 how the injunctions of the Papal Encyclical *De Doctrina Christiana tradenda*, and especially how that particular injunction commanding the Canonical erection of a Christian Doctrine Sodality in each and every parish may be made effective in Ireland.

The Committee held two meetings during the course of the eight months' interval, and adopted the following Report, which being read to the General Meeting of the Bishops on June 25, 1907, was unanimously accepted and ordered to be inserted in the I. E. RECORD of August, 1907 :—

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF BISHOPS ON THE CANONICAL ERECTION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE SODALITIES.

Societies or Confraternities of the Christian Doctrine, so called, have been in existence in all parts of Ireland from a sufficiently remote period. Distinct traces of them are forthcoming in books and documents of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. A doubt, however, exists, and is apparently well founded, whether such societies at the time of their foundation, or at any subsequent period, employed all the formalities of canonical institution which the terms of the Encyclical imperatively prescribe.

Diligent search has been made in the Dublin parishes for documentary evidence of such erection, but so far, not a single copy of the necessary Episcopal Decree, nor any reference thereto, has been discovered. Yet the *Rota Romana* has decided that the Episcopal erection of a Confraternity, when in doubt, may not be presumed, but must be proved.¹ This being so, we fear that our existing Societies for teaching the Christian

¹ Pignatelli, *Constit. Canon.*, t. iv.^o consult. 21, n. 3.

Doctrine stand in need of, at least, a *sanatio in radice*, before they can be recognized as canonically erected.

The Encyclical with which we are concerned furnishes a seasonable opportunity of making regular what may have been hitherto irregular, and of doing so with the least possible disturbance of existing organizations. After commanding Parish Priests and all who exercise the care of souls, to employ an hour every Sunday in teaching the rudiments of Christian Doctrine to the children of their respective flocks, the Encyclical goes on:—'*Mandamus, ut in omnibus et singulis paroeciis Consociatio canonice instituatur, cui vulgo nomen Doctrinae Christianae. Ea parochi, ubi sacerdotum numerus sit exiguus, adjutores in catechesi tradenda laicos habebunt, qui se huic dedit magisterio, tum studio gloriae Dei, tum ad sacras lucrandas indulgentias quas Romani Pontifices largissime tribuerunt.*'

We now beg to lay before your Lordships the conclusions we have arrived at, as to how this Pontifical precept may be reduced to practice. In a small brochure published by the Vatican Press last year, entitled *Constitutiones Venerabilis Archisodalitatis Doctrinae Christianae a Sacrae Memoriae Pontifice Paulo V, Canonice in Urbe Constitutae anno MDCVII, a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio PP. X, reformatae et approbatae apostolicis litteris in forma brevis diei V Decembris MDCCCCV*, we can find rules which we may easily follow, although the little book in question was compiled primarily for the City and Diocese of Rome.

Incidentally we may remark that in these Constitutions, prefaced with a copy of the Papal Brief approving them, these Societies or *Consociationes*, are invariably designated *Sodalities*, and not *Confraternities*, a designation which, for many reasons, it might be considered desirable to adopt in Ireland.

The two things indicated in Tit. vi., par. 29, as necessary for the complete canonical institution of these Sodalities, are:

- (1) '*Ut eadem canonice fuerit constituta decreto Ordinarii loci;*'
- (2) '*Ut ad Archisodalitatem deferatur una cum supplici libello, authenticum exemplar decreti, quo fuit constituta Sodalitas, atque Ordinarii commendaticiae litterae.*'

These conditions are simply the common law of the Church affecting the Canonical institution of all Sodalities or Confraternities whatsoever.

Dealing, first, with condition No. 1, the Episcopal Decree—this is in all cases absolutely necessary. Even in missionary countries there can be no deviation from it.

In ordinary cases the initiative rests with the Parish Priest. He petitions the Ordinary for a Canonical erection of some

Sodality or other, accompanying the petition with a copy of the rules, and declaring the object of the Sodality. Then the Ordinary, if he is disposed to approve, issues a Decree in writing, formally erecting the Sodality. This Decree should be duly signed and sealed, and the Parish Priest should be instructed to keep it safely in the parochial archives, ready to be produced if called for at any recurring Episcopal visitation.

In the present instance, however, the initial action of the Parish Priest need not be waited for; as the Encyclical in the strictest terms *commands*, that in each and every parish this *Consociatio* be forthwith established. What we would venture to suggest, therefore, as a ready way of enforcing the precept is, if your Lordships think well of it, to have a printed formula of Canonical erection prepared similar to existing formulas for other Diocesan acts;—a specimen will be appended to this Report; and then the Bishop having intimated his wish to each Parish Priest that the commands of the Sovereign Pontiff should be promptly obeyed, and accompanying this intimation with a copy of the *General Rules* of the Sodality, beg of him to sign and return the formula, on receipt of which you can immediately forward the Decree of erection, together with an authentic copy of the Indulgences.

Condition No. 2, namely that of affiliation or aggregation to the Arch-Sodality in Rome, and to the fulfilment of which the possibility of gaining the Indulgences is exclusively confined, has been enormously simplified in the Constitutions of the Roman Sodality. In Tit. vi., par. 30, we read: 'In qualibet dioecesi eam doctrinae christianae sodalitatem aggregare Archisodalitati Romanae satis erit, quam sodalitatem Ordinarius statuerit esse centrum ceterarum ejusdem generis: hac enim aggregata, simul aggregatae censebuntur aliae omnes sodalitates, quae aut constitutae jam, aut deinceps constituendae sint, in eadem dioecesi.' So that this Central Sodality of Christian Doctrine, once affiliated to the Arch-Sodality in Rome, *ipso facto*, all other Sodalities in the same Diocese already erected, or to be erected, are deemed to be affiliated.

This Central Sodality may be the one established, let us say, in the cathedral church of the Diocese, or if thought desirable to follow the practice already adopted in Rome, it may consist of a body of ecclesiastics, to be endowed with supervising and directive powers over the other Sodalities of the Diocese, and over religious instruction generally.

We referred higher up to General Rules of the Sodality. On examination, however, we find that they are very few. After defining the object of the Sodality, namely, 'religiosam

christianae plebis institutionem provehere ac moderari per catechesis praeceptionem,' and that the seat of the Arch-Sodality is fixed in Rome, Constitution No. IV. says:—'Ad Sodalitium, natura ipsa rei, pertinent omnes parochi Urbis.' By substituting *Dioecesis* for *Urbis*, it could be made applicable here.

Next comes the condition of general membership under same Rule IV: 'Ipsis petentibus possunt praeterea ejusdem Sodalitii societatem inire quotquot sibi constituunt catechesis disciplinae favere eamque expeditiorem efficere opera sua vel pecunia.'

This comprehensive Rule embraces all the faithful of the Parish who are in any way willing to help; whether by teaching the Catechism in the Church on Sundays or by being taught the Catechism at all times, or in the case of those who are unwilling to engage in the work of teaching, and who are disposed to help forward the good work by pecuniary contributions, which will be necessary for the discharge of working expenses of the Sodality and for providing premiums for regular attendance and proficiency.

These are practically the only General Rules applicable to all Sodalities. From this we may infer that the government and administration of parochial Societies or Confraternities, as they exist amongst us, need not be interfered with. They have but to secure Canonical erection as above explained, and manage their own Sodality as local circumstances may render desirable, 'semper, subintelligatur, annuente Ordinario.'

In Tit. v., however, a pattern of a governing council of a Parochial Sodality is given in the following words: 'Sodalitates parochiales habebunt consilium dirigens, cui praeerit parochus. Idem Consilium constabit duodecim Sodalibus, quorum quatuor sacri ordinis viri, e populo viri quatuor, totidemque mulieres.

'Hic vero numerus aut augeri poterit aut minui pro peculiaribus cujusque paroeciae conditionibus.'

It will be for each Sodality to decide how they may be governed, and what officers they may choose, and how they may choose them, always bearing in mind that members of the Sodality are of both sexes which should have equal rights therein.

It might be found desirable for the Parish Priest as Director to appoint the officers and council in the first instance, and then arrange for their continuance in office, or periodical re-election.

✠ NICHOLAS, *Bishop of Canea*,
Secretary to Episcopal Committee.

FORMULAE PRO ERECTIONE CANONICA SODALITATIS DOCTRINAE
CHRISTIANAE.

PETITIO PAROCHI.

Illme. et Revme. Domine.

.....Parochus.....
desiderio motus Dei gloriam promovendi, ac provehendi disciplinam Catechesis Christianae juxta mentem SS. D. N. Pii Papae X, in Encyclica quae incipit *Acerbo nimis* expositam, petit ab Illma. et Revma. Amplitudine Vestra, ut benigne precibus annuens Sodalitatem Doctrinae Christianae erigere ac erectam declarare in Paroecia.....statuta approbare, et Parochum dictae Ecclesiae, ejusque successores et provisores, designare in Sodalitatis Directores, cum facultate subdelegandi dignetur.

Summa qua per est reverentia permaneo, Illmae. Dominationis Vestrae submissus.

.....

DECRETUM ERECTIONIS CANONICAE.

Visis precibus Nobis oblati, auctoritate Nostra ordinaria erigimus Sodalitatem Doctrinae Christianae, de qua, et sicuti in precibus, ejus statuta a Nobis revisa approbamus, eam Nobis et Successoribus Nostris subjicientes ac subjectam declarantes.

Datum.....die....mensis.....19..

L. ✕ S.

INDULGENTIAE

VEN. ARCHISODALITATI DOCTRINAE CHRISTIANAE A SA. MO.
PONTIFICE PAULO V CONCESSAE.

(Ex Constit. *Ex credito nobis*, 6 Oct. 1607.)

I. Indulgentiae Plenariae :

(a) Omnibus et singulis ex utroque sexu christifidelibus, confessis ac sacra communione reffectis, qui uti ministri, operarii et confratres dictam Archiconfraternitatem ingredientur, die primo illorum ingressus seu eo die quo dictae Archiconfraternitati adscripti fuerint.

(b) Sodalibus qui confessi Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum in festo, quod ab ipsa Archiconfraternitate et aliis Confraternitatibus aggregatis seu aggregandis pro earum praecipuo et principali respective eligetur, sumpserint.

(c) Eisdem in mortis articulo constitutis, si, uti supra dispositi, vel saltem contriti, SS^mum. Iesu Nomen ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde devote invocaverint.

2. Indulgentiae Stationales :

Sodales, qui diebus stationum in Missali Romano descriptis doctrinam christianam in Ecclesiis docuerint ac etiam omnes et singuli christifideles, qui ad eandem discendam accesserint, easdem indulgentias consequantur, quas consequerentur si Ecclesias Stationum Urbis vel extra Urbem personaliter visitarent. Easdem etiam indulgentias consequuntur visitatores dictae Archiconfraternitatis, qui ex commisso sibi officio visitabant illas scholas, quas in illo die visitare poterunt.

3. Indulgentia partiales :

(a) 10 annorum Confratribus qui extra civitatem ad doctrinam docendam per castella et villas exierint.

(b) 7 annorum et totidem quadragenarum Confratribus confessis ac. S. Communionem refectis, eo die quo congregatio in quavis civitate vel terra publicabitur.

(c) 7 ann. et tot. quadrag. Confratribus qui semel quolibet, mense Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum sumpserint.

(d) 7 ann. Sacerdotibus dictae Archiconfraternitati adscriptis qui in Ecclesia seu Oratorio Confraternitatis verbum Dei praedicaverint aut collationes fecerint (licet illo die non intervenerint in aliqua schola docendi causa).

(e) 7 ann. Confratribus, qui per civitatem viros, mulieres aut pueros ad eandem doctrinam christianam docendi causa circumierint.

(f) 7 ann. quoties Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, dum ad infirmos defertur, comitati fuerint.

(g) 3 ann. Sodalibus qui corpora Confratrum et Consoriorum defunctorum ad sepulturam associaverint aut exequiis, anniversariis officiisve, quae pro eis celebrantur, pro eorum animabus preces fundentes, interfuerint.

(h) 200 dierum Confratribus (a) qui causa fuerint ut pueri, famuli aut quaevis aliae personae ad discendam doctrinam christianam eant : (b) qui disputationibus, quae in scholis dictae Archiconfraternitatis fieri solent, interfuerint : (c) qui infirmos dictae Archiconfraternitatis visitaverint, quoties id fecerint : (d) qui divinis officiis et congregationibus publicis vel secretis dictae Archiconfraternitatis necnon processionibus a locorum Ordinariis sub vexillo dictae Archiconfraternitatis praescribendis interfuerint.

(i) 100 dier. Confratribus qui diebus feriatis doctrinam christianam aut publice aut privatim explanaverint.

INDULGENTIAE

CONCESSAE OMNIBUS UTRIUSQUE SEXUS CHRISTIFIDELIBUS SIVE
DOCENTIBUS SIVE DISCENTIBUS CHRISTIANAM CATECHESIM.

(Ex Coll. Auth. *Precum et Piarum Operum*, a S. C. Indul. edi^a ann. 1898, p. 558, n. 316.)

(1) 7 ann. omnibus et singulis praeceptoribus qui diebus festivis discipulos suos ad doctrinam christianam duxerint eosque illam docuerint.

(2) 100 dier. iis praeceptoribus qui diebus feriatis in propriis scholis eandem doctrinam explicaverint.

(3) 100 dier. omnibus et singulis patribus et matribus familias, quoties in suis domibus, liberis, famulis et familiaribus utriusque sexus doctrinam christianam explanaverint.

(4) 100 dier. omnibus et singulis christifidelibus qui per mediam horam doctrinae aut docendi aut discendi gratia studuerint.

(5) 7 ann. totidemque quadrag. adultis viris vel mulieribus, quoties pio exercitio catechismi, quando pueris in ecclesiis seu oratoriis explanabitur, interfuerint.

(6) Plenaria in festis Nativitatis Dñi, Paschatis Resurrectionis necnon Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli iisdem viris vel mulieribus adultis, qui praefato pio exercitio vel discendi vel docendi causa interesse consueverint, dummodo dictis diebus confessi ac Sacra Synaxi refecti ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint.

(7) Omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus et cuiuslibet aetatis christifidelibus ad doctrinam christianam discendam in scholis Archiconfraternitatis convenire solitis, qui peccata sua quolibet festo B. M. Virginis aut alio festo a Superioribus dictae Congregationis determinando confessi fuerint, tres annos; iis vero qui praefatis diebus insuper ad Sacram Synaxim accesserint, quinque annos.

INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN DECREES OF SOUTH
AMERICAN SYNOD

DECLARATIONES AUTHENTICAE

SUPER DUBIIS PROPOSITIS A NONNULLIS AMERICAEE LATINAE
EPISCOPIS, CIRCA INTERPRETATIONEM QUORUMDAM DECRE-
TORUM CONCILII PLENarii EIUDEM AMERICAEE.

Ex Audientia Sanctissimi, die 5 Novembris 1901.

I. Per decretum Sacrae Congregationis Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis praepositae, datum die 1 Ianuarii anno 1900, extensa fuit ad Americam Latinam declaratio S. C. Concilii, edita pro Hispania die 31 Ianuarii 1880 sub hac formula:—Sponsalia quae contrahuntur in regionibus nostris absque publica scriptura,

invalida esse, et publicam scripturam supplere non posse informationem matrimoniam . . . —Circa primam partem huius declarationis non est una doctorum sententia; plerique enim asserunt, invaliditatem eiusmodi sponsalium respicere utrumque forum, tam externum quam internum; nonnulli vero tenent invaliditatem non posse sustineri pro foro interno, dummodo certo constet de deliberato consensu utriusque contrahentis. Sunt ne invalida praedicta sponsalia absque public scriptura, etiam in foro interno?

R. *Affirmative, seu esse invalida etiam in foro interno.*

II. Sub num. 231 decretorum Concilii in medio sic habetur: 'Illi autem, quorum res agitur, a Capitulo recedant, nec nisi re peracta revocentur: suffragia vero secreta ferantur, quae nisi ultra dimidium in rem propositam convenerint nihil actum ea de re in Capitulo censeatur.' In hoc decreto dubium exortum est circa modum ferendi suffragia; sciscitatur enim num suffragia debeant esse secreta in omni re quae proponitur in Capitulo, vel tantum in aliquibus negotiis, et in hoc casu, quibus in negotiis?

R. *Suffragia debere esse secreta saltem in omnibus negotiis maioris momenti, ad normam Const. Alessandri VII 'Pro commissa,' diei 3 Aprilis 1657; item quoties agitur de negotiis alicuius Canonici; imo etiamsi res proposita minoris momenti iudicetur, quoties discordia vel controversia exoriatur inter capitulares.*

III. Sub decreto n. 370 praescribitur: 'SS. Sacramentum asservandum est in omnibus Ecclesiis parochialibus, et quasi-parochialibus, etiam ruralibus, et in Ecclesiis Regularium, tam virorum quam monialium; in aliis autem ecclesiis, sacellis et oratoriis, non licet, absque speciali indulto Sedis Apostolicae.' Iam vero ex iniuria legum civilium in nonnullis Americae Latinae regionibus moniales usum amiserunt proprii coenobii et adnexae ecclesiae; viri autem regulares, amisso pariter usu proprii coenobii, ecclesias suas administrare valent vel non, iuxta conditiones personarum et locorum. Quid igitur tenendum est in hisce circumstantiis circa ius asservandi SS. Sacramentum?

R. *Quoad ipsos viros regulares et quoad moniales votorum solemnum, provisum per declarationes S. Poenitentiariae 18 Aprilis 1867; 12 Septembris 1872; et S. C. Concilii, 8 Ianuarii, 1867. Quoad ipsas Ecclesias regulares seu conventuales, actu ab ipsis regularibus haud administratas, providebitur in responsione ad quintum dubium.*

IV. Decretum n. 505 loquens de patrinis, sic se habet: 'Ad munus patrini in hoc sacramento (Baptismi) admitti nequeunt qui in civili tantum, ut dicunt, matrimonio vivunt, ac publice excommunicati aut interdicti, nisi . . .' Cum in hoc decreto de publice criminosis et infamibus nulla fiat mentio, dubitatur num

intelligendum sit absque aliarum iuris communis prohibitionum praeiudicio, vel potius ratione circumstantiarum habendum sit tamquam harum temperamentum, ita ut in America Latina non sint aliae prohibitiones praeter illas quae in memorato decreto continentur ?

R. *Concilium Plenarium in art. 505 casus respicere maioris momenti seu difficilioris solutionis ; ideoque affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*

V. Utrum legitima haberi possit consuetudo in pluribus Americae Latinae dioecesebus vicens asservandi, absque speciali privilegio seu indulto Apostolico, SS. Sacramentum in Ecclesiis, quae (a) non sunt parochiales aut quasi parochiales ; (b) neque actu a regularibus administrantur, quamvis ad regulares civiliter suppressos de iure pertinent ; (c) neque actu monialibus votorum solemnium addictae sunt, quia moniales proprio monasterio per civilem suppressionem privatae sunt. Et quid de asservatione SS. Sacramenti in Ecclesiis et oratoriis virorum vel sororum vota simplicia tantum emittentium, in quibus hucusque SS. Sacramentum asservatum fuit absque speciali indulto S. Sedis, generatim concessio omnibus Ecclesiis seu oratoriis eiusdem Instituti vel singulis piis domibus ?

R. *Negative in omnibus, et recurrendum ad S. Sedem in singulis casibus ; salvis peculiaribus indultis Apostolicis Ordinario vel aliter concessis.*

VI. Utrum valida censi possit in America Latina collatio Decanatus et aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiarum cathedralium vel collegiarum Apostolicae reservationi subiectorum, ab Ordinariis absque speciali S. Sedis indulto peracta, in dioecesebus ubi per Conventiones S. Sedis cum civilibus guberniis vel aliter ex alia speciali Romani Pontificis concessione iuri communi haud derogatum est ?

R. *Negative, nisi habeatur speciale, authenticum et indubium indultum S. Sedis ; quod proinde non praesumendum est, sed certo probandum, et in ipso instrumentum collationis beneficii expressis verbis ad memoriam revocandum.*

VII. Utrum, firmis remanentibus praescriptionibus art. 758 et 799 Concilii Plenarii Americae Latinae, Ordinarii tolerare vel prudenter approbare possint recreationes, conventus, nundinas aliaque christianae beneficentiae media ad eleemosinas pro pauperibus aliisque piis operibus colligendas, quae a piis praesertim laicis promoveri et fieri solent ?

R. *Ordinarii eos tantum christianae beneficentiae conventus tolerare, et, prudenter tamen, si opus fuerit, promovere poterunt, qui tales honestatis et charitatis seu pietatis conditiones habent, ut praesentia Sacerdotum in iisdem conventibus neque Ecclesiae*

sanctionibus neque ex circumstantiis regionis prohibita, imprudens, aut inopportuna dici possit. De qua re soli Ordinarii iudicare poterunt, prae oculis habitis decretis Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis III, tit. IX, cap. V.

Datum Romae, e Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis, die, mense et anno praedictis.

✱ PETRUS, Archiep. Caesarien.

S. C. Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis praepositae Secretarius.

FAST AND ABSTINENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA

S. C. A. NEGOTIIS ECCLESIASTICIS EXTRAORDINARIIS.

I.—DECRETUM¹

QUO INDULTUM CONCEDITUR SUPER IEIUNIO ET ABSTINENTIA PRO AMERICA LATINA.—DIE 6 IULII 1899

Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Americae Latinae, in Urbe, in plenarium Concilium Congregati, Sanctissimo D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, gloriose regnanti, exposuerunt maximam difficultatem in qua, ob speciales regionum condiciones, versantur fideles suarum dioecesium, servandi ecclesiasticas leges de ieiunio et abstinentia non obstantibus amplissimis indultis a S. Sede iam concessis. Supplices proinde dederunt preces ut Sanctitas Sua ampliorem et generalem pro America Latina dispensationem concedere dignaretur.

Porro Sanctissimus Pater, referente me infrascripto S. C. Negotiorum Ecclesiasticorum extraordinariorum Secretario, re mature perpensa atque praehabito voto nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, attentis gravissimis causis allatis, volens animarum necessitatibus atque anxietatibus occurrere, servata ecclesiastica lege ieiunii et abstinentiae ac salvis permanentibus excusationibus ab eadem lege iure communi, iuxta regulas probatorum auctorum admissis, nec non specialibus indultis singulis ecclesiasticis provinciis hactenus impertitis, et adhuc vigentibus, donec perduraverint, statuit concedere *ad decennium*, prout concedit, omnibus Americae Latinae Ordinariis, facultatem, parochis, confessoris et aliis viris ecclesiasticis subdelegabilem, dispensandi ipsorum arbitrio, singulis annis et facta mentione apostolicae delegationis, fideles qui id petierint, etiam religiosos utriusque sexus de consensu tamen suorum superiorum ecclesiasticorum, a lege ieiunii et abstinentiae, dummodo :

¹ Hoc decretum ac sequentes declarationes referimus nunc, quamvis variis abhinc annis in lucem prodierunt, quum maximae utilitati sint Episcopis cleroque Americae Latinae.

1. *Lex ieiunii sine abstinentia* a carnibus servetur feriis VI adventus et feriis IV quadragesimae.

2. *Lex ieiunii et abstinentiae* a carnibus servetur feria IV cinerum, feriis VI quadragesimae et feria V maioris hebdomadae.

Sed diebus ieiunii semper licebit omnibus, etiam regularibus, quamvis specialem dispensationem non petierint, in collatione serotina, uti ovis ac lacticiniis.

3. *Abstinentia a carnibus* sine ieiunio servetur in quatuor per-vigiliis festorum Nativitatis D. N. I. C., Pentecostes, Assumptionis in coelum B. M. V. et Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

4. In singulis regionibus serventur conditiones quoad precum recitationem et eleemosynarum erogationem atque destinationem, hactenus in concessione indultorum pontificiorum servari solitae.

Parochis autem et aliis sacerdotibus subdelegatis ab episcopis vetitum est quidquid aliud petere aut acceptare occasione dispensationum ab ipsis impertitarum.

Firma vero permanent privilegia Americae Latinae in Const. *Trans Oceanum*. 18 Apr. 1897 concessa.

Et super his Sanctissimus Dominus mandavit praesens edi decretum atque in acta S. C. Negotiorum Ecclesiasticorum extraordinariorum referri.

Contrariis quibuscomque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae e Secretaria S. C. Negotiorum Ecclesiasticorum extraordinariorum, die, mense et anno praedictis.

FELIX CAVAGNIS, *Secretarius*.

II.—DECLARATIONES.

CIRCA INDULTUM DATUM DIE 6 IULII 1899 SUPER IEIUNIO ET
ABSTINENTIA, IN AMERICA LATINA.

Ill^{me} ac R^{me} Domine,

In executione indulti diei 6 iulii 1899, *super ieiunio et abstinentia, in America Latina*, nonnullis in dioecibus, variae obortae sunt difficultates circa interpretationem eiusdem rescripti, praesertim ob cumulationem seu coniunctionem concessionum antiquarum aut communium cum novo indulto.

Ad omnes itaque ambiguitates hac in re tollendas, SS^{mus} D. N. Leo Papa XIII. declarationes quae in adiuncto Decreto Sacrae Congregationis Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis praeposita continentur, edi et publicari mandavit.

Insuper ea est Sanctitatis Suae mens, ut, ad uniformitatem in art. 428 Actorum Concilii Plenarii Americae Latinae praescriptam efficacius obtinendam et ad alia praecavenda incommoda

unaquaeque provincia ecclesiastica aut etiam plures provinciae eiusdem nationis Americae Latinae unam eandemque formulam habeant et servant, in edicendis aut promulgandis atque interpretandis tum communibus indultis circa ieiunium et abstinentiam, etiam Bulla Cruciata, ubi haec habeatur, tum indulto diei 6 Iulii 1899, pro singulis fidelibus, vel familiis, qui illud petierint concessio ; quae formula, de Episcoporum totius provinciae consensu et approbatione, a Metropolitano conficienda, vel a singulis Ordinariis seorsum vel ab omnibus coniunctim subscripta, opportune quotannis publicetur. Prima tamen vice, praeviae recognitioni Sanctae Sedis ante publicationem ea subiiciatur atque etiam in posterum, quoties aliqua innovatio proponi velit.

Dum haec, pro meo munere, Amplitudini Tuae significare propero, cuncta a Deo fausta adprecatus, me libenter profiteor

Amplitudinis Tuae

Romae, die 10 Martii 1901.

addictissimum

M. Card. RAMPOLLA.

OBSERVANCE OF FESTIVALS IN CERTAIN MISSION

SUPER OBSERVANTIA FESTORUM IN LOCIS MISSIONUM

Feria IV, die 12 Decembris 1906.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, proposito dubio a S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide : *utrum indultum super observantia festorum concessum alicui Missioni validum quoque habendum sit pro aliis Missionibus, quae in posterum a pristina Missione seiungantur* Eñi ac Rñi Dñi respondendum mandarunt : *Affirmative.*

Sequenti vero feria V, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, SSmus D. N. Pius PP. X decretum Emorum PP. adprobavit.

PETRUS PALOMBELLI, S. R. et U. I. Notarius.

A POLISH SOCIETY BANNED

SECTA MARIAVITARUM ITERUM REPROBATUR ATQUE EIUSDEM DUCES EXCOMMUNICATI VITANDI DECLARANTUR

Feria IV, die 5 Decembris 1906

Mariavitarum sacerdotum sect quae ab aliquot annis nonnullas Poloniae dioeceses infeliciter infestat, in eam paullatim devenit obstinatam pervicaciam et insaniam, ut iam Apostolicae

sedis postulet extremas coercitiones. Haec enim secta, cum in exordiis suis simulasset singulare studium gloriae divinae, mox spretis Episcoporum suorum monitionibus et correctionibus, spretis ipsius Summi Pontificis primum paternis adhortationibus tum severioribus comminationibus, spretis quoque censuris in quas non unam ob causam inciderat, tandem ecclesiasticae auctoritati se penitus subduxit, agnoscens pro capite foeminam quandam Feliciam, alias Mariam Franciscam Kozlowska, quam Sanctissimam matrem dicunt, SS. Dei Genitrici sanctitate parem, sine cuius patrocinio nemo salvus esse possit, et quae delegavit Ioannem Kowalski, ut suo nomine tamquam Minister generalis totam Mariavitarum societatem regat. Cum igitur constet praedicta totius societatis capita, Ioannem Kowalski et Mariam Franciscam Kozlowska etsi iterum iterumque monitos in suis perversis doctrinis et molitionibus quibus simplicem multitudinem decipiunt et pervertunt, obstinate persistere, atque in censuris in quas inciderunt sordescere, haec Sacra Suprema Congregatio S. R. U. I. de expresso SS. Domini Nostri mandato, ne quis, cum detrimento salutis aeternae, ulterius *communicet operibus malignis* Ioannis Kowalski et mulieris Kozlowska, declarat atque edicit dictum sacerdotem Ioannem Kowalski memoratamque foeminam Mariam Franciscam Kozlowska, *nominatim ac personaliter* maiori subiaccere excommunicationi, amboque, a gremio Ecclesiae Sanctae Dei penitus extorres, omnibus plecti poenis publice excommunicatorum, ideoque Ioannem Kowalski et Mariam Franciscam esse *vitandos ac vitari debere*.

Committit insuper RR. PP. DD. Varsaviensi Archiepiscopo, Plocensi, Lublinensi, Kielcensi aliisque, quorum forte interest, Episcopis Polonis, ut, nomine ipsius Sanctae Sedis, declarent singulos et omnes respectivae suae dioeceseos sacerdotes infami sectae Mariaviticae adhuc addictos, nisi infra viginti dies, ab ipso praesentis intimationis die computandos, sincere resipuerint, eidem excommunicationi maiori, personali et nominali, pariter subiaccere eademque ratione vitandos esse.

Praelaudati vero Praesules magis ac magis satagant e grege suo fideles, a sacerdotum Mariavitarum insidiis ac mendaciis quarerisere deceptos, admonere non amplius Ecclesiae Sanctae Dei

Aminos esse posse filios quotquot damnatae sectae Mariaviticae N. LeCenter adhaereant.

Congre. S.
contine.

Insu
in art.
scriptam

PETRUS PALOMBELLI, S. R. et U. I. Notarius.

**PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO DOMINICANS OF THE
ENGLISH PROVINCE**

S. C. DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

DOMINICANIS ANGLIAE DATUR AD QUINQUENNium INDULTUM
CELEBRANDI MISSAM DE REQUIE BIS IN HEBDOMADA IN DIE
DUPLICI

Ex audientia SSmi., habita die 8 Martii 1904

Ssmus. Dominus Noster Pius divina providentia PP. X, referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, de speciali gratia indulsit, ut in ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum regularis Provinciae Angliae celebrari valeat bis in hebdomada Missa *de Requite*, occurrente etiam festo ritus duplicis, exceptis primae et secundae classis, diebus Dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto servandis, necnon vigiliis, feriis atque octavis privilegiatis, et dummodo huius indulti causa nihil omnino praeter consuetam eleemosynam percipiatur. De consensu Ordinarii ad quinquennium.

Datum Romae ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die et anno ut supra.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secret.*

**NEW INSTITUTE OF SISTERS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF
ST. DOMINIC**

LAUDIS NOVI INSTITUTI SORORUM TERTII ORDINIS S. DOMINICI
EIUSQUE CONSTITUTIONUM AD TEMPUS APPROBATIONIS AD
QUINQUENNium

Cum Reverenda Mater Maria Aemilia a SS. Angelis, Priorissa generalis Instituti Sororum Tertii Ordinis S. Dominici congregationis Sanctae Catharinae Senensis, quarum domus princeps est in loco archidiocesis Milwaukiensis Statuum Foederatorum Americae Septentrionalis qui vulgo dicitur *Racine*, enixe petierit ut Sancta Sedes praedictum Institutum illiusque constitutiones adprobare dignaretur, eius petitio Romanae Commissioni pro examine constitutionum novorum Institutorum ab hac S. Congregatione dependentium institutae, cui Eminentissimus Cardinalis Franciscus Satolli praeest, prout opus erat, delata fuit. Praelaudata vero Reverendissima Commissio, attenta huius Instituti pro missionibus in supradicta regione utilitate, de qua litterae commendatitiae Ordinariorum, in quorum dioecesibus Sororum domus exstant, fidem faciunt, et attenta etiam illius aggregatione ad Tertium Ordinem Sancti Dominici a R. P.

Magistro generali peracta, idem Institutum interim laudandum eiusque constitutiones iuxta schema exhibitum, introductis tamen modificationibus prout in annexo exemplari habetur, ad quinquennium per modum experimenti approbandas censuit. Quare haec Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, iuxta votum Reverendissimae Commissionis, decretum laudis praefato Instituto et temporaneam praedictam approbationem eius constitutionibus dare decrevit, sperans ipsum tale incrementum consequitur, ut Sedis Apostolicae approbationem suo tempore obtinere valeat. Quam S. Congregationis sententiam ab infrascripto eiusdem Secretario, in audientia diei 9 Maii 1905 SSmo Dño N. Pio divina providentia PP. X relata, eadem Sanctitas Sua in omnibus ratam habere et confirmare dignata est, et super his praesens decretum fieri mandavit.

Datum Romae, ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die 10 Maii 1905.

Fr. H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.
ALOISIUS VECCHIA, *Secret.*

INSTITUTE OF FRANCISCAN MISSIONARY SISTERS

LAUDIS PRO INSTITUTO SORORUM FRANCISCALIIUM MISSIONARIARUM

Praeclarissimi operis conversionis exterarum gentium adiumento ab anno 1873 ortum habuit Institutum Sororum Franciscaliium Missionariarum ab Immaculata Conceptione, et paucos post annos domum principem in hac alma Urbe constituit. Cum autem, Dei favente gratia, uberes fructus ediderit atque apud varias regiones domicilium fixerit, suprema Moderatrix ab hoc Sacro Consilio rei christianae dilatandae praeposito, Instituti approbationem efflagitavit. Re itaque pro more delata examini Commissionis pro revisendis regulis novorum Institutorum a Sacra Congregatione dependentium, cui praest Eminentissimus Vir Franciscus Cardinalis Satolli, eadem Commissio, attentis praesertim litteris commendatitiis Ordinariorum, qui de istarum Religiosarum Sororum zelo testantur, statuit praememoratum Institutum laudis decreto esse cohonestandum. †

Summus vero Pontifex Pius divina providentia Papa X in audientia ab infrascripto S. Congregationis Secretario habita hodierna die sententiam praeaudatae Commissionis in omnibus adprobavit, praesensque ad id decretum edi mandavit.

Datum Romae, ex aedibus Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die 23 Iulii anni 1906.

Fr. H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.
ALOISIUS VECCHIA, *Secret.*

ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X ON APRIL 17

ALLOCUTIO.

SSMI. D. N. PII PP. X HABITA DIE 17 APRILIS AN. 1907 OCCASIONE
IMPOSITIONIS PILEOLI NEO CARDINALIBUS.

Accogliamo colla più viva compiacenza i sentimenti di devozione e di amore filiale verso di noi e di questa sede apostolica che ci avete significati in nome vostro e dei voetri diletissimi confratelli per l'onore della porpora a cui foste chiamati. Ma se accettiamo i vostri ringraziamenti dobbiamo pur dire che le preclare virtù di cui siete adorne le opere di zelo che avete compiute e gli altri segnalati servigi che in campi diversi avete resi alla Chiesa, vi rendevano pur degni di essere annoverati nell'albo del nostro sacro Senato. E ci allieta non solo la speranza, ma la certezza che anche rivestiti della nuova dignità consacrerete sempre, come per il passato, l'ingegno e le forze per assistere il Romano Pontefice nel governo della Chiesa. Se Sempre i Romani Pontefici hanno avuto bisogno anche di aiuti esteriori per compiere la loro missione, questo bisogno si fa sentire più vivamente adesso per le gravissime condizioni dei tempi in cui viviamo e pei continui assalti, ai quali è fatta segno la Chiesa per parte dei suoi nemici.

E qui non crediate, Venerabili Fratelli, che noi vogliamo alludere ai fatti, per quanto dolorosi, di Francia, perchè questi sono largamente compensati dalle più care consolazioni: dalla mirabile unione de quel venerando episcopato, dal generoso disinteresse del clero, e dalla pietosa fermezza dei cattolici disposti a qualunque sacrificio per la tutela della fede, e per la gloria della loro patria; si avvera un'altra volta che le persecuzioni non fanno che mettere in evidenza e additare all'ammirazione universale le virtù dei perseguitati, e, tutt'al più sono come i flutti del mare, che nella tempesta frangendosi negli scogli li purificano, se fosse necessario, dal fango che li avesse insozzati.

E voi lo sapete, Venerabili Fratelli, che per questo non temeva la Chiesa quando gli editti dei Cesari intimavano ai primi cristiani: o abbandonare il culto a Gesù Cristo, o morire; perchè il sangue dei martiri era semente di nuovi proseliti alla fede. Ma la guerra tormentosa, che le fa ripetere *ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima*, è quella che deriva dalla aberrazione delle menti per la quale si misconoscono le sue dottrine, e si ripete nel mondo il grido di rivolta per cui furono cacciati i ribelli dal cielo.

E ribelli purtroppo son quelli, che professano e diffondono sotto forme subdole gli errori mostruosi sulla evoluzione del dogma; sul ritorno al puro vangelo, vale a dire sfrondato, come essi dicono, dalle spiegazioni della teologia, dalle definizioni dei

concili, dalle massime dell'ascetica, sulla emancipazione dalla Chiesa, pero in modo nuovo senza ribellarsi per non essere tagliati fuori, ma nemmeno assoggettarsi per non mancare alle proprie convinzioni, e finalmente sull'adattamento ai tempi in tutto, nel parlare, nello scrivere e nel predicare una carità senza fede, tenera assai pei miscredenti, che apre a tutti, purtroppo, la via dell'eterna rovina.

Voi ben vedete, o Venerabili Fratelli, se noi, che dobbiamo difendere con tutte le forze il deposito che ci venne affidato, non abbiamo ragione di essere in angustie di fronte a questo attacco che non è un'eresia, ma il compendio e il veleno di tutte le eresie, che tende a scalzare fondamenti della fede ed annientare il cristianesimo. Sì, annientare il cristianesimo, perchè la sacra scrittura per questi eretici moderni non è più la fonte sicura di tutte le verità che appartengono alla fede, ma un libro comune; l'ispirazione per loro si restringe alle dottrine dogmatiche, intese però a loro modo, e per poco non si differenzia dall'ispirazione poetica di Eschilo e di Omero. Legittima interprete della Bibbia è la Chiesa, però soggetta alle regole della così detta scienza critica, che s'impone alla teologia e la rende schiava. Per la tradizione finalmente tutto è relativo e soggetto a mutazioni, e quindi ridotta al niente l'autorità dei Santi Padri. E tutti questi, e mille altri errori li propalano in Opuscoli, in Riviste, in libri ascetici e per fino in romanzi, e li involgono in certi termini ambigui, in certe forme nebulose, onde avere sempre aperto uno scampo alla difesa per non incorrere in una aperta condanna e prendere però gli incauti ai loro lacci.

Noi pertanto contiamo assai anche sull'opera vostra, Venerabili Fratelli, perchè qualora conosciate, coi vescovi vostri suffraganei, nelle vostre regioni, di questi seminatori di zizzania, vi uniate a noi nel combatterli, c'informiate del pericolo a cui sono esposte le anime, denunciate i loro libri alle sacre Congregazioni romane, e frattanto usando delle facoltà, che da' sacri canoni vi sono concesse, solennemente li condanniate, persuasi dell'obbligo altissimo che avete assunto di aiutare il Papa nel governo della Chiesa, di combattere l'errore e di difendere la verità fino all'effusione del sangue.

Del resto confidiamo nel Signore, o dilette figli, che ci darà nel tempo opportuno gli aiuti necessari; e la Benedizione Apostolica, che avete invocata, discenda copiosa su voi, sul clero e sul popolo delle vostre diocesi, sopra tutti i venerandi vescovi e gli eletti figli che decorarono con la loro presenza, questa solenne cerimonia, sui vostri e sui loro parenti, e sia fonte per tutti e per ciascuno delle grazie più elette e delle più soavi consolazioni.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PENANCE IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By Rev. M. J. O'Donnell,
D.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1907.

IN the recent revision of the Statutes of Maynooth College the rule which prescribed that the Doctorate Dissertation should be written in Latin, has been considerably modified. It is now free for the candidate himself to select the language in which he will present his Thesis; and possibly the day is not far distant when some aspirant to the honour of the D.D. may deem it not unfitting that his Dissertation should be submitted to the Theological Faculty in the language of the country. One thing at any rate is certain, and that is that the remains of the Irish Literature which have come down to us can supply models of theological treatises, and a vocabulary expressive of theological ideas at least as good, and in the opinion of many far better, than any of the modern languages of Europe.

Dr. O'Donnell was the first who enjoyed the undoubted advantage conferred by the new regulation, and we congratulate himself and the College upon the result. He has produced a book which, after careful study, we can confidently recommend as being the best of its kind we have seen for many years. This is only what might have been expected by anyone who had followed the distinguished course of the young Doctor, first at the Intermediate examinations, and afterwards at the Royal University and at Maynooth College; while at the same time the articles which have appeared at intervals from his pen during his term on the Dunboyne, were a sufficient guarantee that he possessed the faculty of clothing his ideas in language that was direct, appropriate, and forcible. When to all this is added the fact, which we can guarantee from certain knowledge, that the subject of the Dissertation was not lightly chosen, but was one to which the candidate had devoted his most serious attention for a very extended period, no one can be surprised at his undoubtedly brilliant success.

His book, *Penance in the Early Church*, is a historico-theological treatise, intended to illustrate and defend the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church at present in regard to this sacrament, by a reference to the opinions and usages of the early centuries. Many of those outside the Catholic Church are thoroughly convinced that the facts of history cannot be recon-

ciled with the modern teaching of theologians, while even inside the Church there are not a few—from some of whom better might be expected—who view such historical studies with suspicion and uneasiness. They have been accustomed to imagine that the Church as it stands to-day, down even to the smallest detail, was so planted in the beginning ; and they are not prepared to admit any change or evolution however unimportant or accidental. Upon such as these Dr. O'Donnell's treatise will exercise, it is to be hoped, a very steady influence.

The writer had carefully examined and noted the conclusions of Dr. Lea, which have been accepted by most non-Catholics as incontrovertible on the subject of Penance. He then undertook a careful study of the early writers on this same subject, relying not upon commentaries or garbled extracts, but on the best editions of their works. It was only in this way he could hope to give a satisfactory reply to the difficulties raised by this eminent Protestant scholar ; and we are convinced that he has succeeded in establishing against Dr. Lea that the teaching and practice of the Church at the present day corresponds, in essentials at least, with the views of the early writers on the usages of the early Church. We say in essentials, because nobody who realizes what the Church really means, could expect an exact conformity in every little detail between the infant society of the first century and the developed organization of the twentieth. Dr. O'Donnell has taken up the doctrine of the Catholic Church on Penance as expressed in the Decrees of the Council of Trent ; and he has shown that these Decrees are in conformity with the teaching of the early Church. He has proved that the early Church asserted for itself and relied upon the words of our Lord as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke, a power of forgiving post-baptismal sins ; that this sacrament was a real judgment, and the final absolution a judicial act ; that the penitent was obliged to confess all his mortal sins ; that with regard to venial sins, they could be forgiven in the sacrament of Penance or outside it, just as Catholics teach at present ; that the contrition elicited from the motive of the fear of hell was good and salutary ; that private confession was regarded as conformable to Christ's commands ; that absolution was conferred only by the recognized minister of the Church, and that the principle of reservation was recognized and strictly enforced.

This is all that is required for the Catholic position, and we may well admit, as Dr. O'Donnell does, that in matters of a purely disciplinary nature the practice has varied at different times in the history of the Church, and in different portions of the Church even at the same period.

We have no hesitation in offering the writer our most sincere congratulations upon the success of his labours, and in recommending his book to the careful study of our readers. They will find it a work which is at once clear, orderly, and concise ; and lest they may have any misgivings, we may give them the comforting assurance that they may read it from the preface to the end without once referring to any dictionary, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, or English.

J. MACC.

Seanmóirí Muirge Nuabao. An dara imleabhar. Glan
2s. 6d. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.

THE League of St. Columba gives us again this year a striking evidence of the increasing activity of the Maynooth students in the department of Irish studies. We have had occasion more than once to refer to the annual literary outputs of the League. This year in the line of Irish publications it has quite surpassed itself. Not alone have we before us the annual magazine *St. Columba's* (now happily entitled 'Íomleabhar Muirge Nuabao') but a neatly-bound volume of Irish sermons—the second of the series which the League has undertaken to give to the public from the MSS in the College Library, and an admirably written Irish play in five acts, are now on the bookstall as a result of this year's literary efforts. The variety of the publications—sermon, drama, and art—indicates the healthy, liberal tone of the Irish movement within the College ; their number and quality are convincing evidence of the progress that is being made in the line of Irish studies. Of the three books that have been published, the one that will undoubtedly be most highly prized by the Irish-reading public is the *Book of Sermons*. Until quite recently it was a common belief that the stream of Irish prose which had its origin away back in the centuries immediately succeeding the coming of St. Patrick, suddenly stopped when Keating laid aside his pen. This, however, was not the case. It is true, of course, that the sudden arrest of native Irish development caused by the Elizabethan wars, had a destructive effect on the Bardic schools, and that all chances of a higher education at home well-nigh disappeared with them. But numerous Irish Catholic foundations were made on the Continent—those at Rome, Louvain, and Salamanca being the most important—and the men that they turned out during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not inferior in point of ability and learning to those trained in previous centuries in the native schools. The vast extent of this work in the Latin tongue is

already well known ; we are indebted to the League of St. Columba for some portion of their efforts through another medium. The second volume of 'Seanmóiri Muige Nuadad' contains thirteen sermons on various subjects. A few titles, such as 'The Last Judgment,' 'The Lord's Coming,' 'The Glory of Heaven,' 'The Resurrection,' 'The Passion and Death of our Lord,' will give an idea of the wide range and interesting character of the subjects treated of. The book must surely prove a great assistance to those entrusted with the work of preaching the Word of God in those districts where the Irish language still happily holds the field, and where it should naturally be the exclusive medium of communication from the pulpit. To young Irish preachers who are acquiring a knowledge of the language, will this book be of especial assistance. Many have found a difficulty—and this will even apply to adepts of the language—in putting their theological ideas into simple Irish for the ordinary faithful ; in this volume and its predecessor they will find a technical and simple treatment of a variety of subjects admirably suited to the Sunday congregation. To the ordinary student of Irish these volumes will be no less valuable. Here he will find a richness of idiom and vocabulary which is apt to surprise even the most advanced of those who have not ventured outside matter written in recent years. Of every turn of expression which he meets he may be certain. The writers of those sermons were men who rarely if ever used the English language as a medium of conversation, and their productions, as might be expected, show but little influence of the *Bearla* either in word or idiom. They are, moreover, representative of what is common in the living speech of all the Irish-speaking districts, the Munster element being scarcely noticeable. Indeed it is certain that some of them were composed as far removed as Donegal from the place of transcription—in Cork.

The work of editing has been very well done, and the young editors deserve to be congratulated. It would, perhaps, have been better to have written 'bá' throughout as the past tense of 'ir,' it tends to simplification ; and seeing that the Gaelic League does not retain it in its publications, it may sometimes confuse the learner. The same remark applies to the omission of the 'b' in the participles 'ráḡbáil' and 'ráḡbáil.' The retention of 'ar' the relative form of 'ir' is not consistent with modern developments, as scarcely any living writer uses it. However, these are very small things, and do not detract from the credit due to those responsible for the editing of the work. They have placed the Irish-speaking public under a great obliga-

tion, and they deserve the support of all interested in things Irish. Their achievements in future years will, we have no fear, justify this support. It should be mentioned that they promise another volume of like dimensions next year.

The book is printed on splendid paper of Irish manufacture. The type is large and clear, and the binding excellent. Messrs. Browne and Nolan are the printers.

M. E.

CONSECRANDA : Rites and Ceremonies observed at the Consecration of Churches, Altars, Altar-stones, Chalice and Patens. By Rev. A. J. Schulte. New York : Benziger, Bros. Price 3s.

BENEDICENDA : Rites and Ceremonies to be observed in some of the principal Functions of the Roman Ritual and the Roman Pontifical. By the Rev. A. J. Shulte. New York : Benziger Bros. Price 6s.

It is not in the spirit of mere conventional phraseology we say that the author of these two volumes has by their publication conferred a valued service upon the clergy in general. Both will prove a desirable adjunct to every clerical library, and their appearance deserves a warm welcome and a hearty recognition. Sooner or later in his life it falls to the lot of every priest to have to assist in one capacity or another, at a solemn consecration or a solemn blessing. On such an occasion his first concern is to lay hold of some handy manual that will enlighten him with accuracy, conciseness, and a minimum expenditure of energy upon the part he shall have to play in the function. So far, search for a convenient book of this kind, dealing with these oft-recurring consecrations and blessings, would prove entirely futile. There was nothing to be done except to go to the text of the Pontifical or Ritual itself, and rest content with such scant and meagre directions as the rubrics here given would supply. For Commentaries were not very accessible and even when ready at hand their diffuseness was often more perplexing than helpful to the uninitiated. Those who have had recourse to Catalani, Cavalieri, or Baruffaldus, and endeavoured to arrange a ceremonial after consulting them or more modern authors, will keenly appreciate the value of the boon which Father Shulte has so timely placed within their reach.

To give an idea of the ground covered by these two volumes, it will be well to indicate briefly their contents. The first volume contains an explanation of the ceremonies to be observed

at the Consecration of Churches, Altars, Altar-stones, Chalices, and Patens. All the details pertaining to these various functions are fully described. The author first explains the preliminaries, next the preparations to be made for each ceremony, and finally the manner in which the function is to be performed. The subject-matter of the second volume, or *Benedicenda*, is more diversified and, from the standpoint of the priest, more interesting and instructive, because many of the ceremonies here described are such as he himself can perform if not by his ordinary, at least in virtue of delegated, powers. These include the laying of the Corner-stones of a Church and of other Buildings, Blessing of a Cemetery, Reconciliation of a Polluted Church and Cemetery adjoining, Blessing of a Bell, Blessing of Churches—permanent and temporary—and of the New Font of a Church, Blessings of School-Houses, of New Crosses, and of Images and Statues of the Blessed Virgin and Saints. Most of these Ceremonies are *de Jure* episcopal, but the author has provided for the contingencies in which they may be carried out by delegated priests. Finally, there is a description of the ceremonies employed in connexion with the Bishop's visitation of Parishes, the administration of Confirmation, the imparting of the Papal Blessing both by a Bishop and Priest, the rite of Absolution and Episcopal blessing after sermon at Mass, and the investiture of Domestic Prelates and Protonotaries Apostolic. In an appendix will be found inscriptions suitable for bells and foundation-stones.

Above enumeration will convey an idea of the scope of these volumes, and it only remains to say that the author, having gone to the most approved sources for his information, has secured accuracy and soundness in his treatment. His style, too, whilst being clear and lucid, is as attractive as the handling of such a dry subject could permit. He gives the whole text of the Ritual or Pontifical, as the case may be, for each function he describes and assumes that the manual may be used instead of these, but while the text is doubtless authentic, liturgical books generally require the *concordat cum originali* in order to be thus lawfully employed.

The manner in which the volumes are brought out are quite in keeping with the high reputation of Benziger Brothers. The books are well bound, the type is particularly clear, and the paper of very superior quality, while the price is moderate in the extreme.

P. M.

NOTES ON HOLY COMMUNION. By F. M. de Zulueta, S.J.
London : R. & T. Washbourne. Price 1s.

THIS is a compact little volume of sixty-eight pages. It deals with a subject of the greatest importance in the light of the recent Decrees, and in a manner clear, simple, and full. It will be found a most useful companion volume to Lejeune's work for the priest and confessor. In it are to be found all the recent rules and responses of the Sacred Congregation, to which are added notes and comments by the author, with answers to the ordinary objections against frequent Communion. It is a book which all priests should have by their side, if they wish to know the causes which led to the Decrees, the spirit which animated the Supreme Pontiff, and the influence which such Decrees are bound to have on the spiritual life of the Church.

D. M.

TYBURN CONFERENCES. By Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B.
Price 2s. 6d.

SOME years ago Cardinal Vaughan established a religious community at Tyburn, hard by the spot where so many English martyrs shed their blood. Every year a solemn triduum and feast are celebrated there in honour of the Blessed Martyrs. During the solemn triduum and feast of 1906, Dom Camm delivered four lectures, which are now published as the *Tyburn Conferences*. These Conferences deal chiefly with the martyrs of the Seminaries, but the martyrs of the laity are not forgotten. Due tribute is paid to Oxford and Douay which supplied the men who kept the faith alive during the dark days of infidelity and persecution. 'Tyburn was the scene of their triumph as Oxford had been of their call, and Douay of their training.' These Conferences make interesting reading, and show that, though England lost the faith, there were found many faithful ones who remained true even at the cost of their lives. The story of sacrifice is always interesting to the human mind ; in this case it is doubly so, being illumined by the ability of Dom Camm's sympathetic pen.

P. B.

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL. By George Fell, S.J. Translated by L. Villing, O.S.B. London and Edinburgh : Sands & Co.

At the present day when Theism and Atheism are asserting themselves, when Haeckel and his Rationalistic friends are deriding the idea of life after death, a subject like the immor-

talities of the soul, calls for a closer interest. The present book will give those who are interested the traditional arguments of Catholicism. From this point of view it possesses value for those who wish to have a ready answer for doubters.

There are put forward, however, some common arguments which will not show much ability to our scientific opponents. Such arguments will not push back our enemies, but will give them a seeming victory over us. Is, for example, 'self-consciousness' a satisfying proof to an honest man for the immortality of the soul human? How is it shown that a dog also has no consciousness that *itself* exists? You may say the self-consciousness is different in either case. But then you admit, what every honest thinker knows, that self-consciousness taken by itself is a very shadowy proof for immortality.

Again, does the precise fact of the *indivisibility* of thought prove the existence of a spiritual soul? If so, does the indivisibility of consciousness in a horse prove the existence of a spiritual soul in a horse? The only substantial proof we saw in the book for the spirituality of the soul is that freedom exists in man, that this quality must have a free principle, that matter tyrannized by necessary law cannot be the source of such a free principle.

G. P.

MEDULLA FUNDAMENTALIS THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. By Dr. Stang. New York: Benziger Brothers. Price 4s. net.

WITHIN the space of 185 pages, Dr. Stang has succeeded in expounding lucidly the principles which underly the whole science of Moral Theology. Specific treatment is given to Human Acts, Laws, Conscience, Sins, and Virtues. Dr. Stang when professing in Louvain recognized the need of a book which would give concisely and clearly those principles which are absolutely necessary for the confessor. The present work has been written to supply that need. It will be welcomed by missionary priests. It will be welcomed by theological students. In it the reader will find, ready to hand, those principles which only patient labour could extract from our ponderous textbooks. Here they will be found lucidly explained, without any of that elaboration which so often serves but to obscure. The work, though somewhat new and fresh in form, merely restates the old doctrine. It is a practical little work, and will, we are sure, admirably fulfil the purpose for which it was written.

P. B.



EVOLUTION OF RELIGION

IN a previous essay I tried to point out some difficulties which appear to me to beset the evolutionary theory of religion in its origin. My present purpose is to examine briefly the same theory in its development. Does the evidence furnished by the religions of the world support or contradict the ghost theory? Our principal concern is, of course, with savage races, they being, according to the system we are considering, the best representatives of an early, though perhaps not the earliest, state of human culture. The question is solely one of evidence—what are the facts? Do religion and material culture go forward together? or does religion degenerate while material culture advances? Needless to say in no other case, or class of cases, does the evidence labour under such difficulties. There is the initial difficulty of getting any information at all from savages about their religion, as we know on the authority of Mr. Howitt and others who, till after their initiation in the religion of primitive tribes, could get but scanty knowledge of the religious notions and practices of the people. Mythology as distinct from religion is universal among savages, and it is very difficult to get them to talk about their religion, while quite loquacious about their mythology. The *disciplina arcani* is more in force amongst savages than it was amongst the Christians of the early Church. In the second place we must make allowance for the dangers which philosophers discuss in

their treatment of that part of inductive logic which deals with observation. Lastly, we all know the danger to which sound information is exposed in transit. In the present instance we leave our authorities to speak for themselves.

As ghosts were first in order in savage theology, it follows that primitive man must have looked upon death as prior to ghosts and gods, that ghosts must be spirits of men who once died and therefore that all gods, evolved, as they were, from ghosts, must have crossed the bourne also. Now anthropology insists, and rightly too, that death is not regarded by savages as having been always in the world, that as a universal ordinance it is unknown to them. Savages look upon death not as something natural and necessary, but as an accident, a blunder; they think that it arose from an offence offered to some spirit, that it was introduced by a magician or a wicked ghost, or what not. In fact the stories about the origin of death current among savages are simply variations of Romans v. 12. Now, if savages regard death as a misfortune that did not always affect humanity, and if at the same time they recognize supreme beings who never were subject to death, the ghost theory furnishes but a poor explanation of the origin of religion. Let us see how the case stands.

DEATH AND GHOSTS

I.

The beliefs held by primitive man are by no means uniform, nor have they been clearly understood by those who report them. Without dogmatizing as to questions of origin we may begin our account with the undoubtedly rude and early conception to which the name of animism has been given.¹

Just where the account should not begin. The heart of the problem is to determine the place animism occupies in the evolution. To start with animism is simply to beg the whole question. Did the belief in animism originate in ghosts or is it a corruption of a primitive monotheism?

¹ Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, ii., p. 3.

This is the point that must be settled before we can proceed to work out theories and perhaps unconsciously dogmatize as to conclusions, the premises of which we had previously, in our impartiality, relegated to the regions of doubt. This is the question Mr. Tylor attacks, and answers, by no means decisively, in the way already outlined. Mr. Hobhouse, though without dogmatizing, evidently adopts the same line of argument. On page 5, volume ii., we find the following :—

The spirit of man goes out in dreams and appears to other people. Sometimes it leaves him temporarily when he sneezes, and hence it is well to pray for a blessing on him in such a moment, as we do unto this day. It quits him in trances ; it leaves him finally in death. Since the spirit is a mere attenuated double of the man himself, it appears also as his shadow, and can be seen mocking him when he stands by the side of a pool. These different appearances of the double or spirit have not escaped savage man, and have led him in many cases to an almost bewildering multiplication of souls.

First of all, what is the savage notion of God ? Is it in any way bound up with the notion of attenuated double, soul, ghost, spirit ? Though Dr. Brinton, in 1868, called attention to the point, and though Dr. Lang insists on it again and again, that the Supreme Gods of low races are not regarded as spirits at all, that the question of spirit or non-spirit is never raised, nevertheless anthropologists one after another, following the beaten track, evidently take it for granted that Supreme Beings must in the savage mind be represented as spirits or ghosts. Dr. Brinton says, ' It came to pass that the idea of God was linked to the heavens long ere man asked himself, *Are the heavens material and God spiritual ?* ' The importance of this point is at once evident. If the primitive notion of God is not that of a spiritual substance of some kind, the ghost theory immediately breaks down.

What is our own ordinary conception of God ? We are continually being told that the childish stage with us represents the early savage. It is a first principle of evolution that the *millegramme* of albumen contains the germ of an individual organism and, in favourable circumstance

will reveal its own pedigree and exhibit a 'picture in little' of life on this planet. If the childish stage represents the savage as far as the idea of God is concerned, for a certainty, 'spiritual' or 'non-spiritual' has nothing whatever to do with the savage notion of God. We all, I take it, have similar early notions of God, as of a great non-natural man who was never born and never dies, who lives away in the sky, sees all our actions, approves of the good and is displeased with the bad. Children never think of God as anything but a magnified man. Even after reading natural theology, and convincing ourselves that our conception of God must be divested of everything anthropomorphic, still we cannot speak, we cannot even think of God unless as envisaged in a certain shape, and shape is as foreign to God and spirit as matter is. Now if the notion children have of God be a survival of early savage theology, assuredly early savages never thought of identifying God and spirit, as Dr. Brinton says, they never raised the question whether God was a spirit or whether he was not. This non-natural, magnified man cannot have been to the primitive savage mind anything derived from head ghosts. In fact, He is explicitly differentiated from ghosts by some of the lowest savages :—

The Bank Islanders (Melanasia) believe in ghosts, 'and in the existence of beings, who were not and never had been human. All alike might be called spirits,' but *ex hypothesi* the beings 'who were never human' are only called spirits by us, because our habits of thought do not enable us to envisage them except as spirits. They never were men, 'the natives will always maintain that he (the Kin) was *something different* and deny to him the fleshy body of a man,' while resolute that he was *not a ghost*.¹

Professor Tiele was therefore mistaken when, speaking of a transition of polydaemonism into polytheism, he wrote : 'All the gods are indeed spirits, but all the spirits are not gods ;'² they only become gods when they have obtained the necessary qualifications.

¹ Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 183, citing Codrington.

² *Elements of the Science of Religion*, p. 89.

II.

The ghost theory is founded on the supposition that primitive man, confounding his observations of death and dream-phantoms, concluded to the existence of a spirit surviving bodily disease. Now whether death ever did suggest to early man the possibility of something like soul having left the body or not, is certainly a moot question. The only observable difference between the living and the dead is that the dead body has ceased to breathe and move. Is not this the most ordinary occurrence in human experience, be its origin what it may? Why should it excite the suspicion that a *spirit* has slipped away? But, then, dream-phantoms are surely out of the ordinary? I have already pointed out some difficulties in this connexion which appear to me to make the theory untenable. For the present I will merely quote a remark of Professor Jastrow :—

As a matter of fact he (primitive man) is not easily subject to impressions, and such impressions as he receives easily wear off, as in the case of a child, unless repeated with increasing emphasis. A single impression counts for little with him, and it is only when impressions crowd upon his brain so as to overwhelm him that he will be led to seek some expression for them.¹

But granted that ghosts were, somehow or other, evolved, does their treatment at the hands of savages justify us in concluding that they ever did give rise to a good Supreme Being? Ghosts are regarded by savages, as a rule, as malignant beings, spirits who are perpetually on the outlook for mischief—

To do aught good never will be our task
But ever to do ill our sole delight

is, in the savage opinion, the leading characteristic of all ghosts. They do not rise to the level of a Mephistopheles; Puck is their best representative. Doing or approving good is not a special trait of their character, as it is of the Supreme Gods. They allow unlimited scope in morality,

¹ *The Study of Religion*, p. 185.

provided they are kept on good terms by having food and drink supplied them regularly. The people live in constant dread of them ; they fear them, but I doubt very much if they worship them. I cannot regard the food and drink propitiation of the savage as anything approaching worship ; there may be selfishness and servility combined, but reverence or respect there is none. Mr. Hobhouse makes a statement to the point, though it militates against his own theory :—

Essentially the cult of animism is not an adoration of a being higher than man, but a mode of influencing beings conceived as possessing powers which may be useful or harmful to the believer. And spirit as animism conceives it, though certainly implying enough of intelligence to comprehend the meaning of promise or threat, is far from implying a higher type of moral or mental power than that of the human ' worshipper' . . . in truth the majority of the beings worshipped by primitive man are not human but something less than human. The distinctly evil tendencies are more prominent than the good, for why should savage man trouble himself to please great spirits who are naturally benevolent ? It is the bad spirit, who will otherwise make himself troublesome, that the savage is anxious to conciliate with the best of his store.¹

The case is admirably put. How, then, did ' the great spirits who are naturally benevolent ' ever get on the scene when ' the bad spirit, who might otherwise make himself troublesome, ' is selfish enough to claim all the attention. This state of religion, be it remarked, does not obtain amongst the lowest savages ; it is only as people rise in culture that this gross materialism finds a place in their religious cult : as the material side advances the religious degenerates. This food and drink service may be a ' sugaring over the devil himself, ' but it can scarcely be called worship in any intelligible sense of the word. And I am strongly inclined to think that ghost-worship of any kind is not to be found amongst the rudest races. It is a great mistake to regard savage ceremonialism in connexion with

¹ *Morals in Evolution*, ii., p. 11-12.

the dead as in any way pertaining to worship. A great margin should be left (and of course none is left) for emotion and imagination without further motive. If our own conventions and our own ritual relating to the dead were found among savages, we should set about theorizing and building up systems of religion for them immediately. If the closing scene in the *Old Curiosity Shop*, for instance, was enacted in savage life, 'travellers' would at once assure the whole civilized world that beyond doubt savages are ghost worshippers. But, then, our own treatment of the dead, we will be told, is a survival of primitive savagery. Very well; if it is, then primitive savages were not ghost worshippers. But they do worship a Supreme Good Being.

Let me give a brief illustration of this, for the present; the point will be considered more fully as we proceed. The Fuegians are certainly on a very low level of culture, if culture it may be called. Dr. Lang quotes Fitzroy for the statement that with them, 'a great black man is supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action, who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct.' This big man's strong point is morality. He forbids the killing of an enemy, even when caught in the act of robbery. Is this an apotheosized chief? The Fuegians 'have no superiority of one over another; they are not, therefore, ancestor worshippers; they do not look upon 'the big man' as having ever died. How, then, did he get evolved from malicious ghosts? The Chonos, a neighbouring tribe, 'have great faith in a good spirit whom they call Yerri Yuppon, and consider to be the author of all good; him they invoke in distress and danger.' They do not touch food till a short prayer has been said over each portion, 'the praying man looking upwards.' Dr. Lang concludes: 'If Fuegian and Chono religion is on this level, and if this be the earliest, then the theology of many higher savages (as of the Zulus) is decidedly degenerate.'¹

¹ *The Making of Religion*, pp. 188, 189.

GHOSTS AND GODS

I.

Now the existence of great and good spirits is certainly reported among many primitive peoples, but three questions have to be settled before we can determine their place in primitive religion, viz. : (1) how far these reports are trustworthy ; (2) how far when the good spirit really exists, is it an importation from Christianity or some other civilized religion ; (3) how far is the good spirit, when recognized, an object of worship, and therefore an integral part of religion.¹

With regard to the trustworthiness of reports great precaution is of course necessary to preclude the acceptance of Good Supreme Beings as native to the soil, which in reality may be importations from Christianity. At the same time we must bear in mind that too far east is west. Over-caution or over-sight, no doubt, accounts for the curious fact that almost all anthropologists have omitted from their writings reports as important and as acceptable as those they make use of, except that they convey facts which do not exactly fit in with the animistic theory. Now among low races we do find Supreme Beings who can scarcely have come from Europe. The Fuegians are but poor subjects for proselytizing, for, 'when discovered by strangers the instant impulse of a Fuegian family is to run off into the woods.' Bushmen live a life of isolation sufficient to prevent their theology being influenced to any serious extent by 'modern thought.' The Australians are the lowest types of human beings on earth, savages without metals, agriculture, or fixed habitations, nor are any traces of a higher culture anywhere found, so that the chances of European influence are a minimum. Yet these, the lowest representatives of savage life on three vast continents, are monotheistic in religion and have severally a Supreme God who never passed through the gates of death. The next point to be settled, according to Mr. Hobhouse, before we can determine the place of Good and Great Spirits in primitive religion is 'How far the

¹ Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, ii., p. 28.

Good Spirit when recognized is the object of worship and an integral part of religion.'

In the first place we must observe that the question is not about a *Good Spirit* at all but about a Supreme *Being* not necessarily, not at all a spirit. But whether spirit or non-spiritual the important thing to determine, we are told, is his place in the religion of the savage. Exactly. And had this point been determined or impartially examined by anthropologists they could scarcely venture to reassure mankind with the consoling information, that in the light of modern research the Supreme Beings of savage races are 'definitely established' non-entities. If we find a Supreme Being fresh in the minds and prominent in the religion of the rudest races, and find him partially or wholly neglected as we ascend the scale of culture, the discovery will undoubtedly help us in our study of the evolution of religion. Shall we pronounce the process advance or retrogression?

Materialistic anthropology presents a rather curious anomaly in the development from animism of a now almost or wholly neglected Supreme God, passing in the meantime through an Ethical Creative Supreme Being who takes a practical and lively interest in his people. There are both progress and relapse in such a system, but progress and relapse which fit in very awkwardly with the ghost theory or any other theory for that matter. Even in the light of 'modern research' the way is not clear to animistic theories. Though the question of the position occupied by the Supreme Spirit, as he calls him, has been raised by Mr. Hobhouse, I do not see that it has been frankly faced by him. A couple of pages are evidently sufficient for the discussion of this, the most important, and at the same time the most sadly neglected aspect of the whole question;¹ but a long chapter hardly affords scope

¹ Dr. Lang is again an exception. Realizing that Supreme Gods of low savages are by far the most important study in the evolution of religion, he examines this side of the question in some of the most interesting chapters of his scholarly work, *The Making of Religion*. The conclusions one is forced to draw from his discussion of savage Supreme Beings may be summed up in the following: (1) The ghost theory is not needed to explain the religion of savages, is in fact contradicted by the

enough to satisfy the animistic zeal of the author in the usual blasphemous ribaldry against the God of Hebrew tradition and the God of the Christian ; it is the ordinary stock-in-trade of the school which in sixpenny volumes propagates a religion, the members of which are politely requested to kneel down with all due reverence and adore—Nothing. Mr. Hobhouse's conclusion is rather surprising. We must cite his words in full :—

Lastly, where Great and Good Spirits are recognized in savage religion we constantly find that they are neglected for the active, present, and possibly dangerous spirits of the immediate surroundings of man. The evidence on this point comes from all parts of the world. The Good Spirits, the Algonquins held, could only do good. It was the bad ones that needed propitiation. The Dakotahs knew little about what the Great Spirits would do. All the fear they had was about the spirits of the departed. The Caribs *recognized a higher spirit but paid him no honours*. Thus even when the belief in a greater God has, from whatever cause, arisen, *it maintains no touch with the working religion of the savage*. It is exotic and not the normal and native expression of savage modes of thought.¹

Now, it surely occurred to Mr. Hobhouse that there may be a difficulty here which it would not be prudent to pass without examining. How have the notions of these Supreme Beings originated and why are they retained at all? If troops of hungry ghosts, who get board wages simply for minding their own business, are the only preternatural beings of any consequence in the religion of prudent, practical savages, it is not easy to see how a Supreme Good Being could ever get an opportunity of intruding himself.

religion of many of the lowest races ; (2) Everywhere ghosts and Supreme Beings are explicitly contrasted, and in the savage mind separated by an impassable gulf, the valley of death ; (3) An impartial examination of what evidence we have points undoubtedly to the fact that the notion of a non-human Eternal Creator was prior to ghost-worship, and that the latter is a comparatively late development. These conclusions are drawn from the only evidence anthropology will or can accept, from a knowledge, viz., of the rites, customs, and notions of Australians, Bushmen, Dinkas, Yao, Fuegians, Guineese, Andamanese, Fijians, etc.

¹ *Morals in Evolution*, p. 31. Italics are mine.

II.

The two main assumptions of animists are: (1) Low savage races have no Supreme Beings; (2) Where such Beings are found (*sic*) they are not in 'touch with the working religion of the savage.' If there is anything proved in the whole wide field of ethnology, it is that both those assumptions are false. It is not a fact that the lowest savage races have not a moral Supreme God, nor is it a fact that this God does not play a very practical part in the life of the people. Notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. Hobhouse that among the Australians and North American Indians (the best types of primitive savagery) 'recent research seems to have established definitely that at least among a large proportion of the tribes there is nothing comparable to the worship of a divine creator and sustainer of all things,'¹ we still venture to assert that such worship does exist, and such a Being does hold a very distinguished place in the religious cult of Australian and American aborigines and other primitive races. Among S. E. Australians, Mr. Hobhouse tells us, that what was taken for a Supreme God is now regarded as a 'venerable, kindly headman of a tribe, full of knowledge and tribal wisdom, and all powerful in magic of which he is the source, with virtues, failings, and passions such as the aborigines regard them.'² Now, it strikes one at once that evidence of this kind can scarcely 'establish definitely' the animistic hypothesis. Seeing that such a Being, envisaged though he be as a headman, has a place at all in the thoughts of the people, may he not, just as likely, be a degenerate god as a deified chief? Why have these primitive tribes any notion whatever of a venerable, kindly ancestor, or try to please him by religious worship since 'it is the bad spirit (inferior ghosts), who will otherwise make himself troublesome, that the savage is anxious to conciliate with the best of his store.' We should naturally expect that a

¹ *loc. cit.*, p. 28.

² Hobhouse, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, citing Howitt, *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, p. 500.

Moral Supreme Being should always remain an 'airy nothing' without ever acquiring 'a local habitation and a name,' seeing that the bad spirits have a monopoly of attention. And if he did manage, by some mistake, to materialize, it would be but practical prudence of sensible savages to leave him to work out his own destiny unhonoured and unsung. Yet the *Bora* ritual fully attests the religious awe in which Darumulun is held by his people; even his name (his real name) is too sacred to be mentioned except at the mysteries, at other times he is 'Master' or 'Father.' Referring to Howitt's account of the S. E. Australians, who 'it seems to me,' says Howitt, 'represents the defunct headman,' Dr. Lang observes that 'the traces of headship among the tribes is extremely faint; no such headman rules large areas of country, *none is known to be worshipped after death.*'¹ Again: 'Ghost worship and dead ancestor worship are impossible before the ancestor is dead and is a ghost. But the essential idea of Darumulun and Baiame and most of the high gods of Australia and of other low races is that they never died at all.'²

How does this tally with the ghost theory? And were it granted (which we feel no necessity to grant) that the Supreme Being is a first ancestor, it is difficult to see how, if he preceded death, he could be evolved from ghosts; and the difficulty is increased when we take into account the fact that savages, as anthropology informs us, regard death as introduced by the wantonness of some cross spirit, accidentally and needlessly. If death was caused by a spirit, the spirit must have preceded it, and if he preceded it the ghost theory falls through. But, then, perhaps savages do not rightly understand the principle of causation any more than we ourselves. But this much, in any case, is certain that there is in the savage mind a clear line of demarcation between ghosts of dead men on the one hand, and gods who were never human and never died, on the other. 'The distinction—ghost on one side; eternal being, not a man, not a ghost of a man on the other—

¹ *The Making of Religion*, p. 192. Italics mine.

² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

is radical and nearly universal in savage religion.¹ Darumun-lun and Baiame of the Australians are not 'almost forgotten ancestors,' and these Supreme Beings have a very great influence on the material and moral lives of their primitive peoples, who are not known to be ancestor worshippers, and among whom 'the traces of headmanship are very faint.' Or, to change the scene for a moment, the Big Black Man of the Fuegians who wanders about the woods and mountains and who is not a ghost, is certainly of a very practical turn and a very strict guardian of morality.

York's brother (York was a Fuegian brought to England by Fitzroy) killed a 'wild man' who was stealing his birds. 'Rain come down, snow come down, wind blow, blow, very much blow. Very bad to kill man. Big man in woods no like it, he very angry.' Here be ethics in savage religion. The Sixth Commandment is in force. The being also prohibits the slaying of flappers before they can fly. 'Very bad to shoot little duck, come wind, come rain, blow, very much blow.'²

Modern civilization might get some useful lessons from a Fuegian handbook on ethics. Cagn of the Bushmen is another Supreme Being looked upon by the natives as practical, if anything. 'Cagn made all these things and we pray to him; thus: O Cagn, O Cagn, are we not thy children? Do you not see us hungry? Give us food!'³ But, then, this is to selfish savages the most practical part of the *Pater Noster* introduced by the whites!

III.

The North American Indians are, says Mr. Hobhouse, the other principal group of primitive people who have been held to believe in a Divine Creator. But the Great Spirit, he tells us, is probably 'either (1) a misunderstanding or (2) borrowed from the whites, or (3) an anthropomorphic nature god.'⁴ 1. The Great Spirit, is probably a misunderstanding. He is probably not. Are not all spirits, great

¹ *The Making of Religion*, p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 210, citing the account given to Mr. Orpen by Quing, a Bushman, who 'had never before seen the face of a white man except fighting.'

⁴ *Morals in Evolution*, ii., p. 29.

and little, a misunderstanding according to the animistic teaching? Are they not all literally

‘Such stuff

As dreams are made on’ and whose ‘little life
Is rounded with a sleep.’

With whom does the misunderstanding arise—the natives or the ‘travellers,’ or the writers of books? 2. He is probably borrowed from the whites. Again, he is probably not borrowed from the whites. We want proof, or at least probable reasons for probable opinions. I have already pointed out that the gods of primitive tribes in America, Africa, and Australia cannot have been imported. When they find among savages a Supreme Being or traditions corresponding to passages in the Book of Genesis, anthropologists, Hobhouse, Tylor, Powers and the rest, put it down at once to the influence of the whites or of meddling missionaries. In their dealings with these primitive races (were the fact of any intercourse established) I wonder what white men or missionaries would have to do with ‘the usual story of the deluge,’ for instance, which in some form or other is current among all savages? Far too much weight has been attached to the likelihood of European interference. Do not the failures of missionaries, or at least their exceedingly great trouble, where they do succeed, in disturbing primitive religions clearly show that even an individual savage cannot be proselytised without the greatest difficulty? And if this is true of the individual, what shall we say of the tribe? 3. The Great Spirit ‘is probably an anthropomorphic nature god.’ Very good; what follows? That he arose from animism? Is not another explanation conceivable? Here is a sample of nature gods taken by Mr. Hobhouse from Schoolcraft¹ :—

At the place of light
At the end of the sky
I (the Great Spirit)
Come and hang. Bright Sign.

I am the living body of the Great Spirit above
(The Great Spirit, the Everlasting Spirit above).
I illumine earth,
I illumine heaven.²

¹ *Morals in Evolution*, i., 398.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 30.

Does not this fit in with the degeneration theory far better than with the ghost theory? To my mind it is immensely easier to conceive a primal, eternal, creative Being coming, in course of time, to be identified with one or several of the most striking objects in nature than to conceive the hungry malicious ghosts of dirty medicine men, divested in the savage mind, of their malevolence and mischief-making, till they rose to the dignity of foreign ambassador of One, Great, Everlasting Spirit.¹ And whence came the latter? It should be proved that he is of European extraction. The direct reference in the hymn quoted is obviously to the sun. But it is equally obvious, call it anthropomorphic nature-worship or what you like, that the underlying idea is essentially monotheistic, approaching very near to the notion of God they have in Great Britain.

For the rest I must be satisfied with merely pointing out what the learned author of *The Making of Religion* has to say on American Supreme Beings. With the Blackfeet of the Rocky Mountains, a primitive enough people,

the Creator is Na-pi, Old Man. . . . Na-pi is simply a primal Being, an Immortal Man² who was before death came into the world, concerning which one of the usual tales of the origin of death is told. 'All things he had made understood him when he spoke to them—birds, animals, and people,' as in the first chapter of Genesis. . . . Na-pi created man and woman, out of clay, but the folly of the woman introduced death.³

Here we have undoubtedly a Supreme, Eternal Creator, who is familiar with the birds, animals, and people. He was before death and is immortal; he cannot, consequently, ever have been a ghost or the descendant of ghosts. Supreme Beings of this kind are found all over savage America, among the Hurons, Pawnees, Peruvians, etc.

¹ I am not sure that 'spirit' is the correct word here. If it is, we have an exception to the general savage conception of the Supreme Being.

² As envisaged here Na-pi is not a spirit. The question of spirit or non-spirit has not arisen.

³ *The Making of Religion*, p. 260.

Dr. Lang's chapter on 'American Creators' should make anthropologists pause before pronouncing—as 'definitely established' a theory the very opposite of which Dr. Lang *does* establish with an abundance of evidence. But his 'array of moral and august savage supreme beings (the first who come to hand) will, for some reason, not be found in anthropological treatises on the origin of religion. They appear somehow to have been overlooked by philosophers.'¹

IV.

Coming now to the Zulus, the determination of 'how far is the Good Spirit an object of worship and therefore an integral part of religion' will throw a curious light on the ghost theory of the evolution of religion.² The Zulus, with their monarchical government and standing army, are savages of a high order of culture as savage culture goes. But just as their culture went forward, their religion seems to have fallen into abeyance. They have a first ancestor, Unkulunkulu, whom they regard as the maker of all things. But unfortunately ancestral spirits crowded out Unkulunkulu and his worship, so that he is now reduced to a mere name. More important still, there is 'a king who is above,' 'a heavenly king.' 'But he is not like Unkulunkulu who, we say, made all things.' Here we have (1) a heavenly king 'who is above' and whom the Zulus merely hear of, (2) Unkulunkulu, a demiurge, who though 'he made all things' has got shelved for (3) Amadhlozi (spirits) who afford opportunities for occasional banqueting on the best Zululand can produce. These Norsemen of the South are a practical people, with a disciplined army and a keen eye to business; they have not time or inclination to study metaphysics, nor are they troubled to know what are the peculiar attributes of Unkulunkulu, or the 'heavenly king.' Let them have a few not too troublesome ordinary ghosts, who like themselves get hungry and thirsty occasionally, but who are generous and temperate enough not to be too greedy when the banquet is set forth, and they

¹*The Making of Religion*, p. 276.

²Our authority is Dr. Callaway, *Religion of Amasulu*, pp. 1-50.

are satisfied. Obviously we have here degeneration. If the Supreme God is the latest development, why is he not freshest in the minds of the people? The latest is always the most fashionable, and therefore the Supreme Being in this case cannot be the last evolved for 'the Heavenly King,' 'the King who is above,' is to the Zulus *vox et praeterea nihil*, while his marshal-general is all but driven off the field by a host of ghosts who board out, and are conveniently possessed of a number of redeeming vices. Zulu religion is frankly degenerate.

Another standing example of a practically godless ghost-worshipping people is the Guianese, who have a Supreme Being, God, Great Spirit, etc., now all forgotten except in name. But perhaps enough has been said to indicate, at least in a general way, the positions Supreme Gods hold in savage religious worship.

v.

Now, does the ghost theory satisfy the case? We have savages of the lowest type whose lives are greatly influenced by a supreme, eternal, creative, ethical Being, who sees all their actions, prompt to punish the wicked and reward the good. As we rise in culture we find savage tribes with cattle, agriculture, armies, and kings, practical ghost-worshippers with extremely hazy notions of a good Supreme Being. Is not the natural, the only explanation that the ghosts have crowded out the God till he has all but disappeared? I think I can see some meaning in the theories of religion advocated by Professor Tiele, Max Muller, Professor Jastrow and the rest who hold that we have religion simply because we cannot help having it. But when a system of ghost theories is elaborated to such an extent that you really cannot see the wood for the trees, when a hypothesis is *assumed* and a theory tentatively worked out into which the facts of the case will not fit, try as you will, you are naturally loath to pin your faith to the conclusions, backed though they be, by the authority of men whose names are a passport to the respectful consideration of their readers.

Surveying the broad, uneven field of savage religion, I cannot help concluding that degeneration and not progressive evolution produced the condition of religion amongst the most materially advanced savages.

Not only is there degeneration from the Australian conception of Darumulun to the conception of the Semitic Gods in general, but, 'humanly speaking,' if religion began in a pure form among low savages, degeneration was inevitable. Advancing social conditions compelled men into degeneration.¹

There is a great amount of human nature even in a savage; whether savage or civilized 'a man's a man for a' that,' and to me it seems very strange that with an obliging family ghost, not over scrupulous about morality, savages not particularly anxious about devotion, would not oppose the intrusion of a god who, instead of winking at faults, provided he gets a chop for his breakfast, insists on enforcing a very strict code of morality. To put the case in the mildest form, in the words of Dr. Lang:—

It is logically conceivable that savages may have worshipped deities like Baïame and Darumulun before they ever evolved the notion that Tom, Dick or Harry has a separable soul capable of surviving his bodily decease. Deities of the higher sort by the very nature of savage reflection on death and on its non-original casual character are prior, or may be prior, or cannot be shown not to be prior to the ghost theory—the alleged origin of religion. For their evolution the ghost theory is not logically demanded, they can do without it. . . . Come from what germ he may, Jehovah or Allah does not come from a ghost.²

Surely the Supreme Beings of the lowest races must differ *toto caelo*, even in the most primitive savage mind, from the ghosts of the dead which they frighten away from from their rude habitations with terrible howlings.

Looking at the religion of the lowest savages, and with them anthropology says the investigation must begin, and then considering the despised and ridiculed Supreme Beings of the highest savage tribes, it seems very strange how

¹ *The Making of Religion*, p. 284.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

writers, professing unbounded admiration for impartiality and truth, endeavour to persuade themselves that ghost-worship¹ ever did precede God-worship in the history of mankind. Primitive godless savages are simply the fanciful creations of modern godless writers. The rudest races worship and have always, as far as we know, worshipped one eternal Supreme Being. But as primitive men advanced in culture, so called,

they became vain in their thoughts and their foolish heart was darkened. . . . And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart . . . Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.¹

There is a possible theory of religion which it would be well for anthropologists to take into consideration before 'definitely' bringing God into line with Darwinism. For my own part, as far as the light thrown on the subject by anthropology enables me to see, I still find it as easy to believe that God 'left not Himself without a testimony, doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons filling our hearts with food and gladness,'² as to believe that the God of the early Christian martyrs ever got evolved from the meddlesome, mischievous ghosts of anthropology.

R. FULLERTON.

¹ Rom. i. 21-25.

² Acts xiv. 16.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES

IV.

AT the end of the seventeenth century the condition of Catholics in Ireland was deplorable. Calamities and misfortunes of every kind then reached their climax. And from the implacable hatred of those in power it became only too evident that if iniquitous laws could avail, this state of things was to last till there would no longer be anyone to persecute. Hope of justice under the existing laws, *there was none*: hope of the repeal of those laws, *there was none*. A contemporary writer exclaims: 'Coronidem ruinae totius Hiberniae posuit in diebus nostris Princeps Auriacus!' The King and Parliament had resolved on accomplishing nothing less than the extinction of the Irish Catholic—in his person, or in his religion. In order, therefore, to attain either the one object or the other, no means, however base and barbarous it might be, was left unemployed. Of course if the nation could have been made to give up its creed, this would be the more desirable result. Its apostasy would be regarded as preferable even to its extermination, for nationality was not detested so much as Catholicity, and the persecution was primarily a religious one. But the Irish people determined never to abandon the faith which St. Patrick preached, and therefore soon saw itself reduced to the last extremity. It clung to divine truth as close as in the dark days of Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell, if not closer than even then; and in consequence, humanly speaking, was doomed to destruction. Under William III and the bigoted assembly in College Green, Dublin, there was question not merely of individuals; it looked as if the world was about to behold the martyrdom of a nation.

At this crisis, the bishops and priests and laity were

fortunate in having an account sent to Rome in order to acquaint the Pope with the real state of affairs. Well they knew that lies were being industriously circulated by English ambassadors. That some one in their name informed Innocent XII of their sufferings, we learn from his own statement, of which either the draft or the copy is preserved here in the archives of St. Clement's. It begins thus: 'Il stato deplorabile dei Cattolici Romani nel Regno di Hibernia é tale, che si sta sul'orlo della disperazione, non essendovi altra speranza per conservare la fede Cattolica in detto Regno che quella che si figevano [sic] dalla Corte di Roma.' The writer goes on to say that as at the peace [of Ryswick] the defence of Ireland's cause was utterly neglected by the Catholic powers, nothing now remains for the helpless people but to have recourse to the Father of the Faithful. He then gives a summary of the Penal Laws and describes the results of their heartless execution. Referring to them he remarks that Father Burke, O.S.F., of St. Isidore's, Rome, had already presented a printed compendium of these laws, and that in consequence His Holiness had addressed Briefs to Catholic sovereigns, and would have done more but for the false reports spread by Protestants, and also by some persons in the Church whom the writer styles 'piu politici che Cattolici.'

Finally, in obedience to the Pope and Cardinals, he indicates the course of action which in his humble opinion ought to be taken. The head of the Holy Roman Empire, the Kings of France and Spain, Catholic princes and prelates all over the Continent should be appealed to. Legates *a latere* should be sent to them, and in order to compel England to cease committing such injustice, all commercial intercourse with it should be forbidden to Catholic nations. The memorial, which concludes with these words: 'Noi domandiamo solo la liberta di coscienza, conforme havevamo in tempo delli rei eretici e particolarmente di Carlo secondo, e l'osservanza delle capitolazioni di Galvia e Limberick,' and which is endorsed 'Alla Sacra Congregazione, Deputato per il Clero e Popolo d'Hibernia' (*Status deplorabilis Fidei*

in Hibernia. Die 5a Novembris, 1698), was referred to a commission composed of the following Cardinals: Altieri, Acciaiolo, Carpegna, Spada, Panciatici, Ianara, Cornaro, and Albani. Attached to the Clementine MS. of this memorial is another containing a secretary's minutes of the *vota* or *pareri* of these Cardinals respectively. Enough to say that they approved the suggestion of an appeal, or of a jubilee, or of a *legale*; but that none of them favoured the boycotting proposal.

Greater zeal than even that of their Eminences was shown by the aged Pope himself. By his order on February 25, 1699, a solemn procession in supplication wended its way from San Lorenzo in Damaso, the church of the Papal Chancery, to that of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. He also granted a plenary indulgence to all the faithful in Italy and the adjacent islands that would pray or perform other works of charity in behalf of the Irish people 'ever true to the faith.' In the allocution delivered in a secret consistory (1st June, 1699) he exhorted the Cardinals 'who enjoyed in their benefices the use of the goods of the poor' to contribute to the aid of the persecuted Irish, and on June 8, he issued to all bishops an Encyclical to the same effect. Innocent himself had set the example. To mention only what he gave about this time his donations for some months before January, 1699, amounted to ten thousand francs, in February he gave almost twelve thousand, and in March six thousand. The result of his Encyclical was that the bishops in Italy, Austria, Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal, gave proofs of the greatest charity and liberality.

The deputy of the Irish Catholics to whose representations and pleadings all this was originally due, does not give his name, but in order to show that in contrast to the Williamite ones his account was reliable, does mention the following circumstances, viz., that he was an eye-witness of what he relates, that he had been several months in prison, that at the risk of his life he had brought printed copies of the Penal Laws, a translation of which was by the desire of Cardinal Altieri, Protector

of Ireland, read in all the Roman churches and throughout Italy, and that he was acting by commission of the hierarchy and the laity in Ireland.

There is every reason for thinking that the anonymous writer was Dominic Burke, O.P., the great Bishop of Elphin. This illustrious man was born about 1629, and made his vows about 1648. Soon after his profession he left his native shore for Spain, but the vessel was taken by an English ship, and he was brought back and thrown into prison in Kinsale. Some time afterwards he succeeded in making his escape and in finding his way to his mother's house.

She tried to keep him at home, but notwithstanding her representations he went once more on board a vessel at Galway, and this time had the happiness of reaching Spain. Several young Irish Dominicans were then studying theology there in various universities and houses of their Order. Dominic Burke spent six years in Segovia. Later on he was in Venice, and in Milan where among those entrusted to his care was Vincenzo Maria Orsini, the future Benedict XIII, who always spoke of him in terms of the highest esteem.

To Father Burke's surprise in 1671, Clement X made him Bishop of Elphin, in which see he was destined to labour for thirty-three years. So great was his energy and influence, that a few years afterwards two hundred pounds reward was set on his head. This was in 1680, when Oliver Plunkett was captured. From his prison cell in Dublin, the Primate frequently sent to his friend, the Bishop of Elphin, timely notice of the crafty plans of the Privy Council. Forewarned was forearmed. Thus the incarceration of one prelate turned out to be the occasion of the other's deliverance. In spite of snares and dangers, partly through the good offices of his kinsman Lord Clanrickard, the Bishop was for many years enabled to do everything that his heroic zeal prompted, and when at length he was banished, his efforts in behalf of the people did not cease. Though he was informed by Mgr. Piazza, the Internuncio in Brussels, that it would

not be possible to procure a pass allowing him to return to Ireland, and though even in Belgium he was not safe from the persecutors' hands, he did not neglect his obligations, but on the contrary did all that was possible for one in his position. The appeals which in July, 1695, he commenced to address to the Pope and to other Catholic sovereigns, and the copies of his work on the Penal Laws which he distributed broadcast, moved many Continental nations to great sympathy with Ireland.

Another service which he rendered to his native country should never be forgotten. It was the obtaining, after repeated failures on the part of others, of absolution from Rinuccini's censures. About the year 1698, thirty-three Bulls to this effect were addressed to the Irish diocese.

We may add that the Bishop of Elphin, writing from Louvain on December 4, 1700, to Clement XI, again asks help for Ireland, 'the woes of which would fill a thick volume,' but these, he remarks, will be described by the bearer of the letter, Father Burke, O.S.F., the Guardian of St. Isidore's,¹ who was, we presume, identical with the person mentioned in the MS. of which a copy is preserved here in St. Clement's.

Owing to the dearth of priests in Ireland as well as to the almost insuperable obstacles in the way of properly training ecclesiastical students there, it became imperatively necessary to maintain the Irish seminaries abroad in an efficient condition, and to furnish the newly-ordained

¹ Another influential Irishman in Rome at this time was Father Joseph Power, O.D.C., of Loughrea. He acted as agent of the Irish Bishops. A MS. by Father Edmond De Burgo, O.P., which is now preserved in the Dominican General's Archives, referring to Father Power mentions the following incident. Mgr. Orazio Spada, Internuncio in Brussels, believing the reports of William III's ministers stated in a letter to the Pope that the Penal Laws against Bishops and Regulars had been repealed. When Irish Catholics had an audience and spoke of the persecution at home, Innocent XII used to say: 'I am better informed. You will be glad to hear of what has lately been done in your favour.' The day that Father Power was presented, when this remark was kindly made, he respectfully told his Holiness that the report was utterly false, a proof of this being that he himself was one of hundreds who a short time before had been banished to France. From that day, we may be sure, the good Pope never repeated the remark.

priests with the means of returning home, Innocent XII contributed largely to the support of the Continental missionary colleges. The voluminous correspondence of the period now preserved in the archives of Propaganda contain frequent allusions to this subject. Also from the lists of the parish priests registered in 1704, it appears that there were at the end of the preceding century but few in Ireland, and that even among them, and presumably still more among their juniors, only a small number had been ordained at home. After 1698 it was exceedingly difficult for the bishops and others aimed at by the Act of Banishment to stay in Ireland. If it was no easy task to remain, it was still less so to run the blockade. Nevertheless the Government was distressed and alarmed at hearing that in spite of every precaution, in spite of the watchfulness of priest-hunters and the activity of sheriffs, its enactment was futile, for some ecclesiastics had the audacity to remain, and others even to return, so to whet the zeal of all trusty Protestants, on August 23, 1699, a Proclamation was issued, by which fifty pounds were offered for a bishop, and ten for a Jesuit, friar, or monk.

That inducements such as these had the desired effect on numerous spies will easily be understood. Dr. Comerford of Cashel, writing to Propaganda on 8th June, 1702, observes that he is now the only Archbishop in Ireland, and that as a reward of £100 has recently been offered for the capture of an Archbishop, he is in imminent danger. Some time before he wrote, the last suffragan bishop remaining in Ireland, Dr. Donnelly of Dromore, had been taken, and he was then a prisoner in Dublin on the usual charge of high treason.¹ It may be mentioned

¹ It must be admitted that Newgate was an extraordinary place, and that some extraordinary things were done within its walls. On the 24th of August, 1707, Bishop Donnelly of Dromore, in his own cell, assisted by Dr. Edmond Byrne, then Archbishop of Dublin, and the Very Rev. Fergus O'Ferrall, Archdeacon of Ardagh, actually consecrated Thaddeus O'Rorke, O.S.F., Bishop of Killala. Imprisonment did not prevent the Bishop of Dromore from conferring Orders. And, as we shall see in the next article, a Father Dominic Egan, O.P., for several years said Mass in Newgate Prison every day.

here that the Consistorial Record (Vatican Archives), states that he was born about 1647. He obtained the degree of LL.D., and was Vicar-General of Armagh, his native diocese, when he was appointed to the see of Dromore, in 1697. The following deposition of an informer respecting him will be read with interest :—

Indictments, Queen's Bench, 1706 (2 F. 16. 17 No. 24.)

The examination of John Duffy. The said Examinant being duly sworn and examined saith that he has for several years last past known one Doctor Patrick Donnelly, Titular Bishop of Dromore in the North of Ireland, which said Patrick Donnelly this Examinant believes and is credibly informed is now in Dublin, and this Examinant was present in this kingdom att a certain place in the North of Ireland in the year 1700 and saw the said Doctor Patrick Donnelly ordain and make severall priests or put severall persons in orders of Priesthood according to the ceremony of the Church of Rome, and this Examinant knows the said Patrick Donnelly is a Papist and verily believes he is a Bishop of the Romish Religion for that he the said Patrick Donnelly did wear a mitre and habit of a Bishop in the said year 1700, when he did ordain and put in orders severall persons as afore-said.

Jurat. coram me 28 die Novembris, 1706.

JO : MACARTNEY.

John Duffy, etc., etc.

This will be sufficient to show the dangers all' ecclesiastics of the classes mentioned in the foregoing Proclamation exposed themselves to, if they had the courage to remain at home. To illustrate, on the other hand, the difficulty in returning to Ireland at a time when every port was guarded, one instance may be enough. It is that of a priest who says in a letter sent to Propaganda, that for eight years he had looked in vain for an opportunity. He was ordained for the Irish mission, but finding the fulfilment of his obligation impossible at the time, he took a position meanwhile in a hospital in Lyons :—

Scritti Originali (vol. 566).

(16 Aprilis, 1709.)

Ulisse, altrimente detto Ludovico Kelly, sacerdot. Ibernese espone all' EE. VV. come otto anni fa con disp. Apost. fu pro-

mosso a sacri Ordini a titolo di Missione e con obbligo di portarsi quanto prima in Ibernia. Haver egli in questo tempo fatto il possibile per passarvi, ma non haver potuto ciò fare pei rigorosi editti di quel governo eretico. Onde, per consiglio dell' Ordinario e di altri ha preso impiego in un Ospedale di Lione in Francia, e benché da alcune dotte e pie persone non si stimi obbligato a transferirsi nel suddetto Regno, atteso l'evidente pericolo, supplica nondimeno per quiete della sua coscienza EE. VV. a degnarsi di dispensarlo dal portarsi alla Missione sino a tempo migliore e che sieno cessati i presenti pericoli.

Intorno a ciò mi fo lecito a dire all' EE. VV. che l'ordinazione ad titulum Missionis non é passato per questa S. C., e che altre volte a simili istanze hanno rescritto—*consulat conscientiae suae*—o l'hanno rimessa all' arbitrio dei Nunzii, o pure hanno conceduto la licenza ad tempus.

Né ha del probabile sia mai ricorso a S. Nunzio in Parigi, mentre l'EE. VV. li diedero ordine, che unitamente coll' Abbate Internunzio in Bruxelles, trovassero sin al numero di sei sacerdoti originari per mandarli a quelle Missioni, e se li dasse 30 per viatico a ciascheduno, come sia risoluto nella Congr. dei 26 Settembre 1708, e nell'altra delli 14 Genn. pross.

(Rescriptum).

Consulat conscientiae suae et recurrat ad Dnm. Nuntium Parisiis commorantem, quoties intendat se conferre ad Missionem.

Let us hope that Father O'Kelly was able soon afterwards to return. Zealous priests were sorely needed, for at the very time he wrote this letter the prospects of Catholics in Ireland were far from being bright. Indeed, humanly speaking, they could hardly be darker. A keen and candid observer thus describes in his 'Letter to a Member of Parliament against the repealing the Sacramental Test,' 1708, the impression made on him by the condition of Catholics: 'We look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children—their lands are almost taken away from them, and they are incapable of purchasing more; and for the little that remains, provision is made in the late Act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away.' But Dean Swift saw everything

from a Protestant standpoint, his view was that of an outsider. Little as he perceived them, the signs of approaching victory were already visible within. The futility of the Penal system, with its innumerable diabolical contrivances and regulations and enactments, became patent in the reign of Queen Anne. That a people bereft of assistance, reduced to an inconsiderable number, persecuted by a powerful and relentless foe, should win the battle was a miracle.

When all temporal evils were ruthlessly inflicted by Protestants and cheerfully borne with by Catholics, when all temporal advantages were cunningly proffered by Protestants and indignantly spurned by Catholics : it was true to say : *Digitus Dei est hic*. The invincible fidelity of the Irish nation throughout the Penal times was in the highest degree a *motivum credibilitatis*. It acted as such on several Protestants. One of the most extraordinary and instructive episodes in the history of that period is the following. When in 1704 it was considered advisable to declare that any who should dare to be reconciled to the Catholic Church after a certain date, were to be condemned as guilty of high treason : what was the result ? Only this—that in order not to incur greater punishment by renouncing Protestantism *after* the day fixed, several renounced it *before*.¹ So far as very limited knowledge enables one to speak, the only record of this occurrence is preserved in a contemporary memorial addressed to Leopold of Austria, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, of which there is a copy in the archives of St. Clement's ; so the passage may be quoted :—

Quand on a veu tout ce que l'on fait souffrir en Irlande a ceux qui ont assez de courage pour perséverer dans la com-

¹ This is an extraordinary occurrence. To get any one resembling it in the whole course of history, it appears necessary to go back to the early ages of the Church. We find one instance mentioned by Tertullian ('Ad Scapulam V.'). When the proconsul of Asia, Arrius Antoninus, was persecuting the Christians, and acting most cruelly, the inhabitants of a town presented themselves before his tribunal. The proconsul, amazed at the sight of such a crowd, cried out, 'If you want to die, have you not ropes and precipices ?'

munion de l'Eglise Catholique, l'on ne se douteroit pas qu'il y eût besoin de Loix pour empêcher ceux qui n'y ont pas été élevés de l'embrasser. Cependant en 1704, l'on crût nécessaire de le défendre en condamnant au *Praemunire*¹ ceux qui se reconcilieroient à l'Eglise Romaine après le 24 Mars de la même année.

Mais les auteurs de cet Loy furent bien étonnés du premier effet qui en parut. Plusieurs personnes en étant allarmées à un tel point qu'ils prirent le parti de se déclarer Catholiques avant le jour marqué par l'Acte pour n'avoir pas à le faire après avec plus de danger.

Such was the result on conscientious honest Protestants produced by beholding the constancy of Catholics. When the latter were treated barbarously, how had they acted? Was apostasy committed wholesale? Was there any general departure from the shores of the Green Island? Was evasion or tergiversation in any of its manifold forms resorted to? *No*. The people were ready to die where they stood. They did not even wait for the bailiffs or the soldiers to come to their homes, to the little houses on the hills or to the cabins in the bogs: *no*, they faced the troops on the roads and the myrmidons of the law in the courts. An arch-persecutor, Cromwell, exclaimed on beholding a fertile and far-stretching plain: 'Is not this a land worth fighting for?' With how much more reason could the priests of God say: 'Is not this a people worth fighting for?' So in spite of hardships and dangers, those who succeeded in escaping detection remained at their posts, and those who succeeded in returning unobserved came to help them. The heroic deeds performed by many in this fight for the faith are known only in heaven; but the names of some who fell into the hands of the enemy have been preserved on earth. We do not

¹ The Statute of *Praemunire* as enacted finally in 1393, provided that 'all persons procuring in the court of Rome or elsewhere such translations, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or other things which touch the King, his crown, regality or realm, should suffer the penalties of *praemunire*—which included imprisonment and forfeiture of goods.' The name '*Praemunire*' is taken from the word with which the sheriff's writ in this case began.

judge their career to have been a failure, on the contrary, their subsequent sufferings in prison brought countless graces down on those still actively engaged in missionary warfare.

1. At the period we have now reached, the first of the priests whose indictments and examinations are still in the Record Office, Dublin, was a Franciscan. The several indictments need not be quoted ; all have much the same form, and one indictment was given in the last article. Father Conner's indictment is No. 3 among the Crown Office, Queen's Bench Indictments, Michaelmas Term, 1699. The concluding words are : ' Billa vera, Humphrey Jervis cum sociis. Cognovit se esse sacerdotem ideo committitur till he be transported.'

Father Conner's name is apparently not mentioned in any part of the numerous papers belonging to the Irish Franciscan Province, so but for the subjoined legal documents we should probably never know about him. Our readers will notice that he declined to disclose the names of those who had at risk to themselves given him shelter. These are the examinations of his captor and of himself respectively :—

[1.] The examination of Thomas Lehunt at Cashel in the County of Typperary, gent., taken the 26th day of Sept., 1699.

Who being duly sworne and examined sayeth that this day he mett one Ffrancis Conner whom he knew to be a regular fryer, being formerly acquainted with him, whom when the Examinant had saluted he brought him the said Ffrancis Conner before the Lord Mayor, being sensible of his the said Ffrancis Conner's disobedience in stayinge in this country contrary to y^e Act of Parliament made in that case prohibiting all persons of his the said Conner's qualifications to stay in the said kingdom after the first of May, 1698.

THOMAS LEHUNT.

Jurat. coram nobis.

Thomas Quine.

Jo. Smith.

Thomas Lehunt bounde in twenty pounds to appear in the Kinges Bench the next Michaelmas term and to prosecute.

[2.] The examination of Ffrancis Conner,

taken as above, who being duly examined sayeth and acknowledged that hee is a regular fryer of the Order of St. Francis, and that though hee, the examinant, knew of the Act of Parliament prohibiting all regular fryers to stay in this kingdom after the first day of May, 1698, that because of his indisposition by reason of sickness hee, y^e examinant, could not goe out of the same : part of the time since the aforesaid he had been at a place within four miles of this City in Palmerstowne Roade, but this examt. cannot tell the town where he was in or the person's name in whose house he was in for eight days or thereabouts, and that after that hee, y^e examinant, went into Comagh (?) neare Jamestowne, but hee, y^e examinant, cannot tell at whose house he was entertained, and that the examinant came up to Dublin with intention to shipp himself away to Cales (?) in Spain, and that hee hath beene in this city about three weekes, but he doth not knowe in what place he lodged whilst hee hath beene in Dublin.

Francis Conner

Capt. coram nobis 26th Sept., 1699.

Thomas Quine, Jo. Smith.

[*Endorsed*] 26th Sept., 1699. The examination of Thomas Lehunt against Francis Conner staying in y^e Kingdom contrary to y^e Act. In custody in Newgate.

The informer received a reward, as appears from the entry in the Vice-Treasurer's ledger :—

[1700, page 71] Paid to Ensigne Le Hunt for apprehending the body of Francis Conner, a Fryer, pursuant to a late Proclamation as by Warrant dated the 5th of December, 1699, with Acquittance appears, £11 os. 1½d.

The Concordatum Warrant to which the Vice-Treasurer refers is the following one. (Q. 43.2.8705).

By the Lords Justices & Council,
Gallway.

BERKELEY,

We think it fitt & soe doe conclude condescende and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum to grant that Ensign

Thomas Lehunt shall have and receive y^e Sume of Eleaven pounds one penny halfe penny for apprehending y^e body of Francis Conner a Fryar pursuant to y^e late Proclamation. These are, therefore, to will and require you, out of such her Majesty's Treasure as now remains under your charge or shall next come to your hands, to pay the said Ensign Thomas Lehunt, or his assignes, the said Sume of Eleaven pounds & one penny halfpenny, and for your soe doing, these our Letters of Concordatum, together with his acquittance or the acquittance of his assignes shall be as well unto you as to the Comptrollers of your acc^{ts} & all other persons concerned therein a sufficient Warr^t and Discharge in that Behalfe.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 5th day of December, 1699.

To the Receiv^r or Receiv^r Generall of her Ma^{ties} Revenue in this Kingdome their Deputy or Deputys.

ROBT. DOYNE.
W. PLUNKETT.

DROGHEDA.
BLESINTON.
RT. PYNE.
CHAS. WANDESFORD.
H. INGOLDSBY.

The nature and conditions of a Concordatum Warrant will be explained in the next article, where a better opportunity will occur. The only original Concordatum Warrants (i.e., *written on dockets*) still preserved, referring to priests whose Examinations are given in this article, are apparently this and the following. The similar warrant relating to No. 3 here, i.e., Father John Kelly, is not in the Record Office. Nor is the official transcript of it in the so-called 'Warrant Books' extant. The first of these volumes at present in existence is dated 1711. Those of earlier years were all destroyed in the great fire that raged for three days, in 1711, in the muniment rooms of the Privy Council, Essex Street. It is fortunate that the Vice-Treasurer's ledgers were at the time in the old Custom House.

The signatories of the Warrant were Privy Councillors. The names of some (i.e., judges) we have met already. As regards the others, Drogheda was Henry, 3rd Earl of ; Blesinton was Murrough, son of Michael Boyle, Arch-

bishop of Armagh ; Wandesford was M.P. for S. Kannis, *alias* Irishtown, Co. Kilkenny, and Sir Walter Plunkett was M.P. for Granard. A Sir Richard Ingoldsby was at the time a General in the Army.

2. The next priest condemned to Newgate on a similar charge was Father John Keating, O.P. Neither O'Heyne nor De Burgo mention his name. The only extant reference to him appears to be that contained in the *Liber Provinciae*. He is there said to have been present at the canonical visitation of St. Saviour's, Dublin, held by the Provincial Father Thaddeus O'Daly, on March 7, 1693.

This Indictment is No. 4. On the parchment scroll the last words are: '*Cognovit Indictamentum* [i.e., he pleaded guilty]. Committitur for a year and a day, and to be transported.' The annexed sheet of paper contains what in the language of the courts is called an 'examination,' i.e., the confession or avowal made by the prisoner.

The examination of John Keating, fryer of y^e Order of St. Dominic, taken the 25th October, 1699, he being of the age of 59 years ; or thereabouts.

Who being duly sworn and examined sayeth he is a native of Spain, though of Irish parents, and was born in the city of Seville, and was not brought into Ireland till he was eight years old, and when he was twenty years old he went to the said city of Seville and there took upon him the habit of the said Order, where he studyed and entered into priesthood at y^e age of twenty-four, and stayed there till about the year 1684, and then was appointed to come into the province of Munster, where he stayed for some time, and then came to y^e City of Dublin and other places in Leinster, where he remained till within three years last past, and then went into England and from London went in a Dutch ship to Ostend whence he went to Louvain, and there he fell ill of a consumption and was advised by his physicians that the most effectuall way for his recovery was to come for Ireland, and about August last he came for Ireland thorow England, and landed in Dublin out of a Liverpool ship, the 22nd of August last, and this examinant further sayth that he was never in Ffrance but as he passed through part of that

kingdom in his way from Spain to London in the time of King Charles the Second.

John Keating

Jur. coram me.
Humph. Jervis.

He further sayth, by reason of his dimness of sight and the palsy in his hand he is not capable of exercising any ecclesiastical function.

H. J.

[*Endorsed*] 25th October, '99.

Examination of John Keating, Dominican Fryer, prisoner in Newgate, for being a regular coming from beyond seas, punishment by the Act, a year's imprisonment and to be transported.

A John Morrison was about this time jailer of Newgate. It is most probable that he was the individual whom the Vice-Treasurer mentioned in this entry. His writing as seen in the Newgate Calendars is extremely bad. So is that of the man who signed this Acquittance. In both documents the writing may well be by the same hand.

[1700, p. 71.] Paid to John Morrison for taking and apprehending John Keating, a Dominican Fryer, by virtue of a late Act of Parliament as by Warrant dated the 5th of December, 1699, with Acquittance appears, £11 os. 1½d.

(Q.43.2.8705.)

By the Lords Justices & Council,
Galloway.

BERKELY,

We think fitt and soe doe conclude condescend and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum to grant that John Morrison shall have and receive the Sume of Eleven Pounds one penny halfe penny for taking and apprehending the Body of John Keating, a Dominican Fryer, lately tryed & confined for a year and a day by Vertue of a late Act of Parliament as appears by Mr. Justice Coote's Certificate. These are, therefore, to will and require you, out of such her Majesty's Treasure as now remains under vour charge or shall next come to your hands,

to pay the said John Morrison, or his assignes, the said Sume of Eleven Pounds & one penny halfpenny, and for your soe doing, these our Letters of Concordatum, together with his acquittance or the acquittance of his assignes shall be as well unto you as to the Comptrollers of your acc^{ts} & all other persons concerned therein a sufficient Warr^t and Discharge in that Behalfe.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 5th day of December, 1699.

To the Receiv^r or Receiv^r Generall of her Ma^{ties} Revenue in this Kingdome their Deputy or Deputys.

Intr. ISAAC WILD,
Dep. Clarke, Pells.
W. A. PLUNKETT.

DROGHEDA.
BLESINTON.
RT. PYNE.
CHRIS. WANDESFORD.
H. INGOLDSBY.

John Morrison, £II os. 1½d.

[Reverse side] Received the Contents £II os. 1½d.

John Morrison.

[Endorsed] 3rd December, 1699.

Concordatum.

John Morrison for taking & apprehending John Keating, a Dominican Fryar, by virtue of a late Act of Parliam^t.

				£II 0 1½		
				<hr/>		
Poundage	..	..	0	5	6½	
Pells	..	..	0	1	1½	
Ballance	..	..	10	13	6	
				<hr/>		
				£II 0 1½		

3. The next priest, Father John Kelly, *alias* Purcell, was a Franciscan. In the official documents of the Irish Province both names occur. 'Father John Kelly was appointed Guardian of Kilconnell in 1697, and again in 1703.' 'Father John Purcell was empowered to preach and hear confessions of seculars in 1697: in 1720 he was made Guardian of Buttevant.' It is uncertain whether these names belong to one person or to two. As we shall see

presently in a Judge's return to Parliament, the individual 'Father John Kelly, *alias* Purcell,' was transported before the end of October, 1703. If there was only one person, it would be to us a signal proof of his devotion and courage in case we knew that ere the year was out he was back again as Guardian of Kilconnell, though we should prefer to know that he lived till 1720 to be Guardian of Buttevant, a place where the Franciscans kept the faith through the Penal times. The 'Doctor Byrne' to whom Father Kelly says he was 'coadjutor,' was presumably Edmond Byrne, who a few years later (1707, March 15) became Archbishop of Dublin. Other papers in the Record Office (to be quoted in their place) mention Edmond Byrne in connexion with Francis Street, the chapel which then served as the Pro-Cathedral.

The Indictment (sub-number 16) ends thus: 'Triatum culpabiliter et committit. Billa vera Humph: Jervis cum sociis. Peruse the annexed examination for proof of this Bill.'

The examination of John Kelly, alias Purcell, Parish Priest of St. Francis in the City of Dublin, and coadjutor to Doctor Byrne, taken before me this 5th day of febr., 1700.

Who being examined saith y^t he this Ex^t was bred up in Poitiers in France among the Jesuits, that seven years since this Ex^t came from France through Portugall to Kilkenny, y^t he continued there for three yeares and came from thence hither, confesses y^t he is a Franciscan friar and was ordained in France at Poitiers, that being sickly and weak he could not depart this Kingdom as the law required.



Capt. coram me 5th febr., 1700.
Rt. Payne.

It is almost certain that the following entry in the Vice-Treasurer's ledger refers to Father Kelly and his captor.

The only other regular priest known to have been taken in this period that may have been a Franciscan is Father George Antony Martin, but he was tried four years later (Trinity Term, 1704). On the other hand, all the indictments for more than twelve years, as well as the extant warrants, have been examined, and so far as appears, there was no other Franciscan for Davenport to give information about.

[1702, p. 75.] Paid Edward Davenport, Esq., for his service in discovering a Franciscan Fryer as by Warrant dated the 20th of July, 1702, with Acquittance appears, £11 os. 1½d.

4. The next priest to claim our attention is Father Chamberlain, S.J. From Foley's *Records of the English Province*, vol. vii. (Appendix. Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Members of the Society, from 1550 to 1814, p. 54) we take this biographical notice of him :—

Chamberlain, Edward, born in Dublin, August 4, 1641, entered the Society, October 28, was a Spiritual Coadjutor, and died in Dublin, October 5, 1709. In 1683 he was in Ireland, in our Dublin College; Penitentiary in Loreto for three years; Procurator of Poitiers; three years in London: in Spain A.D. 1695; in 1697 was living near the Dominican Convent, Cook Street, Dublin. (Report of a spy in St. Patrick's Library, MSS. vol. iii)

This MS. is entitled 'Perticular Account of the Romish Clergy Secular and Regular in every parrish of the Diocese of Dublin' (press mark, v. 3, 1, 18'; and the relevant passage is 'Edward Chamberlain a Jesuit living near the convent in Cook Street.' The Indictment of Father Chamberlain for being a Jesuit may still be seen in the Record Office, Dublin. It contains an obvious error of an amusing nature, for it sets forth that he was both a Jesuit and a Dominican: 'Edward Chamberlain de Dublin in com. civit. Dublin. sacerdos de Romana religione anglice a Jesuite de ordine Sancti Dominici,' etc. The error may have been occasioned by the fact that he lived near the Dominican house. The Indictment ends thus: 'Billa

vera, peruse the annexed examinations for proofoe of this bill.' But at present no papers are attached to the scroll which contains the Indictment. The only other instance of this phenomenal absence of the evidential documents which came under the present writer's notice was that of the examinations belonging to the Indictment of Father George Antony Martin.¹

Though the bundles of Indictments for several years were examined, in none of them were the examinations respectively of these priests discovered. As every facility was afforded for the search, and all extant documents are kept in admirable order, it is not improbable that these were deliberately made away with.

Also these two cases agree in another extraordinary particular: they are the *only* cases of priests arrested to which the Vice-Treasurer's ledgers do not refer expressly; and, moreover, these ledgers contain two entries worded so far exactly alike, that if not of a suspicious character, they are at least remarkable for a certain discreet reticence. In all the other entries the object for which money was paid is openly specified. Of this our readers have already seen samples. But as we said just above, no cases resemble the two with which we are concerned here. The entry which may covertly refer to Father Chamberlain runs thus:—

[1701, p. 116.] Paid His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Dublin for secret service as by Warrant dated the 14th November, 1701, with Acquittance appears, £11 os. 1d.

His Grace is, of course, Narcissus Marsh, who was Archbishop of Dublin till his translation to the primatial see.²

Two circumstances are deserving of note: one, that the MS. 'Particular Account,' in which mention of Father Chamberlain occurs, was deposited in Marsh's own library; the other, that the date of the entry (14th November, 1701)

¹ See I. E. RECORD, July, 1907, note, page 82.

² Vide Clinton's *Fasts*, i. e., the lists of dignitaries of the Protestant body in Ireland, s.v. Marsh, Narcissus.

is only a few days earlier than that of Father Chamberlain's Indictment, 'Vicesimo quinto die Novembris, 1701.' An almost similar relation exists between the other mysterious entry alluded to above, viz. :—

[1703, p. 76.] Paid Narcissus, Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, for secret service as by Warrant dated the 10th August, 1703, and Acquittance appears, £11 os. 1½d.

and the date of Father George Martin's arrest 'vicesimo die Novembris, 1703.' Our readers will not take it amiss if here we observe that in one of these entries the exact amount of 'blood money' for a priest (£11 os. 1½d.) is said to have been paid, and that the amount mentioned in the other entry is only a halfpenny less.

Now to confine our attention to Father Chamberlain. He was condemned to Newgate, and there, as we shall see, he remained for some time. But since his name does not appear in the first of the Newgate Calendars at present preserved, we infer that he had left the prison before its date (6th November, 1705). He is said to have denied that he was a Jesuit, so we assume that he had got a temporary dispensation from his vows or secularization at the time he spoke. His Indictment, which concludes with: 'Billa vera. Culpabilis. Hil. 13^o,' is No. 18 in Hilary Term, 1701 (2 F. 16, 1): these recognizances and examinations are in Michaelmas Term, 1701 (2 F. 15, 8).

Dominus Rex versus Edward Chamberlain	{	Recognizance in Idem Edwardus cognovit se dno Regi, 100. Michael Chamberlain de Civit. Dublin, armiger, 50. Bryen Kernayne de Smithfield, hospitarius, 50.
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Conditio ut supra

Capta coram me
24^o Decembris.

T. COOTE.

The condition of the recognizance that Robert Cavines sha^{ll} personally be and appeare the first of the next Hilary Terme in the King's Court to answer, etc., and not depart, etc.

Capta coram me 24^o Novembris, 17th in
T. COOTE

The examination of James Russell, of Cook Street, Gentleman, taken before me this 25th November, 1701.

Who being duly sworn and examined saith that he has known Edward Chamberlain for about twelve or thirteen years, that all the said tyme he was reputed and taken to be a Jesuit, but y^t this examinant was not by or present when he was taken or received into the Order, created Jesuit, as aforesaid.

James Russell in 40¹
ad prosec.

The examination of Edward Byrne of Ffrancis Street, in y^e City of Dublin, Priest, sworn before me this 25th November, 1701.

Who being duly sworn and examined saith y^t for about seven yeares he has known Father Chamberlain, during which time he took and esteemed him to be (by vulgar opinion) a Jesuite, but the certainty thereof this Examinant knows not, being told the contrary by Ffather Chamberlain himself.

Edmund Byrne in 40¹
ad prosec.

Jur^m cor^m me 25th Novembris, 1701.

The examination of Edward Murphy, secular priest of St. Audian's Parish in y^e City of Dublin.

Who being duly sworn and examined saith y^t he has known ffa. Edward Chamberlain for about sixteen or eighteen yeares, y^t during y^e said tyme he was reputed and taken to be a Regular by some, and by others esteemed a secular, but of this Examinant's owne knowledge knows nothing of his order, only y^t the said ffa. Chamberlain about a twelvemonth since told this Examinant he was a secular priest, and further saith not.

Jur^m cor^m me 25th Novbr^{is}, 1701.

Edward Murphy in 40¹¹
ad prosec.

The examination of Matthew Browne of St. Thomas Street, in the City of Dublin, Brewer.

Who being duly sworne and examined saith that about three yeares before the Breck¹ at the Boyne he knew ffa. Edward

¹ Breck here means defeat. See *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. BRECK. I. A
² h, blemish, failing. (*Fuller*) 'No breck was ever found in her veil
body ily was her conversation.'—A colloquial phrase 'to be broken horse
oot' signifying utter defeat is a better parallel to expression used above

Chamberlain, and that it was generally reported the said Chamberlain was a Jesuit, and y^t this Examinant heard him say mass severall tymes, but this Examinant cannot make any judgment of the said Chamberlain's order, not being by or present when he was created or ordained, but by generall opinion he was believed to be a Jesuit.

Jur^m cor^m me 25th Novb^{ris}
1701.

Matt Browne in 40th
ad prosec.

The examination of Cornelius Browne, of St. Thomas St.,
Baker.

Who being duly sworne and ex^{ed} saith y^t this Ex^t has known ffa. Edward Chamberlain for about fourteen or fifteen yeares, y^t he was taken and esteemed to be a Jesuite, and y^t this Ex^t always took and esteemed him to be such, and never understood the contrary from anybody whatever.

Jur^m cor^m me 25^o Novb^{ris},
1701.

RT. PYNE.

Cornelius Browne
in 40th ad prosec.

About eighteen years ago, when the present writer was occupied in seeking evidence for the cause of the Irish martyrs, he came, in the Record Office, Dublin, by chance on a document of this date approximately (1703), which stated that a Jesuit who had for some time been imprisoned in Newgate, had been bailed out. As it was interesting, he copied it for the late Father Denis Murphy, S.J., who was then Postulator of the cause of the Irish martyrs. So far as he could recollect, whenever he thought on the matter since, the Jesuit's name was either Chamberlain, or Somerville. He did not make a note of it, for when his transcript was once in Father Murphy's capable hands, he felt his part was done. Somewhere or other, in the *Mare Magnum* of Indictments, that MS. relating to the Jesuit's bail must be, but a person might spend a long time in the search before finding it.

We shall now, in concluding this, quote a return in

which occur the names of several priests mentioned in the previous articles, and also of all in this, with the exception of Father Conner, who appears to have been transported before the return was written. It is that of the Lord Chief Justice of Queen's Bench :—

In obedience to the order of the honourable House of Commons bearing date the fifth instant, I have caused Mr. Tisdall, Deputy Clerke of the Crowne, to make diligent search into the records of the Court of Queene's Bench in order to lay before the honorable house the proceedings against the Popish regular clergy, from whom I received the annexed certificate.

And having perused my Circuit Bookes I find that at the Assizes held att Wexford, the 24th of Aprill, in the thirteenth year of his late Majestie, Anthony Molloy and Redmond Murphy were convicted as fryers and received judgment to be transported according to the statute.

That att the assizes held the seventh of March, in the fourteenth yeare of his late Majestie, they were left on the Callendar in Gaol till transported. That at the same assizes John Matthews and Thomas Johnson, being committed as being fryers and returning into this kingdom contrary to the statute, and there not being full evidence against them, they were transmitted to the Naas.

That at the assizes held the 12th day of August in the thirteenth year of his late Majestie in the county of the City of Cork, Peter Morrogh, accused as a Popish Viccar Generall, was bound by recognizance to appeare but did not and Exact. non entered on the Bayle.

That at the assizes held at Lymericke the eighth day of August, in the thirteenth yeare of his late Majestie, Daniell Curee being committed for being a Priest and returning into this Kingdome contrary to the late statute, there not being sufficient evidence against him, was to remaine in custody unless he found good security to appeare at the next assizes.

Which are all the proceedings I find against any of the Popish regular clergy since the last statute.

That on the conviction of any Popish regular clergyman immediately I gave notice to the Government thereof in order to his transportation.

That the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Corke att their summer assizes, 1700, and also att their summer assizes, 1702, to the best of my remembrance addressed the Government

by way of presentment that Doctor Creagh, Titular Popish Bishop, might be transported (who for some time remained there in prison on pretence of sickness, great inability and weakness to undergo a voyage att sea, which was the reason of the indulgence of the Government to him) but since I am well assured that he has been transported beyond seas, all which I humbly certify to this honorable house, this 25th day of October, 1703.

RT. PYNE.

[*Document enclosed*]

Search being made among the Pleas of the Crowne in her Majestie's Court of Chiefe Place, Irelande, I find that John Keatinge was in Michaelmas Terme, 1699, convicted of being a fryer, and that in Hillary Terme, 1700, John Kelly *alias* Purcell, was likewise convicted of being a fryer, and that in Michaelmas Terme, 1701, Edward Chamberlain was likewise convicted of being a Jesuite, and that in Easter Terme, 1702, Dominic *alias* Constantine Egan was likewise convicted of being a fryer, all which persons were committed to the Gaole of Newgate, there to remaine without Bayle or Mainprize until they should be transported. And by looking over the Callendar of the last Terme I find that said Chamberlain and Egan are still continued in Gaole and ye Gaoler informs me that the said Purcell has been transported and that the said Egan died in Gaole. All which I certifie this 12th October, 1703. I further certify that I doe not find any other or further proceedings against the said persons or any other regulars in ye said Court.

RICHARD TISDALL,
Deputy Clerk.

Our readers will not fail to notice that at the end the name 'Egan' occurs twice. The second time it does so by mistake, for Father Egan was still alive. Tisdall should have written 'Keating' here, and intended to do so, but through inadvertence he put down 'Egan.' As three successive Prison Calendars show, Father Egan remained in Newgate for years afterwards, but not even in the earliest of them (6th November, 1705), is Father Keating's name to be seen. We take this as a conclusive negative proof of his having died before that date. Nor are we surprised. The hardships of such a place as Newgate would soon have this result in the case of one so infirm and feeble.

Father Chamberlain's name also is not in this, the first Calendar, therefore he had already left prison.

Father Egan's history is a particularly interesting one. There will be a good deal to say about him in the next article. Meanwhile it may be observed that his name and Father Keating's are among those of the 'Irish martyrs' whose cause has now begun in Rome.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

[To be continued.]

A PILGRIMAGE TO A SCOTTISH MONASTERY

IT was in the autumn when two tourists² decided to go on a pilgrimage, not to far distant shrines amid foreign scenery, where every peasant belongs to the Catholic Faith, but to Protestant Scotland, that land of ruined churches, desecrated shrines, broken vows, violated promises, the land of Knox, where raged more fiercely than in any other land the fires of hatred, lust and greed which finally overthrew, in half a century, the Catholic Church, and destroyed nearly every emblem of the Faith. And yet in this once hostile and still indifferent land, our pilgrims were seeking for men whose ancestry is more ancient than any Scottish nobility can boast of, and a shrine of one who, despising riches, birth, and worldly gain, has made a name for himself dear to thousands who are proud to be called his spiritual children.

In England monasteries true and false are not unknown, and the ruined remains of pre-Reformation buildings are often still fairly well preserved, but in Scotland, even the ruins are but fragments; and to find a real true community of Benedictine monks requires some exertion, for only one such community exists, and that at Fort Augustus on the shores of the lake which marked the limit of Cæsar's triumphant conquest of Britain. Although situated far in the north, the journey is well worth the trouble, and in those days of luxury and fast trains it can easily be accomplished from Edinburgh in about six or seven hours travelling by railway all the way and with only one change of trains, but by far the more beautiful way is to take the train to Glasgow, Oban, or Inverness, and finish the latter part of the journey by steamer up or down the Caledonian Canal.

Formerly an inspection of the monastery could be made, while the steamer was passing through the nine locks at Fort Augustus, but tourists so abused the privilege that it had to be withdrawn, and now an invitation or permission must be obtained from one of the monks. We had

no difficulty in this matter, because we had received an invitation from the Prior to come to Fort Augustus and to stay as long as we wished, and seated in a comfortable railway carriage, on a perfectly ideal day, when the lights and shades on mountain and loch were too lovely for any written description, we gave ourselves up to the happiest reflections possible.

All nature, as we have said, seemed steeped with lessons for our benefit. The heather was but only past its bloom and reddening with autumnal hues, while every tree gave indications more or less of the approaching winter time. The very air itself breathed somewhat the chills of winter and gave warning of the wane of nature's life, and its approaching sleep. What, then, more timely than to study at headquarters, as it were, that life of holiness and prayer which, if any life can, befits men to pass from this world of waning manhood through the sleep portals to the new spring life beyond. No more lovely life exists than that of the monk, for it feels no evening, it has no shadows, it fears not death. From early dawn to dewy eve he praises God, and contemplates that future to which death itself is but the key. His work, the leading souls to heaven, his prayers prevail as Moses' hands prevailed to defeat Amalek and to encourage Israel. No one can estimate—God alone knows—what the value of the monkish prayers may be, which, summer and autumn, winter and spring, continually beseech for us all the protection of Almighty God and the powerful protection of our Blessed Lady. Such were our thoughts as we sped along and saw those gigantic mountains which seemed indeed everlasting compared with the shortness of human life and the vanity of human aims.

Not many centuries have passed since all these valleys were peopled with monastic establishments similar to that which we were going to see. Each shrine echoed with the sacred chant and psalm, and high up even on the rocky crag from hermit cell went up the echo of the prayers and praises sounding below. And then again these very glens beneath our eyes ring with the notes of battle and man fights with his brother man, and Cain kills Abel once again,

— —

and cairns of stone mark where God once was worshipped, or the martyred dead are lying. We see only the fragmentary remains beautiful in their decay, but what of their glory before the greed of wicked Scottish nobles wrecked and plundered these shrines, and robbery and murder, quarrels, rancour and apathy, pulled down at last what loving Christian hands had built.

And yet how joyfully our thoughts leap forward when we remember once more that even here in Scotland we are on our way to one of these very homes, cradles of Christianity which once gave Christ to this then heathen land, and that we soon would be joining in the prayers and praises of that glorious race of men who, in their Benedictine garb, though shrinking in the flesh but dauntless in the spirit, came with mighty St. Columba to rocky Iona's isle to give to Scotland the most precious gift that man could ever have, the entrance into the kingdom of God. And as the darkness began to fall and hid the giant-like form of Ben Nevis, our hearts rejoiced again, that such a refuge was left to us in Scotland, where the weary still might turn and learn the truth from these who have preserved it still unbroken amid the changes, chances, and vicissitudes of all these years.

We have not attempted to describe the natural features of the journey to Fort Augustus, because many pens have attempted in vain to do justice to the superb scenery of the Western Highlands, and the journey as we shot past mountain and moor, loch and river, hills and crags with the snow and mist oft mantling on their distant tops, made an impression on us which we believe can never be effaced. They seem indeed to us as God's great choir of nature singing the chants long silent in their valleys, and we found ourselves joining them in their monastic hymn of praise. 'All the works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and magnify Him for ever.'

The shadows of evening were long upon the grass, and the last rays of the sun were reflected on the loch when we reached the little terminus of the railway, and stood on the platform of the station at Fort Augustus. We enquired

of a bright little Highland boy, clad only in shirt and kilt, the way to the monastery, and finding it was not far from the station set off on foot to walk thither, accompanied by our bare-legged little friend as a guide, who with the frank confidence of childhood gave us the information that he was a Catholic, and had lived in Fort Augustus all his life, which meant some nine summers, or about as long as a monastery had existed there. He informed us during our short walk that half the inhabitants of Fort Augustus were Catholics, and that the monastery served them as a parish church, one of the monks acting as parish priest. We also learned that cabs and carriages were practically unknown. The Lord Abbot owned one and several horses, but except a stray motor and farm carts we saw none during our stay there. When we came to the door of the monastery, our small guide left us, after politely touching his forehead in acknowledgment of the small gratuity we gave him.

As we walked up the drive we had time to examine the noble pile of buildings. The guest house, which is entered by a covered way over the old moat, is the original castle, and must have been a place of considerable strength. The centre buildings with tower and clock were the boys' school, at present untenanted, and on the furthest side nearest the loch are the monastic parts of the monastery. The church, alas ! is only an iron and wood structure, quite inadequate for the needs even of the parish, and had the Fathers not failed in a friendly law suit, involving huge sums of money, they would have had by now a magnificent building worthy of serving Almighty God, the plans of which can be seen inside the hall of the monastery. If only every Catholic would but send a shilling who may read this article, or who has had pleasant recollections of Fort Augustus or Scotland, the scheme so long abandoned could be at once carried out, and God's praises would sound again in a building more fitted to honour Him.

The modern aspect of the place was what struck us first, for to gain admittance we rang no heavy pealing bell, nor knocked at heavy knocker, but pressed the electric

button, and almost immediately the door was opened by Brother Meinradus, who welcomed us with that kind, winning courtesy which has endeared him to every guest. Having shown us into a pleasantly lighted room, once the guard room of the castle, he went to announce our arrival to the guest-master, who was not long in making his appearance, and immediately offered us supper which, as we had already dined, we did not accept. Next he explained to us the services, hours and rules, and then we spent an hour in pleasant conversation about the Faith and practices of the Catholic Church, for the monks of St. Benedict by constant study and practice know as much, if not more of their Faith, than any other religious community. We attended the services of Compline, and soon after, wearied with our long journey and its complete novelty, we retired to rest. In each bedroom hung a card with the monastic rules written on it, a crucifix, and little holy water stoup, and in every other respect it was as comfortably furnished as any bedroom in a modern hotel. A thick carpet covered the floor, and a comfortable arm-chair and writing table with paper, pens, etc., all complete, lay spread before us, inviting us to write to far distant friends whose faces seem to present themselves to us as we sat and meditated while the chiming of the tower clock alone broke the silence and reminded us that for the first time we were about to the sleep under the monastic roof of St. Benedict's Abbey.

After a thorough rest in a most comfortable bed, we awoke early, and drawing back the window blinds looked out on a perfect day. The sky was cloudless and deep blue, and the lights and shadows on hill and tree were as vivid as yesterday. The mist was just slowly rolling from the valley, and the loch was like a sheet of silvered glass, while the larks already were singing their matin song, and the gulls whistled and squawked their greeting overheard. Every blade of grass glistened with its pearl drops in the sharp morning air, as we paced the gravel drive till the time had come for the morning Masses to be said.

The present church, as we have said, is a most unsuitable structure of iron and wood, stayed up by outside props from falling down altogether. Inside it is clean and neat, and contains five altars at which as many monks were saying Mass, each assisted by a lay-brother in black. We knelt on boards of penitential hardness, and the novelty of the whole scene made it somewhat difficult for us at first to collect our thoughts. Two circumstances specially drew our attention. A bare-legged Highland boy, about fifteen years old, came in to pray. After kneeling a few moments, deeply engaged in devotion before one of the side altars, during which his lips moved rapidly although no words were audible, he rose and joined one of the bands of communicants at an altar where Mass was just beginning. His whole face and behaviour struck one as that of a real boy saint, a sort of St. Aloysius in Highland garb. On the entrance of the priest to say Mass, we note with interest that he wore the amice on his head like a cowl, and as he walked across the high altar to the side chapel where he was about to say his Mass, accompanied by a cowed lay-brother, the latter figure against the white-robed priest was like the priest and his shadow moving side by side, for each genuflected and moved in perfect sympathy and unison.

After Mass we assembled in the guest house to breakfast, and were surprised to find that we were not the only guests in the monastery, for many other guests invisible the night before, of various nationalities, sat down with us. One was a Belgian priest, one a French student, and another had come from Austria, while clergy from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, made up our total of some dozen guests. In such a company the conversation was interesting, but not of sufficient consequence to mention here. When breakfast was ended, we went for a ramble round the grounds down to the monks' boat house and harbour, and admired its position, which is charming in every detail. The stillness, save for the sounds of nature, such as the flap-flap of the water against the rocky shore, or the screaming of the gulls, gave more a thrill of that Sabbath calm so peculiar to Scottish life. The very air

seemed tinged with devotion, and that sad, quiet beauty so sweet and yet so undefinable when one attempts to describe it in prose.

After our ramble we went into the Church for the parish Mass, to which families of ladies and gentlemen, accompanied by many well dressed boys and girls, were hastening, a congregation varied as any town church can present, and the service as the Abbot sat in state in his chair, while the Prior and two assistant priests sang High Mass, was as impressive as any Pontifical Mass can be. The long lines of black-robed brethren alone reminding one of the difference between the two, and the regular rise and fall of the Gregorian chanting, which is here heard at its best. After Mass a monk preached an eloquent and impressive sermon, which was listened to in rapt attention by all the congregation, for scarcely one left the church after Mass till the sermon was ended.

Then came a few moments of relaxation as monks and congregation wandered or sat in groups in the Abbey grounds, and soon after the monks and guests went in to dinner. Dinner is served in the refectory, a long, square oak-ceiled room. The guests take their seats in the centre, and the monks sit at side tables with their backs to the side walls on either side, the Abbot's table is on a raised dais at the end, the whole arrangement corresponding very much to that of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. The dinner is passed through a hatch from the buttery, and is served by lay-brothers, while one monk reads a lesson from the rostrum, and one or two monks wait on the guests and Abbot. These have their dinner at a later hour, after their duties are over. During dinner absolute silence is enjoined on guests and monks. The dinner itself consisted of vegetable soup, roast mutton, venison, chicken and pudding, and wine and spirits were offered to each guest. It was excellently cooked and splendidly served by the quick observant monks who waited upon us, and supplied every want even before we had ourselves discovered it. Grace is said both before and after meals, according to the rule of Catholic practice, and then the guests and monks filed

out into the grounds for rest and recreation. Some of the brothers went with flowers to the sick, some walked in the gardens and grounds, while others took their siesta which is permitted at this hour.

We seized the opportunity to accompany the guest-master over a round of inspection of the buildings, and first made our way to the catacombs or relic room, where many objects of interest were shown to us, passing round the cloisters we passed many doors with *claustra* written over them, we observed that, contrary to the usual custom, the cloister windows are glazed, and it struck us as a great improvement both in comfort and appearance, and the warmth and absence of draughts added to them is worthy of imitation in new buildings where cloisters are employed. We went first over the deserted school buildings, replete with every comfort and necessity for educational life. The largest class-room is an excellent one, and contains an interesting picture of St. Benedict and his vision, not forgetting his favourite raven, which is also depicted on his medal, and which one visitor took in all seriousness to be the Jackdaw of Rheims. Two young monks were busily engaged in this room in learning the piano, and showed a very advanced knowledge of the instrument, for music is passionately loved and cultivated by the sons of St. Benedict.

Leaving this room we visited the library, which is a most noble one, and is fitted with every convenience for study—there are desks, electric lighting, and a perfect system of cataloguing which makes study and research a pleasure, nor is it surprising to learn that some of the monks of Fort Augustus are already in the field as authors themselves of several well written and interesting works, among which we had the pleasure of reading Father Columba's *Early Celtic Christianity*, published by Sands & Co., and worthy of a place in every library of historical works.

After visiting the dormitories, playing field, boat house, etc., we longed to see the brothers able to re-open the school they once had, for never before have we seen such

a perfect place for the education of the young, or men more capable of supplying their every want. If anything about Fort Augustus needs regeneration it is this and this alone—we miss the voices of boyhood, and as boyhood, youth and age play their part in daily life, so it seems to us they ought to be blended, even in a monastery; and here where nature, science, and art have made every provision for them, there is no excuse that they are lacking.

The monks' garden was next visited, where the profusion of flowers, fruit, and vegetables showed the old industry for which monks were ever famous. Our guide showed us, with pardonable pride, the magnificent sweet peas, unusually large in flower, and the apples unsurpassed anywhere else. The cemetery lies near at hand, a true place of rest after life's busy day is o'er. There on a rocky promontory, overlooking the calm loch, rest the monks after their life of toil is done, waiting in their black-robed dress for the 'Well done : good and faithful servant,' from Him whose life was their example in life and their stay in death.

After a pleasant tea and chat in the guest house, we again went into church for the time of Vespers had come, and we watched with even heightened interest the long line of monks and brothers as they walked in swiftly and silently, two by two, the Abbot at their head as shepherd of the sheep, while last, accompanied by two in gorgeous vestments, came the Prior habited to sing the Office. The high altar was now a blaze of light, and the singing of the *O Salutaris* and *Tantum Ergo* carried us back again into the Middle Ages, and we felt as if the whole world was one again and dissent was still unknown. We were all once more one family, one fold, one faith, clustered round one God. It was the old Church, the old Faith, the old road by which the saints had attained their reward. We almost seemed in a dream as we joined in heart and soul and voice those monks in their solemn *Magnificat*. Only too soon the sweet sounds of the Gregorian chanting died away, the lights were extinguished, and the monks were gone, and in the darkness we still prayed on, till the hour of Compline had come, and

the black-robed figures came back again, for the last monastic service of the day.

This time the altar, save for two glimmering tapers was unlit, the monotoned service unaccompanied and the lay-brothers scattered throughout the congregation. It almost seemed a penitential service of reparation for a nation's sins, a sighing and sobbing after the glories of heaven had passed, and the impression was further heightened when at its close, Abbot and monks went to the altar of St. Benedict, and knelt in silent prayer before his relics for a short while before repairing to their rest. When they at length rose and left the church, the evening star was high in the heavens, perchance the star that rose o'er Bethlehem, and it seemed to us, as it did then to many, a star of hope, the promise of a bright and happy dawn. Many such as holy Simeon and Anna had watched and waited for that star, and to us and to the monks of Fort Augustus we felt that it will rise again, and will assuredly scatter those clouds of night.

After our last night's rest was over, and Mass had been heard again, we left the hospitable doors of the monastery, just as the rising sun was flooding the valley with its glorious light, and we gazed back lovingly on those quiet Abbey towers lost in the sweetest of contemplation, as we wistfully contemplated our late glimpse of heaven and felt we should ever long and yearn for its return. At last the train shot round a corner, and hid all from our gaze, and the voice of an old farmer brought us suddenly back to earthly contemplation with the words, 'A grand morning for the crops.'

A. BAPTIST STAVERT, M.A.

'HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY' ¹

IT would be a very tedious task, were it a profitable one, to endeavour to enumerate all the historians who, at home and abroad, have written on the so-called Reformation that took place in this country in the sixteenth century. The Reformation has many fascinations for the English historian apart altogether from the religious change that it brought about. The Reformation in England marks off very fairly, a period of history differing entirely from any preceding period. The printing press, which had been introduced into England in 1476, had only become popular in the early days of the Reformation. The Renaissance movement had given a stimulus to the study of the classics. By means of the printing press books had been multiplied and translations of the classics became available, so that apart altogether from the religious change brought about by the quarrel of Henry VIII with the Pope, there were many other questions at the time of the Reformation full of interest to the historian.

But, undoubtedly, the religious question is the one of greatest interest. It is at the bottom of all the other questions. No history of this period is complete without an account of the religious change. Many have written on it, and yet, it is true to say, that the true history of the Reformation has yet to be published. The most competent scholars are the most ready to admit this. Many important sources of information have not yet been investigated, or, if investigated, the result is not yet known. Most of our information on the Reformation is derived from Protestant historians, whose religious belief has highly coloured the thread of their narrative when it has not warped their judgment. There are notable exceptions, it is true, and especially as we approach nearer to our own time. In our age a more impartial spirit of writing history

¹ By James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D. Macmillan & Co. 1904.

obtains. We live in a matter of fact age. People now desire to know the why and the wherefore of everything, and clamour for facts however unpalatable they may prove to be, and however little they may influence their action or belief afterwards.

Many causes have conspired to bring about a more impartial state of mind amongst historians of our time. First, Protestantism has lost much of its prestige; the results of the Reformation are too plain to deceive the thinking man. Protestants cannot agree amongst themselves. They are truly a divided house. Much of the energy and effort that Protestantism in its heyday used to expend in its attacks upon Catholicism, are now sorely needed within its own communion, to bolster up a tottering establishment, and to endeavour to maintain a superficial unity in the midst of many jarring elements.

Secondly, there is the spirit of the age—always a potent factor for good or for evil. The distinction of class is fast breaking down. Criticism seems to be in the air we breathe. It has permeated every class from the highest to the lowest. Traditions however sacred, and personalities however dignified, are not outside its sphere. And yet we must confess, however much we may deplore some of its methods, that this criticism, call it 'high' or 'low' as you will, has effected much that is good. It is certainly not an un-mixed evil. It may be deplored, for instance, that this criticism has engendered scepticism, indifference, and unbelief—triple daughters of Protestantism. But, on the other hand, and for this very reason, while Protestantism has been attacked and crippled in the encounter with these, her own disobedient and unbelieving children, Catholicism in this country has had time to draw its breath, to study the weak points of Protestantism, to learn secrets from her rebellious children, and to obtain a store of information on obscure and controverted points of history.

Thirdly, many sources of information are now available, that until recent years were denied us. Historical and antiquarian associations have been formed to foster a knowledge of history. Historical Parliamentary associations have

sat and published the results of their deliberations and labours. The State Papers of Henry VII and Henry VIII, foreign and domestic, have been edited and given to the world. The archives of cathedrals have been searched, and their contents published; and county historical societies have brought to light many things of historical interest not included in one or other of the publications already mentioned. The net result of all this is to throw much light on the history of the Reformation. Much that has been written on it, can now be proved to be false. Many long-cherished theories must be brushed aside in the face of modern research. A death-blow has been dealt to Protestant tradition and prejudice. Some of their chief sources of information have been demonstrated to be unreliable and untrustworthy wherever the Catholic Church is concerned. Protestants have, in the past, largely borrowed from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs* and Hall's *Chronicle*. Both of these works, especially the former, have been shown to be entirely unreliable and sometimes positively dishonest when treating of questions bearing upon Catholic faith and practice. Here is what Dr. Gairdner, of whom we shall hear more in this paper, says about these two sources of information, from which are drawn the current stock-in-trade objections against the Catholic Church of this period, and are periodically dressed up and related from public platforms and diffused up and down the country by the daily Press.

Let us take what he says of Hall's *Chronicle* first:—

It must be conceded indeed that Hall's *Chronicle* is for the reign of Henry VIII quite an invaluable source of information, being in fact a careful orderly, and in most things an accurate account, but we must be on our guard against the author's bias for his unfairness on some subjects goes the length of positive dishonesty.¹

And then Mr. Gairdner proceeds to show how unfair and inaccurate and biassed Hall is when relating the jury verdict in the case of one heretic, Hunne, who, it seems, was found hanged in his cell. Hall endeavours to show

¹ *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 27.

that the Chancellor Horsely was party to the death of this man. Dr. Gairdner rightly dismisses this charge, on the internal evidence of Hall's *Chronicle*, but more especially on the authority of Blessed Thomas More, who was in a better position to know the facts of this case, in virtue of his office, and also for the good reason that Hall wrote his *Chronicle* some years after the death of More. 'On the merits of the case,' says Gairdner, 'however we may appeal to one who was not a clergyman, and whose honesty and judgment are above suspicion' (Sir Thomas More). And, then, in the same passage he shows that Sir Thomas looked upon the report that Horsley had something to do with the death of Hunne as 'absolutely groundless.' Hall, nevertheless, though he must have known More's views on this matter, repeats the story, insinuating suspicions against Horsely. Hall hands down the story to Foxe. From Foxe it is handed on to Burnet, and at the present day finds very general acceptance. For, as Gairdner judiciously observes, 'though the *Acts and Monuments* have gone through many editions, More's *Dialogue* (from which the preceding testimony is culled) is scarcely to be seen, except in public libraries, and many public libraries are without it.' We have said enough about Hall without stopping to show his bias against the clergy in general and Wolsley in particular. Let us now pass on to examine the testimony of Foxe—the greater prevaricator of the two and the more notoriously prejudiced. Foxe, contrary to the most authentic documents, has not one good word to say on behalf of Queen Mary. According to him she was a plotter, inhuman in her cruelty towards heretics and in her zeal to restore the old religion. He it was who first gave her, most unjustly though, that horrible name, 'bloody' Mary.

Let us hear, however, the worth of his testimony by the same unprejudiced authority, whom we have already quoted. Dr. Gairdner, speaking of the number of persecutions for heresy (page 50), says: 'But as regards our chief authority, it is important to note the object with which he (Foxe) wrote. . . . He (Foxe) expressly tells us that his object was to stop the mouths of Roman Catholics,

who were continually asking at the time he wrote, where this our Church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years.' Foxe was not very scrupulous as to the means he employed to try to stop the mouths of the Roman Catholics. He circulated malicious lies about Blessed Thomas More, their greatest champion. In his *Acts and Monuments* he charges More with cruelty towards heretics. But, it seems, that in an earlier edition the charge was not against More, but against a man whose name is Tewkesbury. Foxe never hesitated to change a name, if it better suited his purpose. The charge against More is unfounded. Dr. Gairdner says 'the story (i.e. against More) is one of those malicious lies, which began to be circulated about More in his own days, and which More himself expressly denounces as such in one passage of his writings. But Foxe was above all things credulous, and accepted every idle tale to the discredit of the old religion.' We might multiply quotations from Gairdner's work alone to show how biassed and how unjust Foxe is, when he treats of anything Catholic. Let it suffice to say that he was 'notoriously prejudiced,' and that according to Dr. Gairdner, 'Foxe's narrative has been exposed as untrustworthy by reason of its bias.'

We think we have said enough about two great sources of Protestant information, still popular amongst a certain class of writers, to justify some of our assertions earlier in this paper. We are grateful to Dr. Gairdner for so much information on the authority of Hall's *Chronicle* and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Dr. Gairdner is a great authority on the sources of information for the reign of Henry VIII. Abbot Gasquet looks upon him as the most competent scholar living on this period.¹ Then he is not a Catholic. No one can accuse him of partiality towards the Catholic Church—so that when he speaks in favour of the Catholic Church or her system, or defends her from the attacks of opponents, we can safely say that we have the weight of an authority who has had the most exceptional opportunities of forming a judgment on Reformation questions.

¹ Cf. preface to the *Eve of the Reformation*.

Dr. Gairdner has been in a good training school. Early in life he became a Government official in the Public Record Office. He passed through various grades in this office, from clerk to assistant, and from assistant to editor for the Master of the Rolls. And when, in 1879, the late Mr. Brewer died, Mr. Gairdner was chosen as his successor to continue the editing of the State Papers of Henry VIII. He has already edited many volumes of these papers. Besides that he has edited for the late Camden Society, and has written a learned life of Richard III, and contributed many articles to historical magazines, chiefly on the reign of Henry VIII.

He came to write his *English Church in the Sixteenth Century* in this way. Some years ago, it was felt by leading men of the Church of England, that there was no thoroughly satisfactory history of the Church of England from the earliest times down to the end of the eighteenth century. And as the task of writing a satisfactory history from the earliest times down nearly to our own was thought to be too much for any living man, however competent, it was agreed to divide the whole period from the introduction of Christianity by St. Augustine down to our own time into a number of smaller periods, each smaller period to be dealt with by a competent scholar of that period. And to maintain the continuity of the whole, and preserve the parts from contradictions, the whole series, though each author's work is published separately, passed under the joint editorship of two clergymen of the Church of England.

Mr. Gairdner was selected to write the Church History of the Sixteenth Century, and the work of this name is the result of his labour and research. It is, undoubtedly, a great boon to those desirous of a truer history of the Reformation. The Catholic apologist, the student of Church history, the priest who preaches controversial sermons, and who finds it a source of strength to be able to quote or indicate Protestant authorities on his side on many burning points of faith and practice, will derive great advantage from consulting Gairdner's *History of the Church in England in the Sixteenth Century*.

When we say this we do not mean to assert that we agree with Mr. Gairdner in all his statements and conclusions. We could hardly expect such an agreement with an historian of the Church of England. On the contrary, there are very many very important statements made by him with which no Catholic could agree. This is especially true of some of his assertions and conclusions in the last chapter of his work, which deals with the causes of the Reformation, and is a summary of the rest of the book. Here is a specimen of what he says there (page 393) :—

Rome also saw the value of temporal support, so that kings could obtain, too often, indulgences of a questionable kind, such as dispensations, which enabled them to play fast and loose with the marriage tie. Abstract principles of right and wrong were indeed safeguarded. The sanctity of marriage was always upheld in theory, and divorce in the true sense of the word was never regarded as admissible; but abundant casuistry was exercised at times in disputing the validity of marriages, which had actually taken place, with the result that a most sacred tie was rendered practically insecure, and was not so highly honoured as it should have been. This together with the sad effects of clerical celibacy and discipline produced social results amongst the people which were simply deplorable.

One would have thought that such an authority as Mr. Gairdner would not have committed himself to so loose a statement as this. Some of the bitterest enemies of the Catholic Church readily admit that to her honour the Catholic Church has ever defended the sanctity of the marriage bond. It is only a short time since the Protestant Bishop of London, speaking on this very question of divorce and condemning it, said the Catholic Church has always stood out against divorce, 'all honour to her for it.'¹

Evidently the celibacy of the clergy is too much for Mr. Gairdner. One wonders is he aware of the teaching of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 8; or has he read the Fathers of the Church. St. Jerome says that heaven is peopled with virgins. With regard to his statement about laxity of discipline, it is not clear whether he means laxity in morals

¹ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article on Divorce.

or general laxity. But in either case, he will find, I fear, the facts of history against him. Sir Thomas More, whom he himself acknowledges to be trustworthy, again and again, while admitting that some of the clergy are 'naught,' says, 'but their faults have ever been their own, and should not be imputed to the whole body.'¹ And in the same passage, he says that the clergy of England were as good and as commendable as any clergy in Christendom. But, besides the evidence of Sir Thomas More, we have these strong words—as well as others of the same tenor, from Mr. Brewer, Gairdner's predecessor in the editing of the State Papers:—

Considering the temper of the English people, it is not probable that immorality could have existed among the ancient clergy to the degree which the exaggeration of poets, preachers, and satirists might lead us to suppose. The existence of such corruption is not justified by authentic documents, or by any impartial and broad estimate of the character and conduct of the nation before the Reformation. If these complaints of preachers and moralists are to be accepted as authoritative on this head, there would be no difficulty in producing abundant evidence from the reformers themselves that the abuses and enormities of their own age, under Edward VI and Elizabeth, were far greater than in the ages preceding.²

Students of Irish history will hardly agree with him, when he assumes that Hadrian IV handed over the 'Lordship of Ireland to Henry II.' Much less will they agree with him on the authority of John Bale that the Irish were 'depraved and demoralized' in the reign of Edward VI. The authority he quotes is so interesting that we must hear more of him.

John Bale was a Carmelite friar at Ipswich. In those troublesome days he left his monastery, got married, and became a protégé of Cromwell, on whose fall he fled to the continent. After the accession of Edward VI, he returned to England, got a living in Hampshire, and from this living was promoted by Edward VI to be Bishop of Ossory. On

¹ Cf. *Eve of Reformation*, chapter 'Clergy and Laity.'

² *Ibid.*

the accession of Mary he had to leave Ireland, and betook himself to Holland, where he wrote a work entitled *The Vacayon of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande*. He was known as 'foul mouthed' Bale. And yet here is what Dr. Gairdner says of his work :—

Of its contents, interesting as they are, all that need be said here is that they exhibit no small pertinacity on the part of the author in setting forth an unpopular religion, while they also bear witness to great depravity and demoralization on the part of the Irish.

On many other points, as, for instance, his ideas of continuity and his estimate of Cranmer, no Catholic could agree with him. Dr. Gairdner says that Cranmer with all his weaknesses had a conscience. Gairdner's notions of a conscience must be somewhat lax, for he himself admits that Cranmer in the same hour took two contradictory oaths, and that when he took the oath of allegiance and loyalty to the Pope he did not mean to keep it. Surely this does not show that Cranmer had a conscience.¹ But religious conviction, I suppose, even in the case of Gardiner, like charity, covers a multitude of faults. And we must not be too severe on one whose task is to show the continuity of the English Church from the earliest times, and whose belief forces him to say that 'the Thirty Nine Articles constitute a more real Catholicism than the Council of Trent.'

Making due allowance for Mr. Gairdner's bias in favour of the Church of England, the student of the history of the Church in the sixteenth century, will derive much profit from consulting his work. He admits many things that have been long contended for by Catholic historians. And what is more important, his work supplies us with many facts. And facts are the important factors in interpreting history. 'The first matter of importance is to get the facts accurately reported, and then we can proceed to draw our conclusions from them.'² This seems to be the

¹ Cf. Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., p. 98, and note.

² Preface to a *Short History of the Catholic Church in England*.

especial merit of Dr. Gairdner's work that it supplies us with much information on old burning points between Catholics and Protestants. On any one of the following points his work may be consulted with much profit: the Church and heresy; pleas for the justification of the burning of heretics; the fires of Smithfield; the number of those persecuted and burnt in the early days of the Reformation; the nature of their crimes; the Catholic Church and its attitude towards the Bible; the first English translations of the Bible before the time of Tyndale or Wycliffe; the corruptions of Tyndale's Bible; the bishops justified in condemning it; the bishops not inimical to authorized translations of the Bible; the general relations between the clergy and the laity at the commencement of the Reformation.

It must not be thought that the points we have indicated exhaust the many interesting religious topics discussed by Dr. Gairdner very impartially. Those named are but specimens of the worth of his work. We sincerely wish that the *English Church in the Sixteenth Century* may be widely read by Anglicans in this country. It cannot fail to show to any impartial reader what the faith of England was before the Reformation, and the 'immoral and degrading influences' by which the Reformation had been brought about in the first instance.

Every doctrine, every religious practice now accepted by Catholics was then received everywhere throughout England. Papal supremacy, the necessity of communion with Rome, the Mass, the Real Presence, Transubstantiation, devotion to the Mother of God, the intercessory power of the saints, the utility of prayers for the dead, reverence and respect for relics and images was then everywhere on the the authority of Dr. Gairdner, the order of the day. And Dr. Gairdner, who admits all this, also asserts, that the Church of England, which has condemned all these beliefs and practices, is in continuous continuity with the Church founded by St. Augustine.

JOHN O'DOHERTY.

AKABAH: ITS POSITION IN FACT AND IN HISTORY

THERE is many a place of historical interest that has remained for centuries in obscurity, until some important event has brought it once more into prominence. Akabah is a case in point. The late crisis between His Majesty's Government and the Khedive on the one side, and the Sublime Port on the other, created considerable interest in what at the time was an almost forgotten locality, situated on the confines of the map of Asia. Indeed the possibility of war became so imminently near an actual realization that now probably few will be unwilling to have their attention drawn to the scene of the *casus belli*. It is with this thought that the present writer offers in the following lines a description of the place, as well as a sketch, cursory though it may be, of the historical role Akabah has filled in the past.

Stretching in a somewhat north-westerly direction from the straits of Bab el Mandeb in the south, the Red Sea, at the approximate latitude of 28° North, bifurcates into two arms, which are named respectively the Gulf of Suez on the one hand and the Gulf of Akabah on the other. The Gulf of Suez, which was known to the ancients as the Sea of Egypt,¹ has an expanse of water some 186 miles in length, extending from the Sinaitic headland of Râs Muhammed in the south to the town of Suez in the north, whence Lesseps' famous canal crosses the isthmus to Port Said. From Suez, it is interesting to note, in the days of the glories of Egypt, the pharaoh Necho II² dug a canal which, like the Suez Canal, had for its object the joining up of the two great thoroughfares of commerce, the Great

¹ Is. xi. 15.

² Some early Egyptologists have ascribed the making of this canal to the energy of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, but erroneously. The Necho in question was the son of Psammetichus I, who utterly routed the Assyrian invaders of Egypt at the decisive battle of Memphis, and reigned about 610-594 B.C.

Sea and the Sea of Egypt—the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Necho's canal corresponded with Lesseps' only in the stretch from Suez to the head of the Bitter Lakes, whence, instead of going further north, it turned west past the ancient treasure-city of Pithom, built by the Israelites, and joined the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, probably not far from the ancient town of Bubastis, now Zagazig.

The Gulf of Akabah has many points of resemblance to that of Suez, but its length is somewhat less, being only about 133 miles. At its head, in an analogous position to the port of Suez, stands the town of Akabah, about a mile from the shore, and situated on a low-lying hillock some two miles east of the gulf-head. The place has been for the last eight or nine centuries of very slight importance. The crisis with Turkey has brought it into renewed prominence, on account of its strategic position, and of its being a frontier town on the confines of Egyptian territory, and not at all because of any known material wealth to be found in the place itself. Situated at the head of the gulf of the same name, Akabah, though considered in Turkish estimation to be a town of no mean consequence as the head-quarters of the district and the residence of the Ottoman governor, is in reality nothing more than a large straggling eastern village with some two or three hundred inhabitants.

Surrounded with luxuriant palm-groves and fertile gardens, the town presents from a distance a vista refreshing to behold, and the frowning towers of the castle, standing as they do in the midst of the verdure, lend an air of dignity to the place. Should the pilgrim or traveller be coming from the direction of Egypt, the sight of this pleasant-looking oasis is one which never fails to raise his flagging spirits to the pitch of enthusiasm, as parched and weary he trends his way, either on camel or on foot, through the barren wastes, cliffs, and precipices which border the eastern escarpment of the Sinaitic promontory. After passing by the awe-inspiring mountains of Sinai, where at times his path has narrowed down to a width of not more than six or eight yards, between walls of cliffs that rise

perpendicularly often to a height of 2,000 feet above him, the traveller cannot but be glad to step once more into the open and to see again signs of human habitation ! But, alas, as is too generally the case with eastern towns, a closer inspection dispels at once the initial idea gained from afar of the prosperity of the place. The town itself is composed for the most part of mud-built houses, surrounded by dilapidated stone-walls which enclose well-cared-for gardens by no means destitute of vegetables and fruit. In the centre of most of these gardens, under the shade of palm or almond trees, is a kind of 'summerhouse' constructed of palm poles and palm leaves, which in the broiling heat of an Arabian sun is pleasant enough. But the general aspect of the place, in its normal state, is that of a half deserted eastern town with a stagnant bazaar and a remarkably lazy set of 'buyers and sellers,' who spend most of their time by the sea shore. Arriving at the fort, which is situated about a mile from the beach, a very short inspection is all that is necessary to even a non-military eye to realize the tumble-down and utterly neglected state of this depot or *place d'armes* of the Turkish Empire. William Charles Maughan, who himself entered the fort, has given the following description of it :—

It stands [he says] somewhat on a rising ground, with the mud-houses of the town built close up to its sides, and on the east are ranges of low sand hills, which gradually slope upwards to lofty mountains bordering the Arabian side of the gulf. The building is square, with walls of alternate bands of red and white stones, strengthened at the corners by towers, and is supposed to have been erected in the sixteenth century. In the centre of the north wall, which is about thirty feet high, is a massive archway admitting to the fortress, with stone divans inside its thick walls, above which are hung a miscellaneous collection of long rusty flint muskets that had certainly seen their best days. The interior is an open courtyard, round which extends a series of rickety wooden and plaster buildings, with small windows to admit light, formed of wood crossed, thus entirely dispensing glass. In these miserable dwellings we are told that the wives of the governor, the gunner, and other officials live. At one end of the paved court is a deep well of good water, which supplies the inhabitants and pilgrims ; and there are, besides, stowing-

places for the corn that is dispensed to the pilgrims. We ascended by a rude staircase to the top of a tower on the north wall, and found there a solitary cannon, evidently of great antiquity, and quite unfit for use, mounted on the parapet by way of terrifying the lawless Bedouins who encamp outside the town at certain seasons. Down below in the courtyard there is a more respectable brass cannon, mounted on wheels, which, with the flint muskets in the gateway, constituted the whole armament of this formidable fortress.¹

But the real importance of the present-day Akabah lies in the fact of its being a military station, and the first Turkish town on the great Haj or pilgrim route from Egypt to Mecca. It is the third fortified post from Cairo, the first being a little to the west of the canal at Suez, on the border of what may be called Egypt proper, at a place called Kūl'at Ajūrd, and the second at Kūl'at en-Nūkhī, the 'Castle of the Palm-tree,' an oasis in the centre of the desert or wilderness of Et-et-Tih, north of the mountainous region of Sinai, and about midway between the two other posts of Kūl'at Ajūrd and Akabah. On the approach of the Mecca caravan, especially if coming from the direction of Egypt, when the pilgrims are still comparatively rich, sleepy Akabah at once assumes an air of life and energy, and then it becomes a regular Babel.

Even a slight acquaintance with the ways of the East would enable one to imagine this, but the Akabah Arabs, of all Arabs, seem to have but one object of existence, namely, that of fleecing every passer-by, be he 'a dog of an infidel' or 'a son of Mohammed,' a European, a Turk, or a Jew. Probably the Arab feels a kind of prescriptive right—handed down from father to son—to his backsheesh from every stranger, whether rich or poor, high or low, and in a place like Akabah, no doubt, he generally manages to squeeze out of his more or less helpless victim at least a portion of what he has thought fit to deem his due. Indeed it is this spirit alone that energizes the native of the 'Desert Valley' sufficiently to enable him to cultivate, by a mere scratching, a soil that would with more generous care bring

¹ *Alps of Arabia*, by W. C. Maughan, p. 161.

forth abundant fruit, and to gather together during the non-lucrative months any commodity that he may know from experience can be stored with advantage, as cash in prospect, against the coming of the hungry stranger. It is on the arrival of the pilgrimage, too, that the quarrelsome Bedouin tribes from all around crowd into the town, or camp in the vicinity, in the hope of disposing of some of their sheep, goats, butter and milk ; and, unruly members 'of society' as they always are, they never fail to add more than a little to the noise and confusion. Indeed, this is the time that the Turkish cannon on the fort wall, already referred to, should, if ever, have its effect, and the Turkish garrison of some forty men all told may well be supposed to have a difficult task to preserve order, and, as far as possible, prevent thieving.¹

The pilgrim caravan travels with an escort of Bedouins, bedecked in their gayest costumes, mounted on superb horses, or on fleet dromedaries, who take care to duly impress the long procession of devotees by the skilful way they manage their steeds, wheeling about hither and thither, and giving a display of their excellent horsemanship. Indeed it is to these semi-wild barbarians that the safe conduct of the pilgrimage is entrusted, and they ride around the caravan armed to the teeth. Bartlett, who met the caravan not far from Akabah, describes the main body as 'preceded by a crowd of stragglers from among the lowest class of inhabitants of Cairo ; some on foot, some on donkeys, women even bearing their children on their shoulders, all of whom have set out in blind reliance on the providence of Allah—many of them, alas ! destined to fall victims to the immense fatigues of the journey.' After these unfortunates, the procession proper commences, 'the caravan marching five camels abreast,' and in the van are cannon drawn by camels, on each of which a soldier rides whose especial duty it is to announce the hours of the day and the halts, by gunfire. Next follow the gay palanquins 'radiant with

¹ The number of men quoted in the text was the strength of the *personnel* of the fort some years ago ; most probably the present Turkish garrison far exceeds that number, especially since the 'Akabah crisis.'

crimson or green silk, embroidered with gold, surmounted with glittering crescents, and having small windows, latticed without and lined within.' Then comes the elaborate carriage of the Emir el-Hadj, who rules over the whole caravan; and lastly the costly caparisoned and well cared-for camel specially selected to bear on its back the magnificent canopy under which is placed the copy of the Koran, which is to be carried to Mecca. 'The canopy itself is a most elaborate one; it consists of a square wooden frame, terminating in a pyramidal form, covered with a dark brocade, and highly ornamented with gilt fringes and tassels.'¹ It is pleasant to think that a camel that has once borne this burden the whole length of the thirty-seven days' journey between Cairo and Mecca, is exempt ever after from all the common burdens of ordinary life.

But now that the Mecca caravan has come to a standstill at Akabah, we may do well to be take ourselves to the shore. The still growing Arabian sun is now setting, and as it sinks towards the western horizon it casts a lurid glow of colouring on the hills around, and we are at once struck with the marvellous grandeur of the scenery. We stand by the shore facing out to sea—the Red Sea, and our eyes travel swiftly down the length of the Gulf of Akabah as far as they can go.

On each side of the gulf are mountains of immense splendour, rough, rugged, red, blue, yellow, and green, for such is the visual effect. To the west, that is to say, to our right as we stand, in the distance can be discerned the red granite heights of Sinai, eighty or ninety miles away, perhaps snow-clad, but always wild and magnificent, stretching with mighty precipices from the sky-line nine thousand feet high to the gravelly shore that skirts the water's edge, or plunging almost directly into the sea. All along the western coast-line as our eyes travel up north towards where we are standing, the view is still reddened by the vivid colouring of the sand-stone cliffs, lower indeed than those beyond but almost as grand, broken here and there by a wady where occasional groves of palm-trees

¹ *Alps of Arabia*, by W. C. Maughan, p. 163.

paint it green ; till at length our attention is stayed by a detached granite hill a few miles west of Akabah, running sheer down into the sea ; behind this hill is the deep wady of Tabah, the scene of the incident which caused so much diplomatic trouble between Turkey and England. There is no reason to doubt that the strategical value of this hill, overlooking and completely dominating 'Akabah and the trade-routes as it does, was the cause of the Turkish aggression, if such it was.

Turning now to our left, we find that the east coast of the gulf is formed of lofty serrated ranges of massive red granite cliffs even more jagged and precipitous than those on the other side, though rising to an altitude of not more than two or three thousand feet. So precipitous indeed are these hills that after leaving Akabah the Mecca caravan has to wend its way for some miles along the sea shore until at length it turns east into the great black-looking pass known to the Arabs as the Wady el-Mebruk. Akabah indeed is said to take its name from this dangerous path between the mountains and the deep sea ; for Akabah means a pass or a defile, and Kūl'at el-Akabah means 'the Castle of the Pass.' The Gulf of Akabah itself has all the appearance of a great gorge by reason of the precipitous nature of the mountains on each side of it, and though no doubt it borrows its name from the town, it is for all that a veritable Akabah. The Hebrews called this gulf the 'Sea of Plants,' on account of the plant-like appearance beneath the water of the red and white coral reefs which are found abundantly on both its shores. Before turning away from the beautiful view before us, we must not fail to notice also the most wonderful variety of sea shells, entirely bleached by the scorching rays of the sun, that are strewn with lavish generosity all along the gravelly beach.

Modern Akabah is merely a collection of mud houses, clustering round what is in all probability a mediæval fortress of no mean strength ; but in earlier days there stood here two towns of considerable consequence, both of which were not a little connected with the vicissitudes and fortunes of the Chosen People. These towns or ports were

Ezion-geber—'the Giant's backbone,' a name derived from the Hebrew verb *זק*, 'to be firm,' and Elath, 'the grove,' or 'the trees,' in a generic sense, the word being the plural of the Hebrew word *El* (*ל*), which means 'a tree.' The site of Elath we know to be approximately that of the present town of 'Akabah, which stands, as has been noticed, on rising ground rather to the east than centre of the gulf-head; Ezion-geber on the other hand was probably situated rather to the north-west of its neighbour, and, as is generally supposed, rather more inland. This supposition is accounted for by the fact that since the times of which we are treating, the waters of the gulf have receded considerably, the level of the Red Sea being considerably lower now than then, and it may be safe to conjecture that at the time of the Exodus and the reign of Solomon, Elath stood on a kind of promontory east and somewhat south of the end of the bay, which would then have extended more inland than now, and as far north as the port of Ezion-geber, which is to be located about the centre of the great Wady el-Arabah or Desert Valley.

Both these towns have an extended history, which, as we know it, commences at least as far back as the Hebrew Exodus from Egypt. In the Book of Numbers¹ we read: 'And the Israelites departed from Ebronah, and encamped at Ezion-geber. And they removed from Ezion-geber, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.' 'These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt with their armies under the hand of Moses and Aaron. And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord.'² The distance from Sinai to Ezion-geber is about one hundred miles, and we learn from the Book of Deuteronomy (i., ii.) that the Israelites, encumbered as they were with women and children, baggage and cattle, in accomplishing it encamped no less than twenty times. They halted then at Ezion-geber in the

¹ xxxiii. 35, 36.

² xxxiii 1, 2.

neighbourhood of Elath, and from there went up north to Kadesh, whence

Moses, by command of the Lord, sent twelve men to spy out the land of Canaan, and said unto them: Get you up this way southward, and go up into the mountain. . . . So they went up, and searched the land from the wilderness of Zin. . . . And they ascended by the south, and came unto Hebron. . . . And they came unto the brook of Eskhol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between two upon a staff; and they brought of the pomegranates and of the figs.¹

But the Israelites could by no means circumvent the Amalekites, the Canaanites, and the Amorites, who repulsed them and would not allow them to pass, and the Jews murmured against the Lord, and their punishment followed, and they abode in the wilderness 'thirty and eight years: until all the generation of the men of war were wasted out from among the host, as the Lord sware unto them.'² Passage was refused also by the Edomites, who inhabited the two rows of hills from the Gulf of Elath to the Dead Sea; the Israelites were thus compelled to retrace their steps to Ezion-geber along the route they had traversed no less than thirty-eight years before. 'And they journeyed from Mount Hor'—where, by the command of God, Aaron was led up to die, and where the whole house of Israel 'mourned for Aaron for thirty days'—'by way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom,'³ which stretched on the eastern side of the valley of the Akabah. 'And (passing) through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion-geber, they turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab,'⁴ probably along the road that leads through the Wady el-Ithm, east of Akabah, between the rough hills of the Edomites on the west, and the limestone plateau of the great Arabian desert on the east.

The children of Israel had had good cause to remember their stay of forty years in the neighbourhood of Ezion-

¹ Num. xiii.

² Deut. ii. 14.

³ Num. xxi. 4.

⁴ Deut. ii. 9.

geber, and after the several wars of King David with the tribes to the south of the land of Judea, no doubt the victorious people of God were glad enough to enroll in the list of the dominions of the great king 'Elath of the Edomites;' and David 'put garrisons in Edom, throughout all Edom he put garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants.'¹

But the history and notoriety of Ezion-geber was only commencing in the reign of the Psalmist King. Solomon, when he had consolidated his father's kingdom, began to extend the trade and intercourse of his people with distant lands. He made an alliance with Hiram, King of Tyre, 'and King Solomon made a navy of ships at Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon.'² And so this deserted sea was opened up as a great channel of commerce and activity, and the Gulf of Akabah, which now sees neither keel nor sail but once a year, when the store-boats come round from Suez with provisions for the Mecca caravan, became in the days of Solomon the receiving port for the gold and riches of Ophir. And the ships of Solomon came 'to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to the King Solomon.'³ 'And King Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and wisdom.'⁴ And 'the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred threescore and six talents of gold, besides that he had of the merchantmen, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country.'⁵ Such was the success of the navy which Solomon built by Ezion-geber, which was at the head of the 'Sea of Weeds.'

But where was this Ophir to which the ships thus fitted out went to procure the gold? The answer to this question is still shrouded in complete obscurity. Some have thought

¹ 2 Sam. viii. 14.

² 1 Kings ix. 26, 27.

³ 1 Kings ix. 21.

⁴ 1 Kings x. 23.

⁵ 1 Kings x. 14, 15.

Ophir was situated in the region of the Gulf of Aden, somewhere south of the Red Sea, possibly Ethiopia or Abyssinia; others have supposed India or the Malay archipelago; and others again seem agreed that in all probability it was as far distant from Ezion-geber as the country now known as Rhodesia. What commodity Solomon sent to this El Dorado by way of exchange for the gold he obtained there, authorities have been unable to conjecture. It has been suggested tentatively that the gold that came to Solomon through the port of Ezion-geber was merely what nowadays might be known as 'transit' or 'port' dues—payments, that is, to Solomon by the Tyrian and other merchants for the facilities of the port of Ezion-geber, and for the right of transit through his dominions.

Be this as it may, the evidence that Rhodesia was actually the locality in which the gold mines of King Solomon were to be found seemed to many students of the subject quite overwhelming. In 1891, the late Mr. Rhodes was anxious to have the matter scientifically investigated, and chiefly at his instigation, the late Mr. Theodore Bent proceeded to South Africa, and carried out very extensive researches. The results of his work are incorporated in *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, which has been read far and wide, and to which most of us at once pinned our faith. It was no longer possible to doubt, the credence of the general public was complete; and the readers of Rider Haggard's excellent novel, *King Solomon's Mines*, were delighted. A few incredulous experts alone dared to face with a denial the *vox populi*. Many things were decided. It was proved that cities built by pre-Islamic Arabs existed in Rhodesia, and that the mines in question had been, and probably would still prove to be, of fabulous wealth. It was calculated that no less than the enormous sum of £75,000,000 worth of gold must have been extracted from the ancient mines, in what was then the land of Havilah. It was argued that in the time of Solomon these mines had been worked by the South Arabian Himyarites, and after them by the Phoenicians. The port for this output of Rhodesian gold was none other than the famous

Tharshish, which was identified with the present Sofala, on the east coast of Africa, in what is now Portuguese territory opposite the island of Zanzibar. This explanation was intensely interesting to students of Biblical exegesis, and it was accepted as eminently satisfactory by the man in the street.

It happened, however, that in the year 1905, that learned body, the British Association, visited South Africa. They were interested in Mashonaland, and they took the opportunity of examining the whole matter for themselves, in the person of Mr. Randall-Maciver. Proceeding to South Africa before the Association itself, upon its arrival this learned archæologist and experienced excavator was able to present a report which was destined to dissipate into the region of exploded myths all the studied history of the gold mines and cities of Rhodesia, at least in the form in which they had been accepted by the public. The cities in question were proved to be the work not of a highly civilized, but of an uncivilized race; the walls were those merely of royal kraals, built to protect huts within; and no object of foreign manufacture could be found dating earlier than about the eleventh century A.D.

King Solomon's mines are still, therefore, to be found. But it is interesting to note that Professor Keane, in *The Gold of Ophir*, maintains that Ophir was not the actual gold-producing country, but merely the emporium or gold-market, which was situated on the southern coast of Arabia, opposite the British island of Perim, and on the site of the modern Mocha, known to the Romans as Portus Nobilis. Hither, then, the gold of Solomon was brought in ships from the port of Tharshish, and thence to the home port of Ezion-geber.

Throughout Solomon's reign Ezion-geber was at the height of its prosperity; and even after his time it continued to be a place of great consequence; but the succeeding kings were not the equals of the son of David, and the importance of the town gradually lessened. Jehoshaphat attempted to revive the trade, but failed. And in those days 'There was no king in Edom: a deputy was

king. Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to go to Ophir for gold : but they went not ; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber.' ¹ Whether these ships were wrecked on the wild shores of this often stormy and treacherous gulf, or perished in the harbour itself, it is impossible to say ; but it has been suggested, though there is no mention of it in the sacred text, that the calamity which befell this adventurous attempt was the result of a raid by the Sabaans, who may have invaded this inland arm of the sea to destroy a rival fleet.

Ezion-geber and Elath were lost to Judah in the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat. Taken once more by Judah, when Amaziah and Uzziah defeated the Edomites in successive wars, Elath was rebuilt, and refortified. Both towns were taken home fifty years later by Rezin, king of Syria. From this date Ezion-geber is entirely lost to sight, though Josephus tells us that it was afterwards known as Berenice ; Elath, or Ailah, henceforth quite eclipsed the sister city. Such, roughly, is the Biblical history of these towns, but their story does not end with Israel nor yet with Judah.

Later on the country fell under the dominion of the Roman Empire, which held it till the time of the Persian invasion of Palestine under Choroës II, who captured Jerusalem in the year 614. History records how during the reign of Cæsar Augustus (B.C. 27—A.D. 14), Aelius Gallus, the Roman governor of Egypt, built at Cleopatris, the ancient Heroopolis, a large fleet of galleys, with which he set out on his great expedition to Arabia Petra, Ailah being naturally the port of disembarkation.² Indeed, this town was an important military post of the Empire, as well as a commercial mart of no small value. Here, then, as now, the trade routes met, and in the days of St. Jerome Ailah was still a trade centre for goods coming from India. From this point Roman roads lead to Egypt, Gaza, Hebron, Damascus, and to the south along the east coast of the Red Sea. In very early Christian times Ailah became the

¹ 1 Kings xxii. 47, 48.

² Strabo, xvi. 4, 23.

seat of a bishopric, and four of its bishops were present at various councils between A.D. 320 and 536.¹ From A.D. 620, the date of Mohammed's invasion, Ailah is lost sight of till the times of the Crusades.

After the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099, Baldwin I, who became king on the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, made an expedition against the Saracens, and gained possession of Ailah, which the enemy did not remain to defend. Saladin, however, retook the place fifty years later, and transported thither a fleet of boats on the backs of camels and launched them on the Gulf of Ailah. It must have been Saladin, too, who fortified very strongly an island, about two miles from Ailah, on the western side of the gulf, named Juzerat Pharoun, which was important as enclosing an excellent harbour, in a very inhospitable sea. Whether this Isle de Graye was ever utilized by the Crusading Franks is not quite evident; in recent years, however, it has been the scene of an incident worthy of a knight-errant of the crusading times. M. Laborde, an enthusiastic French explorer, managed with difficulty to reach the island on a raft, and in very scanty attire; struck with the magnitude of his achievement he at once proceeded to hoist the French flag, and to declare the island a French possession.

In A.D. 1182, Renaud de Chatillon, then knight of the Latin fief of Kerack, to which belonged the lands east of the Dead Sea, who was known under the title of 'Prince of Antioch and Lord of the Lands beyond the Jordan,' made an attempt on Saladin's position at Ailah, but was unsuccessful. It was the reckless action of this unfortunate Renaud, which brought to an end the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. A truce had been concluded with the noble Saladin, when Renaud, whose fief at Petra (then Kerack) commanded the trade route from Damascus to Medina, plundered a caravan of merchants. This so enraged Saladin that he vowed to put Renaud to death with his

¹ Several of the facts are taken from Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. i. p. 170.

own hand, on oath, which he fulfilled to the letter after the fatal battle of Hattin, in 1187.

After this Akabah shared the fate of all Mohammedan conquests, and sank into a stagnation of semi-barbarism. Recent events seem likely to restore it some at least of the importance which it possessed in the past. The projected line of railway from Damascus to Medina and Mecca, along the ancient trade and pilgrim route, will send a branch to Akabah, whence, in all probability, it will some day be continued into Egypt.

B. WELD, O.S.B.

THE CARTHUSIANS IN IRELAND

KINALEHIN PRIORY (1280-1321)

JUST eighteen years ago, in his excellent *History of the Charterhouse*, Dom Lawrence Hendriks, monk of St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Sussex,¹ devoted one paragraph to the 'Irish Charterhouse,' as follows:—

The Irish Charterhouse is the next in chronological order. *Its situation and its founder are both unknown. It seems to have been simply an unsuccessful attempt to establish the Order in Ireland.* It is said to have lasted about forty years; but all that we know for certain is its suppression by order of the General Chapter of 1321. The monks were transferred to various houses.

Brief and unsatisfactory as this reference was, I determined to pursue my researches as to the founder, situation, and fortunes of this solitary house of the sons of St. Bruno in Ireland, but it was only within the past year that I pieced together the fragments collected from various authentic sources, for the purpose of this article. Considering that the very existence of any house of the Carthusians has not been alluded to by any of our Irish historians, a sketch of Kinalehin Priory—for such is the name of the foundation—in the early years of the fourteenth century will doubtless prove of interest to many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

Let me at once state that the Carthusian Priory of Kinalehin (Cenel-Fechen), was an ideal foundation, according to the teachings of St. Bruno, and was situated on the declivity of Sliabh Echtge (Slieve-Aughty) in South Connacht, in the diocese of Clonfert. Sliabh Echtge is famed as the native place of Flann mac Lonain, 'the Virgil of Ireland,' who flourished in the tenth century. In one of his poems he describes the travels of Ilbrechtach,

¹ I must express my obligation to Father John Baptist, of St. Hugh's Parkminster, Sussex, for a copy of this book, and for several interesting letters with extracts from Carthusian writers.

the harper, over the mountains along with Mac Liag, the bard of Brian Boru'; and the poem, beginning *Aoibhionn aoibhinn Echtge ara*, consists of one hundred and thirty-two lines.¹

But, before going further, it may be well to say something of the founder of the Carthusians, and of the Order itself—an Order that has produced many saints like St. Hugh of Lincoln, Pope St. Urban II, and others, including the eighteen Carthusian martyrs beatified by the late Pope.

St. Bruno was a native of Cologne, where he was born in 1038, but was sent to France at an early age, becoming a Canon of Rheims, in 1070, on which account he has often been claimed as a Frenchman. In 1080 he felt impelled to adopt a life of solitude and silence, far from the turmoil of the world, and in 1083, got together six disciples who proceeded with him to Grenoble, where they were given a foundation by St. Hugh in the desert of Chartreuse. Thus, in 1084, was begun the monastery of Chartreuse, a name which has been corruptly anglicized to 'Charterhouse.' St. Bruno founded a second monastery in the desert of Calabria, and there he died on October 6, 1101.

The Carthusian rule is very much akin to the old Irish monastic rule of St. Carthach of Lismore. The Order is strictly contemplative—prayer, study, spiritual reading and manual labour filling up the intervals of the canonical hours. Practically, the Carthusian day begins with the singing of the Divine Office at midnight. Their 'office' is longer than any now used in the Church, and the chant is slower and more severe than the Cistercian. After a private office in their cells each monk retires to rest at 2.30 and is up again at 5.30. Mass, meditation, spiritual reading, and portion of the office occupy the time from 5.30 to 10. From 10 to 2.30 p.m. is given over to intellectual and manual work, except a half hour for dinner. Vespers are sung at 2.45, and the monks retire to their cells at 6.30. Such is the Carthusian day.

¹ See Dr. Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland* pp. 427-8.

As is generally known, the Carthusian is a solitary, living in his cell all the time, save thrice daily (at Matins, Mass and Vespers), when he goes to the monastic church. On certain greater feasts this solitude is mitigated, as he then sings all the canonical hours with his brethren in choir, and on these occasions, too, dinner and supper are served in the refectory. A weekly walk, or *Spatiamentum*, outside the enclosure has been permitted since 1265.

Witham, on the borders of Selwood Forest, was the first priory, or Charterhouse, established in England, founded by King Henry II, in 1178, of which St. Hugh of Lincoln was the third prior, in 1184. The second English house was at Hinton, in Somersetshire, founded by Earl William de Longespée, in 1227. Beauvale, in Nottinghamshire, was the third, in 1343, due to the munificence of Nicholas de Cantelope.

In chronological order the Carthusian annals place the Irish foundation as *after* that of Hinton, and its dissolution as some years *before* that of the establishment of Beauvale. No other scrap of information is to be found in any of their writers, except that embodied in the paragraph at the commencement of this paper.

Hinton Priory, as has been stated, dates from 1227, and was endowed by Ella, Countess of Salisbury, widow of William de Longespée, in 1248. This Ella founded Lacock Abbey, of which she became abbess, and died there in 1263. Her husband was a Crusader, and it is remarkable that to this day the Carthusian monks continue to say special prayers daily for the restoration of the Holy Land to the Christians. Now, William's brother, Stephen de Longespée, was married to Emmelina, Countess of Ulster, in 1244, whose son was Walter de Burgh. In right of his wife's dowry, this Stephen obtained, in 1249, a third part of five cantreds of land in Ireland. He was appointed Justiciary of Ireland in 1258. Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, died at Galway Castle, July 26, 1271, and was succeeded by his eldest son Richard, popularly known as the Red Earl, Lord of Connacht.

In 1280, Richard de Burgh was virtually ruler

of Connacht, and on June 28, 1283, there was a grant given him and his wife, Margaret, of the land which Emmelina, late Countess of Ulster, held in Ulster. It is therefore more than probable that Emmelina, Dowager Countess of Ulster, suggested to the Red Earl, to make a foundation for the Carthusian Order in Connacht. Anyhow, in or about the year 1280, Richard de Burgo established a monastery for the Chartreuse brethren at Kinalehin, doubtless, colonized from Hinton. King Edward I was favourably disposed towards the new foundation, and, on July 27, 1282, issued letters, dated from Rhuddlan, guaranteeing English protection 'for the prior, monks, and lay brothers of the Carthusian Order, *de Domo Dei*, in Kinalehin.' It is not a little remarkable that whilst Hinton Priory was named *Locus Dei* by the Carthusians, Kinalehin Priory is written *Domus Dei*, as appears from the Calendar of Patent Rolls.¹

John de Alatri, Bishop of Clonfert, Papal Nuncio and Collector, was a munificent patron of the Kinalehin house from 1281 to 1295, in which latter year he was translated by Pope Boniface VIII to the Archbishopric of Benevento. His successor, Robert, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, was consecrated at Rome by Gerard, Bishop of Sabina, in December, 1295. It is evident from the State Papers that these two bishops of Clonfert were in the favour of the Holy See and of Edward I, and both were on intimate terms with the Red Earl. The Carthusians had also a friend in Stephen de Fulburn, Archbishop of Tuam, who was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1286. William Bermingham, his successor, was also a generous patron, to the detriment, as it would seem, of the English Dominicans of Athenry.

In 1300, Richard de Burgo founded the Carmelite Priory of Loughrea, which soon became one of the most important foundations of that Order in Ireland. It was colonized from England, as were the other Irish Carmelite houses, which were all under the jurisdiction of the English

¹ Pat., 10 Edw. I. m. 8.

province. Not long afterwards the founder was summoned by King Edward I to take part in the Scottish campaign, and he set out for Scotland in the spring of the year 1301, remaining in that country for twelve months. In 1305 he endowed twenty-four priests with lands to celebrate daily Mass (for his own soul and the souls of his ancestors) at Loughrea and Tipperbride (Ballintobber, Co. Roscommon), in a chapel to be newly built ; and for this purpose he granted them the advowsons of the Churches of Loughrea, Portrush, Carrickfergus, Greencastle, Ballymoney, Dieucross, Loughguile and Tipperbride. The church of Loughrea was then valued at £20 a year, and Tipperbride (Ballintober) at six marks annually.

The next entry we meet with concerning Kinalehin is in the ecclesiastical taxation made by order of Pope Boniface VIII, in 1302, which, however, was not completed till the year 1307, under Pope Clement V. In this taxation, the Carthusian Priory of Kinalehin, written 'Kenaloyne,' is valued at £6 13s. 4d., the tenth being given as 13s. 4d. It is stated to be in the deanery of 'Dondery'—now Duniry—in which there were then five rectories, namely, those of Duniry, Lickmolassy, Kinalehin, Lickerrig, and Kilconickny—and six vicarages, viz., Duniry, Lickmolassy, Kinalehin, Kilcorban, Kilmalinoge and Drummackee. The vicarage of Kinalehin is valued at £1 7s. 4d. yearly, and the tenth at 2s. 8½d.—the sum total of the deanery of Duniry being given as £22 2s. 8d.

Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, was almost at the pinnacle of his power in 1307, and on June 15, 1308, he was appointed for a time as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In November, 1307, Robert, Bishop of Clonfert, died, and a licence to elect was issued by Edward II on December, 7 of the same year. The chapter elected Gregory O'Brogan Dean of Clonfert, to the vacant see, who received restitution of temporalities on March 22, 1308. A few months later, Edward de Burgo was provided by Pope Clement V as Provost of Tuam.

The Bruce invasion occasioned considerable unrest in the years 1315-1318, and though the fortunes of war seemed

to favour Edward Bruce (who was joined by his brother Robert, in 1317), the victory of Faughart, near Dundalk, on October 14, 1318, established the English power more securely than before.

In Connacht, the death of Felim O'Connor at the battle of Athenry, led to a civil war, and in 1318, Turlough O'Connor had a rival in Cathal O'Connor. The Red Earl, weary of war alarms, retired to the Abbey of Athassel, Co. Tipperary, leaving his vast estates to his grandson William. The English in Thomond got a crushing defeat at Dysert O'Dea, on May 10, 1318. No wonder that the Carthusian monks of Kinalehin felt insecure. What with the retirement of the Red Earl, the constant attacks on Sir William de Burgo, and the internecine feuds of the Irish, the year 1320 found the brethren of the *Domus Dei* on the slope of Sliabh Echtge, in a pitiable plight. The worthy Bishop of Clonfert died in 1319, and no election of a successor could be made for two years, 'owing to the fighting in these parts,' as stated in the brief appointing his successor, John (Archdeacon of Kilmacduagh), in 1322. Accordingly, in 1321, the priory was suppressed by order of the General Chapter of the Grande Chartreuse, and in the same year the Carthusians left Kinalehin for ever. Sir William de Burgo died in 1324, and the Red Earl died penitently with the Augustinian monks of Athassal, on July 29, 1326, being succeeded in his title and possessions by his grandson William, murdered in 1333.

It only remains to add that in 1371 the Franciscans were given the ruinous priory of Kinalehin by Pope Gregory XI, and the friary was built in 1372. It flourished till 1740. Yet, though the Carthusians left Ireland in the fourteenth century, it was an Irish monk of that Order, Father John Tynbegh, Prior of the London Charterhouse, who gave the habit of St. Bruno to Blessed John Houghton in 1516, and may thus be regarded as a link with the Carthusian house of Kinalehin.

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD. -

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

PRIVATE 'REQUIEM' MASSES, 'ALLELUIA' IN VERSICLES AND RESPONSES AT BENEDICTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you be so good as to answer the following questions?

1. With regard to low Masses of *Requiem*—celebrated *corpore praesenti (in domo)*—I will take a concrete case. In a religious house a member of the community dies, say, on Sunday. The funeral, with solemn Mass of *Requiem*, takes place on the following Wednesday. It is, I think, clear that all the priests in the house may celebrate low Masses of *Requiem* on the Wednesday. May they do so also on the Monday and Tuesday (1) if there is a solemn *Requiem* Mass on these days, (2) even if there is not? I am supposing all the days in question to be ordinary doubles.

2. During Benediction in Paschal time should *Alleluia* be added to any other versicle besides the *Panem de Coelo*? The question has, I believe, been decided in the negative with regard to the *Ora pro nobis*, etc., following the Litany of Loretto, but what about some versicle taken from the Breviary, e.g., one of those following the *Veni Creator*, should this latter hymn be sung at Benediction?

SACERDOS.

1. In the remarks which were made in the June issue of the I. E. RECORD about Private Masses *de Requiem*, it was stated that they may be celebrated—except on the days excepted—in churches and oratories, whether public or semi-public, on the day on which the solemn *Exequiae* are carried out, provided that the remains are present, either physically or morally, and that the Masses are offered for the deceased person. It was also observed in the following sentence (the meaning of which was rendered more or less obscure owing to the erroneous transposition of a word) that the same holds true of those *private* oratories which may happen to be attached to a church or public oratory in which the funeral service is performed. Thus, for instance, if in our College here the *exequiae* are held

in the principal chapel, where the remains are present, on a certain day, then the Masses said on this day in the other oratories of the College may be *de Requiem*, provided they are said for deceased and that the day is not a Sunday, a holiday of obligation, a double of the first class, or a day that excludes it. So much seems clear to our correspondent. But he now wishes to ascertain whether private Masses *pro defunctis* may be said in the same circumstances on *any* one day intervening between the death and interment on which the *Exequiae* are performed, and also on an intervening day in which the *Funeralia* does not take place. In regard to the first question the answer is affirmative, for the privileges belong equally to any one of these days. But in regard to the second point a distinction is to be made between oratories that are purely private or domestic and those that are not. In the case of the former every Mass that is permitted to be said in them may be *De Requie*, as long as the remains are present, subject to the restrictions already mentioned in regard to the intention and the day. In churches, however, and in public or semi-public oratories (and also in private oratories connected with these), private Masses *pro defunctis* can only be said on the day on which the exequial rites are celebrated, unless of course the ritus is such as permits ordinary private votive Masses. The point raised was in doubt for some time after the issuing of the recent Decrees of 1896 and 1897, which modified considerably the legislation in regard to Exequial Masses, but has been definitely settled by a late decision of the Congregation of Rites.¹ The following paragraph from the current number of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*² embodies these various decisions:—

Missae privatae celebrari nequeunt sine applicatione pro defuncto cujus cadaver sit physice vel moraliter praesens; non permittuntur in ecclesiis vel oratoriis publicis, nisi eadem die fiat funus cum Missa Exequiali; in oratoriis autem privatis (non semipublicis quae locum tenent Ecclesiae) Missae quae in iis legi permittuntur, possunt esse de requie omnibus et singulis diebus superius non exceptis, ab obitu usque ad sepulturam,

¹ 10 Nov. 1906, vide I. E. RECORD, June, 1907, p. 642.

² July-Aug. 1907, p. 421.

dummodo cadaver sit adhuc physice praesens in domo ; sed si agatur de ecclesiis vel publicis oratoriis seminariorum, collegiorum religiosarumque communitatum semel tantum in una ex tribus diebus ab obitu usque ad sepulturam decurrentibus.

There is one thing that may give rise to a doubt on reading the foregoing. It is said that low Masses *de Requie* may not be said in the public oratories of colleges or seminaries on any of the intervening days of double rite unless the *Exequiae* are held. What about a private oratory that may exist in such a college or seminary ? It would seem that even here such Masses are not lawful, for the principle, *Accessorium sequitur principale*, seems to rule the case. When the rite of the office recurring permits private *Requiem* Masses, then if the Mass happens to be said on any of the privileged days there should be only one prayer with the Sequence. Thus, if a priest is asked to say Mass for a deceased person on a certain day, and if this day is a semidouble and, moreover, happens to be the anniversary, or the *third, seventh, or thirtieth* from death or burial, there should be only one prayer, and the *Dies irae* should not be omitted.

2. Our correspondent is quite right in regard to the *Alleluia* in connexion with the *Panem de Caelo*, etc., and the *Ora pro nobis*, etc. The adding of the *Alleluia* is prescribed in the former case during Pascal time, while in the latter it is expressly forbidden. In connexion with other Versicles and Responses that may occur at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the following is laid down in a note by Appeltern :¹ ' *Usus autem addendi Alleluia tempore Paschali ad versus in exercitiis devotionis, quae extra Officium Canonicum, maxime coram Smo. Sacramento, habentur, tolerari nequit.*' For this statement he cites the authority of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, and also refers to a Decree of the Congregation of Rites. This Decree does not occur in the new collection at the date assigned,² but there seems to be no doubt that it represents the correct view.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ *Manuale Liturgicum*, v. i., p. 371.

² 3 June, 1892.

DOCUMENTS

DECREE OF SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE CONDEMNING PROPOSITION

S. CONGREGATIO OFFICII.

DECRETUM.

QUO NONNULLAE PROPOSITIONES DAMNANTUR AC PROSCRIBUNTUR

Feria IV. die 3 Iulii, 1907.

Lamentabili sane exitu aetas nostra freni impatiens in rerum summis rationibus indagandis ita nova non raro sequitur ut, dimissa humani generis quasi haereditate, in errores incidat gravissimos. Qui errores longe erunt perniciosiores, si de disciplinis agitur sacris, si de Sacra Scriptura interpretanda, si de fidei praecipuis mysteriis. Dolendum autem vehementer inveniri etiam inter catholicos non ita paucos scriptores qui, praetergressi fines a patribus ac ab ipsa Sancta Ecclesia statutos, altioris intelligentiae specie et historicae considerationis nomine, eum dogmatum progressum quaerunt qui, reipsa, eorum corruptela est.

Ne vero huius generis errores, qui quotidie inter fideles sparguntur, in eorum animis radices figant ac fidei sinceritatem corrumpant, placuit SSmo D. N. Pio divina providentia Pp. X ut per hoc Sacrae Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis officium ii qui inter eos praecipui essent, notarentur et reprobarentur.

Quare, instituto diligentissimo examine, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, Eñi ac Rñi Cardinales, in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitores Generales, propositiones quae sequuntur reprobandas ac proscribendas esse indicarunt, prouti hoc generali Decreto reprobantur ac proscribuntur :

1. Ecclesiastica lex quae praescribit subiicere praevias censurae libros Divinas respicientes Scripturas, ad cultores critices aut exegeseos scientificae librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti non extenditur.

2. Ecclesiae interpretatio Sacrorum Librorum non est quidem spernenda, subiacet tamen accuratiori exegetarum iudicio et correctioni.

3. Ex iudiciis et censuris ecclesiasticis contra liberam et cultiorem exegesis latis colligi potest fidem ab Ecclesia propositam contradicere historiae, et dogmata catholica cum

verioribus christianae religionis originibus componi reipsa non posse.

4. Magisterium Ecclesiae ne per dogmaticas quidem definitiones genuinum Sacrarum Scripturarum sensum determinare potest.

5. Quum in deposito fidei veritates tantum revelatae contineantur, nullo sub respectu ad Ecclesiam pertinet iudicium ferre de assertionibus disciplinarum humanarum.

6. In definiendis veritatibus ita collaborant discens et docens Ecclesia, ut docenti Ecclesiae nihil supersit nisi communes discentis opiniones sancire.

7. Ecclesia, cum proscribit errores, nequit a fidelibus exigere ullum internum assensum, quo iudicia a se edita complectantur.

8. Ab omni culpa immunes existimandi sunt qui reprobationes a Sacra Congregatione Indicis aliisve Sacris Romanis Congregationibus latas nihili pendunt.

9. Nimiam simplicitatem aut ignorantiam prae se ferunt qui Deum credunt vere esse Scripturae auctorem.

10. Inspiratio librorum Veteris Testamenti in eo constituit quod scriptores israelitae religiosas doctrinas sub peculiari quodam aspectu, gentibus parum noto aut ignoto, tradiderunt.

11. Inspiratio divina non ita ad totam Scripturam Sacram extenditur, ut omnes et singulas eius partes ab omni errore praemuniat.

12. Exegeta, si velit utiliter studiis biblicis incumbere, in primis quamlibet praeconceptam opinionem de supernaturali origine Scripturae Sacrae reponere debet, eamque non aliter interpretari quam cetera documenta mere humana.

13. Parabolas evangelicas ipsimet Evangelistae ac christiani secundae et tertiae generationis artificiose digesserunt, atque ita rationem dederunt exigui fructus praedicationis Christi apud iudaeos.

14. In pluribus narrationibus non tam quae vera sunt Evangelistae retulerunt, quam quae lectoribus, etsi falsa, censuerunt magis proficuo.

15. Evangelia usque ad definitum constitutumque canonem continuis additionibus et correctionibus aucta fuerunt; in ipsis proinde doctrinae Christi non remansit nisi tenue et incertum vestigium.

16. Narrationes Ioannis non sunt proprie historia, sed mystica Evangelii contemplatio; sermones, in eius evangelio contenti, sunt meditationes theologicae circa mysterium salutis historica veritate destitutae.

17. Quartum Evangelium miracula exaggeravit non tantum ut extraordinaria magis apparerent, sed eitam ut aptiora fierent ad significandum opus et gloriam Verbi Incarnati.

18. Ioannes sibi videri quidem rationem testis de Christo ; re tamen vera non est eximius testis vitae christianae, seu vitae Christi in Ecclesia, exeunte primo saeculo.

19. Heterodoxi exegetae fidelius expresserunt sensum verum Scripturarum quam exegetae catholici.

20. Revelatio nihil aliud esse potuit quam acquisita ab homine suae ad Deum relationis conscientia.

21. Revelatio, obiectum fidei catholicae constituens, non fuit cum Apostolis completa.

22. Dogmata quae Ecclesia perhibet tamquam revelata, non sunt veritates e coelo delapsae, sed sunt interpretatio quaedam factorum religiosorum quam humana mens laborioso conatu sibi comparavit.

23. Existere potest et re ipsa existit oppositio inter facta quae in Sacra Scriptura narrantur eisque innixa Ecclesiae dogmata ; ita ut criticus tamquam falsa reicere possit facta quae Ecclesia tamquam certissima credit.

24. Reprobandus non est exegeta qui praemissas adstruit, ex quibus sequitur dogmata historice falsa aut dubia esse, dummodo dogmata ipsa directe non neget.

25. Assensus fidei ultimo innititur in congerie probabilitatum.

26. Dogmata fidei retinenda sunt tantummodo iuxta sensum practicum, idest tanquam norma praeceptiva agendi, non vero tanquam norma credendi.

27. Divinitas Iesu Christi ex Evangeliiis non probatur ; sed est dogma quod conscientia christiana e notionem Messiae deduxit.

28. Iesus, quum ministerium suum exercebat, non in eum finem loquebatur ut doceret se esse Messiam, neque eius miracula eo spectabant ut id demonstraret.

29. Concedere licet Christum quem exhibet historia, multo inferiorem esse Christo qui est obiectum fidei.

30. In omnibus textibus evangelicis nomen *Filius Dei* aequivalet tantum nomen *Messias*, minime vero significat Christum esse verum et naturalem Dei Filium.

31. Doctrina de Christo quam tradunt Paulus, Ioannes et Concilia Nicaenum, Ephesinum, Chalcedonense, non est ea quam Iesus docuit, sed quam de Iesu concepit conscientia christiana.

32. Conciliari nequit sensus naturalis textuum evangelicorum cum eo quod nostri theologi docent de conscientia et scientia infallibili Iesu Christi.

33. Evidens est cuique qui praeconceptis non ducitur opinionibus, Iesum aut errorem de proximo messianico adventu fuisse professum, aut maiorem partem ipsius doctrinae in Evangeliiis Synopticis contentae authenticitate carere.

34. Criticus nequit asserere Christo scientiam nullo circumscriptam limite nisi facta hypothesi, quae historice haud concipi potest quaeque sensui morali repugnat, nempe Christum uti hominem habuisse scientiam Dei et nihilominus noluisse notitiam tot rerum communicare cum discipulis ac posteritate.

35. Christus non semper habuit conscientiam suae dignitatis messianicae.

36. Resurrectio Salvatoris non est proprie factum ordinis historici, sed factum ordinis mere supernaturalis, nec demonstratum nec demonstrabile, quod conscientia christiana sensim ex aliis derivavit.

37. Fides in resurrectionem Christi ab initio fuit non tam de facto ipso resurrectionis, quam de vita Christi immortalis apud Deum.

38. Doctrina de morte piaculari Christi non est evangelica sed tantum paulina.

39. Opiniones de origine sacramentorum, quibus Patres Tridentini imbuti erant quaeque in eorum canones dogmaticos procul dubio influxum haberunt, longe distant ab iis quae nunc penes historicos rei christianae indagatores merito obtinent.

40. Sacramenta ortum habuerunt ex eo quod Apostoli eorumque successores ideam aliquam et intentionem Christi, suadentibus et moventibus circumstantiis et eventibus, interpretati sunt.

41. Sacramenta eo tantum spectant ut in mentem hominis revocent praesentiam Creatoris semper beneficam.

42. Communitas christiana necessitatem baptismi induxit, adoptans illum tamquam ritum necessarium, eique professionis christianae obligationes adnectens.

43. Usus conferendi baptismum infantibus evolutio fuit disciplinaris quae una ex causis extitit ut sacramentum resolveretur in duo, in baptismum scilicet et poenitentiam.

44. Nihil probat ritum sacramenti confirmationis usurpatum fuisse ab Apostolis : formalis autem distinctio duorum sacramentorum, baptismi scilicet et confirmationis, haud spectat ad historiam christianismi primitivi.

45. Non omnia, quae narrat Paulus de institutione Eucharistiae (I. Cor. xi, 23-25), historice sunt sumenda.

46. Non adfuit in primitiva Ecclesia conceptus de christiano peccatore auctoritate Ecclesiae reconciliato, sed Ecclesia nonnisi admodum lente huiusmodi conceptui assuevit. Imo etiam postquam poenitentia tanquam Ecclesiae institutio agnita fuit, non appellabatur sacramenti nomine, eo quod haberetur uti sacramentum probrosum.

47. Verba Domini : *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum ; quorum*

remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt (lo. xx, 22 et 23) minime referuntur ad sacramentum poenitentiae, quidquid Patribus Tridentinis asserere placuit.

48. Iacobus in sua epistola (vv. 14 et 15) non intendit promulgare aliquid sacramentum Christi, sed commendare pium aliquem morem, et si in hoc more forte cernit medium aliquod gratiae, id non accipit eo rigore, quo acceperunt theologi qui notionem et numerum sacramentorum statuerunt.

49. Coena christiana paullatim indolem actionis liturgicae assumente, hi, qui Coenae praeesse consueverant, characterem sacerdotalem acquisiverunt.

50. Seniores qui in christianorum coetibus invigilandi munere fungebantur, instituti sunt ab Apostolis presbyteri aut episcopi ad providendum necessariae crescentium communitatum ordinationi, non proprie ad perpetuandam missionem et potestatem Apostolicam.

51. Matrimonium non potuit evadere sacramentum novae legis nisi serius in Ecclesia; siquidem ut matrimonium pro sacramento haberetur necesse erat ut praecederet plena doctrinae de gratia et sacramentis theologica explicatio.

52. Alienum fuit a mente Christi Ecclesiam constituere veluti societatem super terram per longam saeculorum seriem duraturam; quin imo in mente Christi regnum coeli una cum fine mundi iamiam adventurum erat.

53. Constitutio organica Ecclesiae non est immutabilis; sed societas christiana perpetuae evolutioni aequae ac societas humana est obnoxia.

54. Dogmata, sacramenta, hierarchia, tum quod ad notionem tum quod ad realitatem attinet, non sunt nisi intelligentiae christianae interpretationes evolutionesque quae exiguum germen in Evangelio latens externis incrementis auxerunt perfeceruntque.

55. Simon Petrus ne suspicatus quidem unquam est sibi a Christo demandatum esse primatum in Ecclesia.

56. Ecclesia Romana non ex divinae providentiae ordinatione, sed ex mere politicis conditionibus caput omnium Ecclesiarum effecta est.

57. Ecclesia sese praebet scientiarum naturalium et theologiarum progressibus infensam.

58. Veritas non est immutabilis plusquam ipse homo, quippe quae cum ipso, in ipso et per ipsum evolvitur.

59. Christus determinatum doctrinae corpus omnibus temporibus cunctisque hominibus applicabile non docuit, sed potius inchoavit motum quemdam religiosum diversis temporibus ac locis adaptatum vel adoptandum.

60. Doctrina christiana in suis exordiis fuit iudaica, sed

facta est per successivas evolutiones primum paulina, tum ioannica, demum hellenica et universalis.

61. Dici potest absque paradoxo nullum Scripturae caput, a primo Genesis ad postremum Apocalypsis, continere doctrinam prorsus identicam illi quam super eadem re tradit Ecclesia, et idcirco nullum Scripturae caput habere eundem sensum pro critico ac pro theologo.

62. Praecipui articuli Symboli Apostolici non eandem pro christianis primorum temporum significationem habebant quam habent pro christianis nostri temporis.

63. Ecclesia sese praebet imparem ethicae evangelicae efficaciter tuendae, quia obstinate adhaeret immutabilibus doctrinis quae cum hodiernis progressibus componi nequeunt.

64. Progressus scientiarum postulat ut reformatur conceptus doctrinae christianae de Deo, ne Creatione, de Revelatione, ne Persona Verbi Incarnati, de Redemptione.

65. Catholicismus hodiernus cum vera scientia componi nequit nisi transformetur in quemdam christianismum non dogmaticum, id est in protestantismum latum et liberalem.

Sequenti vero feria V die eisdem mensis et anni, facta de his omnibus SS.mo D. N. Pio Pp. X accurata relatione, Sanctitas Suc Decretum Eñorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit, ac omnes et singulas supra recensitas propositiones ceu reprobatas ac proscriptas ab omnibus haberi mandavit.

PETRUS PALOMBELLI,
S.R.U.I. *Notarius.*

CELEBRATION OF MASS IN ORATORIES AND OUTSIDE CHAPELS OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES

S. RITUM CONGREGATIO

SECOVIEN.

DUBIA CIRCA NOVA ORATORIA IN DOMIBUS EXTRANEIS A MONASTERIIS VEL IN IPSIS MONASTERIIS

Rmus. Dnus. Leopoldus Schuster, Episcopus Secoviensis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi reverenter exposuit et enixe petiit, ut sequentia dubia solvantur ; nimirum.

In dioecesi Secoviensi, vasta sunt quinque monasteria, nimirum tria Ordinis S. Benedicti, unum Ordinis Cisterciensis et unum Canonicorum Regularium Lateranensium ; insuper per multa coenobia aliorum Ordinum Mendicantium S. Francisci et S. Domici, S. Ioannis de Deo, etc. Interdum in illis monas-

terius casus accidit, ut novum oratorium e.g. pro recitando Officio tempore hiemali in aedibus monasterii erigatur simul cum altari sive fixo, sive portatili, ut ubi etiam Missa celebrari possit ab infirmis et senibus debilibus. Praeterea talia oratoria cum altari interdum etiam in domibus extraneis, quae a monasterio sive longe, sive parum distant et peculium monasterii sunt, eriguntur, in quibus domibus unus vel plures Patres per aliquod tempus sive oeconomiae sive sanitatis colendae causa versantur. Hinc quaeritur :

I. Estne licentia, Missam ibi celebrandi, ab Episcopo Ordinario petenda, an sufficit necessitas vel utilitas communitalis religiosae ? Et si affirmative ad secundam.

II. Valet hoc etiam oratoriis, quae extra monasterium ipsum sita sunt, sed ad eius peculium pertinent ?

Porro Sacra Rituum Congregatio, exquisita Commissionis Liturgicae sententia, reque maturo examine perpensa, ita respondere rata est :

Ad I. *' Si agatur de Regularibus proprie dictis, negative ad primam partem affirmative ad secundam, de licentia superioris generatis aut provincialis iuxta decretum n. 4007 Super oratoriis semipublicis 23 Ianuari 1899 ;¹ si vero sermo sit de aliis com-*

¹ 4007.—*Decretum super oratoriis semipublicis.* A Sacra Rituum Congregatione saepe postulatum est quaenam oratoria ceu semipublica habenda sin. Constat porro Oratoria publica ea esse, quae auctoritate ordinarii ad publicum Dei cultum perpetuo dedicata, benedicta vel etiam solemniter consecrata ianuam habent in via, vel liberum a publica via fidelibus universim pandunt ingressum. Privata e contra stricto sensu dicuntur Oratoria, quae in privatis aedibus in commodum alicuius personae vel familiae ex indulto Sanctae Sedis erecta sunt. Quae medium inter haec duo locum tenent, ut nomen ipsum indicat, Oratoria semipublica sunt et vocantur.

Ut autem quaelibet ambiguitas circa haec Oratoria amoveatur Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa XII ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto, statuit et declaravit : Oratoria semipublica ea esse quae etsi in loco quodammodo privato, vel non absolute publico, auctoritate ordinarii erecta sunt ; comodo tamen non fidelium omnium nec privatae tantum personae aut familiae, sed alicuius communitalis vel personarum coetus inserviunt. In his sicut auctoritate Ordinarii sacrosanctum missae sacrificium offerri potest, ita omnes eidem intersunt, praecepto audiendi sacrum satisfacere valent. Huius generis Oratoria sunt quae pertinent ad Seminaria et Collegia ecclesiastica ; ad pia Instituta et Societates votorum simplicium, aliasque communitates sub regula sive statutis saltem ab ordinario approbatis ; ad Domus spiritualibus exercitiis addictas ; ad convictus et Hospitia iuventuti litteris, scientiis aut artibus instituendae destinata ; ad Nosocomia, Orphanotrophia, nec non ad Arces et Carceres ; atque similia Oratoria, in quibus ex instituto aliquis Christifidelium coetus convenire solet ad audiendam Missam. Quibus adiungi debent Cappellae, in Coemeterio rite erectae, dummodo in Missae celebratione non iis tantum ad quos pertinet, sed aliis etiam fidelibus aditus pateat.

Voluit autem Sanctitas Sua sarcta et tecta iura ac privilegia Ora-

*munitatibus, servetur decretum n. 3484 Nivernen. 8 Martii 1879 ad II.*¹

Ad II. '*Negative, nisi adsit indultum.*'

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 10 Novembris 1906.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✙ S.

✙ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

REGULATION REGARDING THE DISCHARGE OF INTENTIONS FOR MASSES

LITTERAE DE SATISFACTIONE MISSARUM.

Recenti Decreto *Ut debita* diei xi mensis Maii MCMIV haec S Congregatio, varias complexa leges ante iam latas de Missarum oneribus religiose adimplendis, adiectis opportunis declarationibus interpositâque severa sanctione, providere stuit ut res omnium sanctissima summo apud omnes in honore esset, periculumque amoveretur, ne quis ullo modo piis fidelium voluntatibus quidquam detraheret. Hae tamen quum essent Sedis Apostolicae curae et Episcoporum sollicitudines, non defuerunt abusus ac legis violationes, super quae Sacra eadem Congregatio excitandam denuo censuit Antistitum vigilantiam.

Constat enimvero, haud paucos, non obstantibus notissimis canonicis praescriptionibus, minime dubitasse de Missarum accepta stipe suo Marte demere aliquid, retentâque sibi parte pecuniae, ipsas Missas aliis celebrandas committere, ea forte opinione ductos, id sibi licere vel ob assensum sacerdotis, animo plus minus aequo recipientis, vel ob finem alicuius pii operis iuvandi, exercendaeve caritatis.

Fuerunt etiam qui contra toties inculcatas leges, praesertim contra num. 3^{ra} eiusdem Decreti, hoc genus industriae sibi

torium, quibus fruuntur Emi S. R. E. Cardinales, Rmi Sacrorum Antistites atque Ordines Congregationesque Regulares. Ac praeterea confirmare dignata est Decretum in una *Nivernen*, diei 8 Martii 1879. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 23 Ianuarii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. *Praef.*

L. ✙ S.

✙ D. PANICI, SS. R. C., *Secret.*

¹3484.—*Nivernen*, 8 Martii 1879 : II. Potestne Episcopus alia Oratoria praeter Cappellam seu principale Oratorium erigere in piis communitatibus, sive ob numerum sacerdotum ibi degentium, ut ab omnibus Missa dici possit ; sive in gratiam infirmorum qui nequeunt adire Cappellam seu Oratorium principale ? R. Ad II. ' Si porro ex piarum Communitatum conditione necessaria sit erectio alterius Oratorii, pro eius erectione facultas erit a Sancta Sede obtinenda.'

adsciverunt, ut Missarum numerum, quem possent maximum, undique conquistum colligerent. Quo haud semel factum est, ut ingens earum copia manibus privatorum hominum fuerit coacervata; ideoque manserit obnoxia periculo, quod quidem, remotâ etiam humana malitia, semper imminet rebus privatae fidei commissis.

Denique sunt reperti qui, a lege discedentes expressa num. 5° Decreti, Missas celebrandas commiserint, non modo copiosius quam liceret largiri privatis, sed etiam inconsideratius; quum ignotis sibi presbyteris easdem crediderint, nominis titulive alicuius specie decepti, vel aliorum commendationibus permoti, qui, nec eos plane nossent, nec assumpti oneris gravitatem satis perspectam haberent.

Talibus ut occurratur disciplinae perturbationibus utque damna gravissima, quae violationem Decreti *Ut debita* consequi solent, pro viribus propulsentur, haec S. Congregatio, iussa faciens SSmi D. N. Pii Papae X, Episcopos omnes aliosque Ordinarios admonet, ut curam omnem et vigilantiam adhibeant in re tanti momenti, edoceantque clerum et administratores piorum legatorum, quanta ex inobservantia et contemptu legis pericula proveniant; quo onere ipsorum conscientia gravetur; quam temere arbitrium suum legibus anteponant, qua sdiuturna rerum experientia ad rei augustissimae tutelam collocavit; qua denique sese culpa obstringant; quibus poenis obnoxii fiant.

At malo radicitus extirpando Eñi Patres necessarium insuper censuerunt huc usque praescriptis nova quaedam addere. Itaque re discussa primum in Congregatione diei 23 mensis Martii 1907, ac denuo in sequenti die 27 Aprilis, sub gravi conscientiae vinculo ab omnibus servanda haec statuerunt:

I. Ut in posterum quicumque Missas celebrandas committere velit sacerdotibus, sive saecularibus sive regularibus extra dioecesim commorantibus, hoc facere debeat per eorum Ordinarium, aut ipso saltem audito atque annuente.¹

II. Ut unusquisque Ordinarius, ubi primum licuerit, suorum sacerdotum catalogum conficiat, describatque Missarum numerum, quibus quisque satisfacere tenetur, quo tutius deinceps in assignandis Missis procedat.

III. Denique si qui vel Episcopi vel sacerdotes velint in posterum Missas, quarum exuberet copia, ad Antistites aut presbyteros ecclesiarum quae in Oriente sitae sunt,² mittere,

¹ Obligatio haec non imponitur sacerdotibus Missas recipientibus, sed eas celebrandas tradentibus; qui proinde ab illorum Ordinario sive saeculari sive regulari praescriptam saltem veniam per se vel per alium obtinere debent (N.R.)

² Qua formula comprehenduntur omnes cuiusvis ritus Ordinarii et sacerdotes illis in locis commorantes (N. R.)

semper et in singulis casibus id praestare debebunt per S. Congregationem Propagandae Fidei.

¶ His autem omnibus ab infrascripto Secretario relatis eidem SS^{mo} D. N. in audientia diei 28 mensis Aprilis, Sanctitas Sua deliberationes E^morum Patrum ratas habuit et confirmavia easque vulgari iussit, contrariis quibusbilibet minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae die 22 mensis Maii 1907.

✠ VINCENTIUS Card. Episc. Praenest., *Praefectus*.
C. DE LAI, *Secretarius*.

SAYING OF 'DE PROFUNDIS' AFTER CONVENTUAL MASSES IN IRISH FRANCISCAN HOUSES

ORDINIS FRATRUM MINORUM

PROVINCIAE HIBERNIAE

CIRCA PSALMUM 'DE PROFUNDIS' POST MISSAM CONVENTUALEM
SIVE CANTATAM SIVE LECTAM.

Reverendus Frater Petrus Sheehan, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Provinciae Hiberniae, de consensu tum Ministri Provincialis tum Procuratoris Generalis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium pro opportuna declaratione humillime exposuit ; nimirum : In Hibernia mos est, ut in omnibus Missis, praeter solemnes, finito ultimo Evangelio sacerdos cum Ministro psalmum *De profundis* recitet, antequam preces iussu Summi Pontificis praescriptas incipiat. Cum autem ex variis Sacrae Rituum Congregationis decretis hae preces post Missam Conventualem omittendae sint, quaeritur, an etiam psalmus *De profundis* post Missam Conventualem sive cantatam sive lectam omitti debeat ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, omnibusque perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit : Omittatur in casu.

Atque ita rescripsit die 23 Martii 1907.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

DECLARATION OF THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION EX COMMISSIONE BIBLICA

DE AUCTORE ET VERITATE HISTORICA QUARTI EVANGELII.

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Commissio Pontificia *de Re Biblica* sequenti modo respondit :

Dubium I. Utrum ex constanti, universali ac solemnī Ecclesiae traditione iam a saeculo II decurrente, prout maxime

eruitur: (a) ex SS. Patrum, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, imo etiam haereticorum, testimoniis et allusionibus, quae, cum ab Apostolorum discipulis vel primis successoribus derivasse oportuerit, necessario nexu cum ipsa libri origine cohaerent; (b) ex recepto semper et ubique nomine auctoris quarti Evangelii in canone et catalogis sacrorum Librorum; (c) ex eorundem Librorum vetustissimis manuscriptis codicibus et in varia idiomata versionibus; (d) ex publico usu liturgico inde ab Ecclesiae primordiis toto orbe obtinente; praescindendo ab argumento theologico, tam solido argumento historico demonstretur Ioannem Apostolum et non alium quarti Evangelii auctorem esse agnoscendum, ut rationes a criticis in oppositum adductae hanc traditionem nullatenus infirmant?

Resp.—Affirmative.

Dubium II. Utrum etiam rationes internae quae eruuntur ex textu quarti Evangelii seiunctim considerato, ex scribentis testimonio et Evangelii ipsius cum I Epistola Ioannes Apostoli manifesta cognatione, censendae sint confirmare traditionem quae eidem Apostolo quantum Evangelium indubitanter attribuit?—Et utrum difficultates quae ex collatione ipsius Evangelii cum aliis tribus desumuntur, habita prae oculis diversitate temporis, scopi et auditorum pro quibus vel contra quos auctor scripsit, solvi rationabiliter possint, prout SS. Patres et exegetae catholici passim praestiterunt?

Resp.—Affirmative ad utramque partem.

Dubium III. Utrum, non obstante praxi quae a primis temporibus in universa Ecclesia constantissime viguit, arguendi ex quarto Evangelio tanquam ex documento proprie historico, considerata nihilominus indole peculiari eiusdem Evangelii, et intentione auctoris manifesta illustrandi et vindicandi Christi divinitatem ex ipsis factis et sermonibus Domini, dici possit facta narrata in quarto Evangelio esse totaliter vel ex parte conficta ad hoc ut sint allegoria vel symbola doctrinalia, sermones vero Domini non proprie et vere esse ipsius Domini sermones, sed compositiones theologicas scriptoris, licet in ore Domini positas?

Resp.—Negative.

Die autem 29 Maii ann. 1907, in audientia ambobus Rm̃is Consultoribus ab Actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta Responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.) *Consultores ab*
LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B. } *Actis.*

THE BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT

LUCANA ET ARIMINEN.

BENEDICTIONIS FONTIS BAPTISMALE

TOLERATUR CONSUETUDO BENEDICENDI FONTEM BAPTISMALEM

TANTUM IN SABBATO PASCHATIS VEL SABBATO PENTECOSTES.

Postulata. Anno 1906 Eŕmus Archiepiscopus Lucanus, circa antiquissimam consuetudinem peragendi benedictionem fontis baptismalis in ecclesiis sive civitatis sive dioecesis, sequentia referebat Sacrae Congregationi Rituum.

In urbe Lucana duae extant ecclesiae fontem baptismalem habentes, nempe ecclesia S. Ioannis, quae adnexa est ecclesiae metropolitanae, et ecclesia S. Frediani. Capitulum metropolitanum in Sabbato Sancto accedit ad dictam S. Ioannis ecclesiam, ubi una simul cum aliis sacris functionibus illius diei peragit etam benedictionem sacri fontis; in Vigilia autem Pentecostes Missam Conventualem solemniter canit atque fontem baptismalem benedicit in ecclesia S. Frediani. Unde idem Capitulum celebrat quidem functionem benedictionis sacri fontis duobus diebus a Rubrica Missalis praescriptis, sed in diversa ecclesia.

Insuper quoad usum benedicendi fontem in aliis ecclesiis baptismalibus dioecesis Eŕmus vir exponebat, eas vi synodali constitutionum in classes distribui, adeo ut quaevis classis ex quatuor vel pluribus ecclesiis paroecialibus constet subiectis, quoad nonnullas sacras functiones, ecclesiae potiori, seu plebanali vel priorali vel praepositali dictae. Generatim benedictio fontis in Sabbato Sancto fit in ecclesia primaria cum adsistentia parochorum respectivae classis; et si in eadem classi adsint aliae ecclesiae fontem baptismalem habentes, istae vel aquam benedictam accipiunt ab ecclesia primaria, vel proprium fontem benediciunt in Pervigilio Pentecostes, vel, ubi non deficiunt sacri ministri, etiam in Sabbato Paschatis. Attamen in nulla dioecesis ecclesia benedicitur fons baptismalis in duobus diebus a Missali romano praescriptis.

Hisce expositis idem Eŕmus Archiepiscopus rogabat utrum dicta consuetudo adhuc tuto retineri vel tolerari possit. Et S. C. Rituum hanc quaestionem pro solutione remittere censuit huic S. O., cui interim alia fere consimilis postulatio eodem anno oblata fuerat ab Episcopo Ariminensi in exhibitione relationis super statu suae dioecesis. Postulatio ita se habet: 'Cum in dioecesi vigeat consuetudo, quod fons baptismalis benedictione non renovetur in Sabbato Pentecostes, Episcopus Ariminensis quaerit an possit id tolerare, attento quod desunt interdum sacerdotes qui praesunt ritui benedictionis.'

Animadversiones. Praemittitur quod memoratae petitiones

licet in se diversae, tamen in eo conveniunt quod in utraque dioecesi benedictio s. fontis in ecclesiis baptismalibus semel tantum in anno fiat. Praefata item consuetudo aliter se habet in Capitulo Lucano, quam in aliis locis. Nam in hoc Capitulo perficitur duplex benedictio sed non in eadem ecclesia, dum in aliis ecclesiis baptismalibus dioecesis Lucanae benedictio fontis unicâ tantum vice expletur vel in Sabbato Sancto vel in Sabbato Pentecostes. E contra in dioecesi Ariminensi viget consuetudo consecrandi fontem tantum in Sabbato Sancto. Insuper Missale romanum relate ad s. fontis benedictionem in Rubrica Sabbati Sancti habet: 'His (*prophetiis*) expletis, si ecclesia habuerit fontem baptismalem, sacerdos benedicturus fontem, accipit pluviale violaceum . . . et descendit ad fontem'; in Rubrica vero Vigiliae Pentecostes: 'Hisce (*prophetiis*) expletis, celebrans accipit pluviale violaceum, et descendendo ad fontem cantatur tractus.'

His praenotatis, quoad consuetudinem in Capitulo Lucano extantem, usus in eo inolitus videretur servandus. Omisso enim quod in themate agitur de consuetudine immemoriali quae, ut, post Urbanum VIII in Const. *Romanus Pontifex*, tradit Barbosa (*de potest. Epise., alleg. 25 n. 72*) aliique canonistae (Cfr. Reuss et Lingen., *Causae selectae, pag. 559*): 'etiam in actibus ecclesiae praeiudicium divinique cultus decrementum inferentibus, plenam amplissimamque inducit cuiuscumque melioris tituli ac proinde Apostolici etiam beneplaciti praesumptionem': aliae etiam rationes huiusmodi manutentioni suffragari possunt. Profecto scitum est, ut monet Benedictus XIV (*Instit. eccles., I*) antiquis temporibus sacramentum baptismi, extra casum necessitatis, consuevisse ab Episcopis administrari in suis ecclesiis Cathedralibus bis tantum in anno, nempe in Sabbato Sancto et in Perviglio Pentecostes; qui tamen usus multiplicatis fidelibus, et baptisteriis in aliis ecclesiis erectis, postea desiit. Verum, ne memoria huius primaevae institutionis periret, in praefatis diebus conservata est fontis baptismalis benedictio.

Iam vero in civitate Lucana ille antiquus mos ita videtur fuisse servatus, ut in Sabbato Maioris Hebdomadae baptismus conferretur in ecclesia S. Ionanis, et in Sabbato Pentecostes in ecclesia S. Frediani. Serius vero introducto usu baptismi quotidiani, retenta est in utraque ecclesia consecratio fontis eadem ratione qua antiquitus perficiebatur. Quae praxis videtur a Paschali II confirmata in epistola ad Rothonem Priorem ecclesiae S. Frediani, cui tribuitur 'baptismi usus in Sabbato Pentecostes a praeteritis temporibus habitus.'

Item non videtur repugnare S. Liturgiae consuetudo per

agendi benedictionem fontis vel in Sabbato Sancto vel in Sabbato Pentecostes ut in aliis ecclesiis baptismalibus dioecesi Lucanae, vel tantum in Sabbato Sancto ut in dioecesi Ariminensi. Nam in Rituali romano quoad materiam baptismi haec leguntur: 'Aqua solemnis baptismi sit eo anno benedicta in Sabbato Paschatis vel Pentecostes.' Igitur renovatio vel iteratio benedictionis s. fontis non videtur esse necessaria, cum in alternativis satis sit alterutrum adimpleri.

Deinde citata praxis non videtur discordare a mente et doctrina sive huius S. C. sive S. C. Rituum. Sane in *Lucana* 12 Apr. 1755 S. RR. C. decrevit: 'Parochos habentes facultatem benedicendi fontem baptismalem. Sabbatis diebus Paschatis aut Pentecostes dumtaxat et non aliis diebus illum de mane benedicere debere.' Idem deduci posse videtur ex *Caietana* diei 28 Febr. 1903 et 23 Ian. 1904, in qua haec S. C. contra parochum S. Angeli in oppido Vallecorsa statuit, nihil esse innovandum 'quoad functiones religiosas et benedictionem fontis in Sabbato Sancto, quae secundum consuetudinem in ecclesia S. Martini tantum erit perficienda.'

Ex adverso videtur quod allatae consuetudines sint omnino reprobandae. Superius visum est quod hae benedictiones, ubi adsit fons baptismalis, sint praescriptae a Rubricis Missalis romani: hinc est quod, ut ait De Herdt (*Praxis Lit., cap. 2, §14, n. 2*): 'in Sabbatis Paschae et Pentecostes..., fontis benedictio et reliqua unum cum Missa Officium efficiunt.' Atqui consuetudines contra Rubricas Missalis romani, etiamsi immemorales, sublatae sunt per Decretum Urbani VIII an. 1634 inibi in principio impressum, et uti corruptelae a S. C. Rituum retentae sunt, uti pater ex Decretis in *Oscen.* 16 Martii 1591, n. 9 ad X, et in *Romana* 18 Iunii 1689, n. 1812.

Sed ulterius non desunt Decreta eiusdem S. C., quae eas ut specificae abolitas renunciant. Primum Decretum est in *Urbevetana* 7 Dec. 1844, n. 2878, ubi Emi Patres S. RR. C. attentis Rubricarum sanctionibus ac aliis Decretis praesertim in *Lucana* diei 12 Aprilis 1755 in responsione ad primum in quo dilucide edicitur parochus fontem baptismalem Sabbatis diebus Paschatis et Pentecostes benedicere debere, respondendum censuerunt: *Consuetudinem, velut abusum et Rubricis contrariam, esse eliminandam.* Ex hac resolutione patet, quod particula *aut*, in citata *Lucana* posita, non disiunctive sed coniunctive accipienda sit; et in iure receptum est, quod saepe disiuncta pro coniunctis accipiuntur, ut habet Paulus in *leg. Saepe* 53, ff. de verbor. signif. Cfr. *Calvini Lexicon iuridic.* in particula *aut*. Alterum Decretum est in una *Sancti Hippolyti* 13 Apr. 1874, n. 3331; nam cum Episcopus dictae dioecesis

expostulasset a S. RR. C., num antiqua consuetudo benedicendi aquam baptismalem in parochiis semel dumtaxat per annum, Sabbato videlicet Paschatis, tolerari possit; eadem S. C. 'iuxta alias data Decreta ac praesertim in una *Lucana* diei 12 Aprilis 1755, et in una *Urbevetana* diei 7 Decembris 1844 rescribendum censuit: *Aquam baptismalem in parochiis esse benedicendam in Sabbatis Paschae et Pentecostes, non obstante quacumque contraria consuetudine, quae omnino eliminari debet.*'

Haec autem fontis benedictio in utroque Sabbato perficienda est nedum in ecclesiis parochialibus, sed etiam in aliis quae s. fontem habent: neque adduci potest defectus cleri; aut parochus se excusare valet ex eo, quod ipse, in sua paroecia habens plures ecclesias baptismales, fontis benedictionem sit impeditus in his ecclesiis per se peragere, uti constat ex resolutione eiusdem S. RR. C. in una *Utinen.* diei 13 Ian. 1899, n. 4005, ubi rescribitur quod in casu potius adhibeatur *Memoriale Rituum pro ecclesiis minoribus* iussu Benedicti P. XIII editum.

Tantummodo fit exceptio pro paroco qui, vel duas regens paroecias vel filialem habens cum s. fonte, sacerdotem invenire nequeat pro delegatione ad benedictionem fontis, uti patet ex resolutione in *Urgellen.* diei 29 Maii 1900.¹

Caeterum quia in relatis E^m: Archiepiscopi litteris sermo est de benedictione fontis, quae in dioecesi Lucana perfici solet in ecclesia praecipua cuiusvis classis, caeteris intervenientibus parochis, videndum est utrum dicta ecclesia sit vere matrix, et aliae ecclesiae baptismales, quarum rectores ad sacram functionem accedunt, sint vere filiales. In casu enim quod dicta ecclesia vero matricitatis iure polleat, potest applicari resolutio ab eadem S. RR. C. edita in *Spalaten.* 7 Iunii 1892, n. 3776, ubi excipiuntur, si adsint, specialia ac determinata iura circa ecclesias matrices. Conferri etiam possunt decisiones ab eadem S. C. editae in *Novarien.* 16 Febr. 1900, et in *Derthonen.* 8 Iunii 1901.²

Decisio. E^mi Patres S. C. Concilii, omnibus mature perpensis, die 27 Aprilis 1907 respondendum mandarunt:

*Attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis, relatas consuetudines tolerari posse.*³

¹ Cfr. *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. 33, pag. 187.

² Cfr. *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. 33, pag. 62.

³ Exinde colligi potest adesse revera praeceptum benedicendi fontem baptismalem tum in Sabbato Sancto tum in Sabbato Pentecostes, et nonnisi, ob particulares circumstantias, tolerari contrarias consuetudines in casu inolitas (N. R.).

THE ORDER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

EPISTOLA

QUA PIUS X NORMAS TRADIT CIRCA ORDINEM S. SEPULCHRI.

VENERABILI FRATRI PHILIPPO PATRIARCHAE HIERSOLYMITANO
HIERSOLYMAN.

PIUS PP. X

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Quam multa te Ordinemque a Sancto Sepulchro universum benevolentia complectamur, exploratum huda ita pridem habuisti, quum, Romae commorato, licuit tibi, plus semel, animum Nostrum per occasionem perspicere de Equestri Ordine studiose sollicitum, huiusque memoriarum, sive de comparatis in Ecclesiam meritis, sive de servata diligenter cum Romano Pontifice coniunctione, non oblitum. Horum quidem recordatio meritorum facit ipsa per se ut nulli Decessorum in diligendo Equestri Ordine concedamus; siquidem et aequum arbitramur et iucundum reperimus eas illustrium hominum Sodalitates singularibus benevolentiae indiciiis augere, quae et Ecclesiae sint ornamento, et humano generi civilique cultui utilitati. Quapropter voluntatem Nostram luculentum in modum Ordini universo testaturis, illud placet decernere, gratiaeque caussâ paternique animi ergo permittere, ut qui in Equestrem Ordinem sunt adlecti, insigne Sodalitatis trophaeo militari decorent, superiore in parte collocando, propria Ordinis cruce per sericam taeniam undati operis colorisque nigri inde pendente. Magno deinde Magisterio Ordinis uni Pontificis Summi Personae adservato, volumus ut quem Patriarchatus latini Hierosolymitani munere fungi contingat, in eo, utpote Locum Tenente Ordinis eiusdem, ius et potestas confirmata permaneant Equitum auctoritate Nostra nominandorum, qui quidem in trinam distribuendi classem, ut antea, erunt, Equitum, id est, primae classis, seu a Magna Cruce; Equitum alterius classis, seu Commendatorum, quibus exornandis licebit, secundum peculiaria promerita, addere numisma; Equitum denique tertiae classis, nullo peculiari describendorum nomine.

Quo vero splendidior in omni orbis terrarum regione dignitas Equestris coetus appareat, itemque quo aptius negotia persolvantur Ordinis, id plane probamus, aliquot, pro cuiusque necessitate regionis, ex Equestri Ordine deligi et constitui, qui, quod ad Ordinem spectat, vicem Patriarchae oblineant eiusque personam publice referant; Equites autem omnes non dissimili ac antea, utentur veste, nisi quod album ex lana pallium superin-

duent, rubra cruce ad sinistrum contexta. Qui tamen, ut supra memoravimus, vices Patriarchae tuentur, eos, praeter ornamenta cetera, crux etiam, Ordinis propria, colore rubro, distinguet, medio e pectore emicans, si vestimentum Sodalitatis adhibeant, dextra vero e parte pectoris eminens, si nigro habitu incedant. Id denique placet statuere ut, vacante Patriarchali Hierosolymitana Sede, ei Equiti, sub auctoritate Cardinalis a publicis Ecclesiae negotiis, communes, quae nihil morae ferant, demandandae expediendaeque res Ordinis sint, qui Romae personam Patriarchae, ut supra dicimus, gerat.

Singularia eiusmodi minimeque ambigua Nostri in clarum Ordinem studii argumenta deferentes, id sine dubitatione confidimus, non modo omni te nisurum ope ut traditas antiquae gloriae memorias in Equestri Ordine tuearis amplifikesque, verum etiam Equites singulos incitamenta inde fore suscepturos ut suam cum Apostolica Sede unitatem, grati animi adiuvante virtute, arctiore vinculo devinciant.

Testem paternae voluntatis Nostrae, auspicemque caelestium gratiarum tibi et Equestri Ordini universo Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae, die III Maii MCMVII, Pontificatus Nostr anno quarto.

PIUS PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LIFE OF ST. BRIGID. By Father Knowles, O.S.A. Dublin : Browne and Nolan, Ltd. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

AFTER St. Patrick, the life of no saint ought to be as interesting to an Irishman as that of St. Brigid. We can congratulate the author of this book in treating a fascinating subject in a fascinating manner. We trust that the present Gaelic awakening will cause a much-needed revival of interest in the life-story of our great Irish saint. There is something peculiarly striking about St. Brigid. She is Ireland's Joan of Arc. We can hardly understand the wonderful influence for good she exerted not alone over the women but over the men of her generation. At her command bishops take up their duties. Even our National Apostle, St. Patrick, is reported to have acknowledged her as his equal in Divine gifts.

The author hits off in a graphic fashion the salient characteristics of Brigid's personality. Her spirit was an amiable spirit which loathed every galling restraint in the treatment of her subjects. She was a vertebrate, as her great personal influence shows, but unlike many of that *genus* she was not a harsh but a kindly vertebrate.

We are of opinion that the author takes too readily for absolute historical facts miraculous accounts which may be nothing more than legends. Incontestable sources near the event are wanting. Two extremes are to be avoided. Some historians are like colour-blind people, who cannot form any idea of certain colours. They cannot realize at all the miracles necessary for an infant Church because they are saturated with the circumstances of a non-miraculous age. On the other hand, it exposes the real facts to doubt if we accept the miracles of our Irish saints without weighing them long and carefully in the balance. If we do not do it ourselves, men like Zimmer will do it for us, and do it with a vengeance.

What is particularly interesting in Father Knowles' book is the manner in which he brings into prominence the stories of St. Brigid's love of nature. Few things in literature have given us such real satisfaction as the following picture of the saint. After praying all night until the dawn unconsciously crept upon her, she is represented as admiring in a spirit of thanksgiving

the rays of the sun as they lighted up the famous Curragh of Kildare, then the pasture-land of her convent. Not only this, but we are told of her love of animals, which is above love of inanimate nature as heaven is above earth.

The influence of nuns is properly appreciated. The reading of this is needed as an antidote to the poisonous teaching of some modern preachers who bewail the number of cloistered females. When we think of the corruptions of secular life, we are compelled to thank God that Ireland has still numerous women whose sanctity is safeguarded. If Ireland is poor in mere material factories, she still has spiritual factories in her convents which give her a right to her old title as the mother of saints. We heartily commend the *Life of St. Brigid*.

G. P.

PERSECUTIONS OF IRISH CATHOLICS. By Cardinal Moran.
New edition. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Co Price 3s. 6d.

THERE has been issued a new edition of this well-known work of Cardinal Moran's. The remarkable ability of the author in treating his subject is beyond question. The work is already popular, and is seen on the book-shelves of most Irishmen. The few who have not yet obtained the book will find in it many revelations concerning Ireland under Cromwell and his sour leaven of Puritans. They will find that if Ireland has not its catacombs, it has at least a host of martyrs that remind one irresistibly of early Christian Rome. They will be surprised to learn amongst many other strange things that the Barbadoes contained in 1666 about 12,000 Irish-speaking slaves, the effect of the diabolical persecutions of Cromwell's 'holy' Puritans. They will learn of the wonderful ties binding priests and people, because the priest was with the people in the thick of the struggle.

'Sometimes,' the Cardinal writes, 'the clergy seeking shelter in solitary places were devoured by the wolves. Thus the *Alithinologia* relates that in Gostelach, a district of Connaught, a priest, in 1654, lying concealed in a wood, sent his servant to a neighbouring town for food; the servant was away only a short time, but on his return he found the priest torn to pieces, and almost wholly devoured by wolves. The words of St. Cyprian may well be applied to such a case: "If the confessor of Christ be struck down by robbers in deserts or mountains, if the wild beast devour him, or hunger and thirst and cold afflict him, Christ looks down upon His soldier wheresoever he may combat, and bestows on him, suffering for His name, the martyr's reward."'

G. P.

IRISH NAMES AND SURNAMES. By Rev. P. Wolfe. Dublin :
M. H. Gill & Son. Price 1s.

THE latest anomaly to which the Gaelic League has called our attention is the fact that we do not know our own names, and one of its latest publications, this book, by Father Wolfe, is intended to remedy the defect. There are indeed but few people in Ireland who would fail to find the Gaelic form of their names in the little volume. As to the merits of the work, suffice it to say that *An t-athair Peadar* has not only pronounced it satisfactory but has praised it highly. Seldom nowadays is a *sagart* to be found who is ignorant of his own true name ; but is it not fitting that he should help his parishioners in the matter ? If it is true, as one of our poet-priests has sung of the Language revival generally, that it is 'priests' work and God's work to strengthen the soul of a nation,' the claim on the clerical body becomes even more clearly defined when the movement sets to revising the Baptismal Registers. At any rate, a priest will only be too anxious to purchase a book containing an item of personal interest for everyone of his parishioners.

W. F.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. By Father O'Connell. New York :
Benziger Brothers.

SAXONHURST : A STORY OF SCHOOL DAYS. By Percy
Fitzgerald. London : Burns & Oates.

SCHOOL life from the social and studious standpoints is dealt with in these little books.

Father O'Connell insists strongly on the necessity of moral training which he says is to come from the personality of the teacher rather than from formal teaching. He conceives the teacher as a sort of model on which the pupils are to fashion themselves. He raises the interesting question of the utility of emulation and prizes, without, however, throwing very much light on the problem.

Mr. Fitzgerald is more interesting, but he should not have called his book a story. It is merely a chronicle of a few terms at Stonyhurst.

'It was a marvel,' he writes, 'how in spite of all the laws of hygiene our wonderful interiors charged to the full with mutton, bread, potatoes, etc., should be immediately after dinner, without a moment's interval, tossed and churned in the spasms of play-ground exercise.'

That picture is certainly authentic, but most readers of the

I. E. RECORD will demur from the statement that 'Stiff Dick was a savoury dish composed of paste and jam, and was highly popular.'

'Boiling milk,' we read, 'was supplied for breakfast. Tea was considered effeminate.' This was before the year sixty-seven. Modern progress has changed all that. At present the person who prefers drinking an Irish cow's milk to desing himself with the Oriental medicine is considered somewhat of an invalid.

A considerable portion of the book is concerned with a prolonged revolution of students against authorities at Stonyhurst. Mr. Fitzgerald and some dozen others managed to get along without taking either side, a line of conduct which his mature judgment seems to approve. Some very nice ethical problems arise in connexion with those school rows (a manual on 'scholastic casuistry' in the literal sense would be useful), but most people will be at one in saying that whichever side is right on those occasions the inactive are certainly in the wrong. the book is, we are sure, a popular one amongst Stonyhurst students.

W. F.

FOLIA FUGITIVA. Edited by Rev. W. H. Cologan. London : Washbourn, Paternoster Row.

THIS is an excellent collection of papers and will, no doubt, receive an enthusiastic welcome. In his paper, entitled the 'Eucharistic Fast in its Relation to Duplication,' the editor throws out a suggestion which should get the sympathetic consideration of every priest. After speaking of the inconveniences of the fast in the case of duplication, after laying at its doors with good reasons the high rate of mortality amongst clergymen as a class, the writer suggests that a dispensation ought to be given to the overburdened priests, allowing them the use of liquids immediately after the first Mass. He says that the right time for a movement in this direction is the present when the Canon Law is about to be revised. The only fault to be found with the suggestion is that it is too timid, asking for a dispensation merely in isolated cases. If we are to look to the present revision of Canon Law, what has the actual framing or changing of law to say to mere dispensation? It would have something to say to a movement which would seek such a modification in the very law of fast as would allow liquid in the case of duplication. Such a change would be in harmony with the spirit of the Master who would allow His workers to pluck and eat the ears of corn as they were passing through the rich harvest fields.

There is a highly interesting paper by Dr. Fortescue on Americanism. Americanism goes in for a charitable brotherhood with 'heretics.' It advocates the principle that the Church and State ought to admire each other *at a distance*. It advocates the cultivation of the natural virtues. It advocates Ultramontaniam in the sense of the loyalist submission to the Holy Father. It advocates the principle that the present age should not be provoked by too weighty burdens of vows or authority. It advocates in fine the principle that Catholicity makes an irresistible appeal to outsiders by feeding with God's help the hungry, clothing the naked, and by championing the cause of the weakest, the poorest, and the most contemptible.¹

G. P.

TREATISE ON THE SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION. By the Rev. P. J. Hanley. Ratisbon, Rome, New York : Fr. Pustet & Co. 1907.

THIS excellent little treatise in English on the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, will be found extremely useful, not only by hospital nurses and all who have care of the sick, but by the clergy as well. It is the work of the Rev. P. J. Hanley, of Trenton, New Jersey, and combines with sound doctrine an attractive and lucid method of exposition. There is nothing of practical importance connected with the Sacrament omitted. Though unpretentious in form it is learned and concise. Indeed, it is only one who had thoroughly in hand the threads of doctrine that lead to it, and realizes vividly the graces that flow from it, who could put in such clear and simple form what it takes pages of Latin theological works sometimes to elucidate.

J. F. H.

THE GOAD OF DIVINE LOVE. By St. Bonaventure. London, Washbourne.

CONTEMPLATIVE PRAYER. By Ven. Augustine Baker. London : Washbourne.

It is alleged by many, even of those who should know better, that religion is a burthensome duty, and that the trouble we get from it is out of all proportion to the little pleasure we derive from its practice. The new mystical school, true to its tradition, contends that religion is not merely a joy, but that it is the greatest joy on earth. It is a fact significant of the school's increasing influence, that the works of two such masters of the

¹ [The Editor does not hold himself responsible for the words of all his reviewers, nor for their opinions. At the same time he does not wish to draw the line too closely.]

mystical life as Baker and Bonaventure should just be published simultaneously. St. Bonaventure as an old friend needs no introduction. The Ven. Augustine Baker's circumstances were quite other than those of the Seraphic Doctor. Being an English Benedictine of the seventeenth century, it was great part of his life-work to evade that persecution and death to which he saw so many of his fellow-priests succumb. Of their two works we found that of the Benedictine more scientific and instructive, that of the Franciscan more artistic and stimulating.

I.

The first part of St. Bonaventure's book deals with the Passion of Christ. One of 'six admirable devices' given by the saint through which a person may come to have compassion towards Christ crucified is 'that the soul be so united to Him in love as that the heart may now seem to be united to Him and not to one's self.' This part concludes with that beautiful prayer which is read in the thanksgiving after Mass. The second part deals with the means for composing ourselves for contemplation. The saint thus speaks as to how we should feel after celebrating:—

'If a person shall receive no spiritual reflection after Mass, let him think it is a sign of exceeding great sickness or of death. For he hath put fire into his bosom and feels no heat; honey into his mouth, and he tastes no sweetness. And, therefore, let such a one acknowledge his misery and amend his life.'

Avidity he elsewhere compares to one lover hiding from another in order to be all the more sought after. The third part of the book is devoted to the quietness of contemplation. This is by much the finest section of the work. One of the chapters is an admirable little drama in which the Flesh complains to God the Father against Christ for having wooed away the soul from it by His flatteries. The plaintiff gets but a poor hearing. This work of St. Bonaventure is, of course, a classic. In an exacting age, which will have nothing but the best, the new edition of the famous book will, we feel confident, be warmly welcomed.

II.

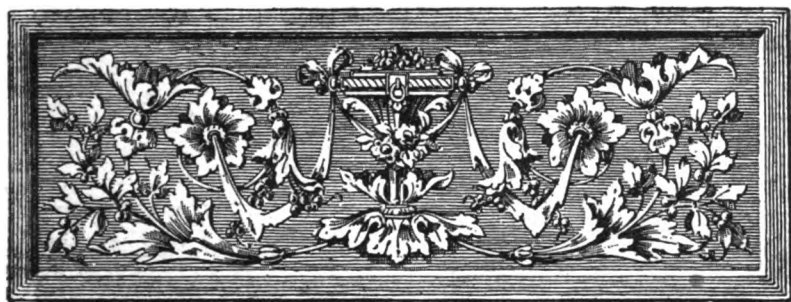
Father Baker once led 'a careless but not wicked' life. Since then it was more difficult for him than for St. Bonaventure to find the road to contemplation, his directions for the route are more lucid. The grandeur and pleasure of the contemplative as compared with the active life are insisted on. Its essence is divine charity. 'Charity,' he writes, 'resides not in our sensitive nature. It is not a language which causes a beating of the heart. It is a quiet, resolute determination of the superior will to seek God and perfect union with Him. Such a resolution

is founded on the high esteem we have through faith of the infinite perfections of God.' When the divine call comes the contemplative soul betakes herself to immediate acts of will and gives up meditation strictly so-called. In these immediate acts of will 'the soul's aim should be to recollect herself by the general notion which faith gives her of God. But if unable to do this at once, she represents to herself some divine object, as some perfection of God or a mystery of faith as the Incarnation, Transfiguration or Passion of our Lord. Then without discourse as used in meditation she immediately produces acts or affections towards God.' This exercise, we are told, is easier and nobler than meditation.

After this comes the active mystical union which is for ordinary people the highest degree of spiritual life. In magnificently unphilosophical language Thauler etches the psychological phenomena:—'He who would become truly spiritual should make a practice of drawing his external senses inward into his internal, there annihilating them. He must next draw his internal senses into the superior powers of the soul, and annihilate them also. Then the powers of the intellectual soul must be drawn into their unity, the principle and fountain from which they flow and in which they are united. Lastly, this unity which alone is capable of perfect union with God must be directed and firmly united to Him.' This is the real life of the soul, and its breath is the making of aspirations of love to God.

The passive union with God, which is a higher state still, is not attainable by all. The sensible passive union brings us to the world of rapture, ecstasy, and vision. The intellectual passive union is the greatest achievement of religious feeling of which human nature is capable. In this state 'a divine light is communicated to the understanding, not indeed revealing any new truths, but affording a clear, firm assurance and experimental perception of the truths which are the objects of our faith—an assurance which the soul perceives to be divinely communicated to her. Thus St. Paul saw and even felt the truth of what he preached and delivered to others. As regards the will and affections, a few moments spent in this state will purify the soul more than many years of mortification or external exercises.' The Philistine is reminded 'that these things are delivered on the testimony of devout, humble, prudent and in some cases learned persons, who profess to write only what they have experienced.' But if we ordinary plodders must not be incredulous in these matters, neither need we be envious, for Father Baker assures us that the substantial part of the contemplative life is within the reach of all.

W. F.



THE DECREÉE 'LAMENTABILI SANE' AND MODERNISM—I

MODERNISTS, or advocates of the apologetics of immanence, or Liberal Catholics, as they prefer to be called, insist that they are and purpose to remain loyal members of the Catholic Church; that their sole aim is to find an interpretation of the Catholic creeds which will help to establish concord between faith and science, and which, as a result, will remove the prejudices against Catholic dogmatic teaching which exist in the modern mind, and secure an unprejudiced examination and possibly acceptance of the Catholic religion by men of modern scientific and philosophic education.

If we ask what are the peculiar features of dogmatic propositions which create in the modern mind a repugnance to their acceptance M. Le Roy, himself a Modernist, tells us¹ that they are, chiefly, the following four. In the first place, dogmatic truths are presented to us as truths which are neither proved nor demonstrable by intrinsic arguments, while the tendency of modern thought is to require intrinsic proof for every formula, even for mathematical axioms, or at least to require that, in Kantian language, even axiomatic formulæ shall be shown by critical analysis to be necessary postulates of all knowledge. Then, in the second place, if it be objected that historians, for example, accept on traditional testimony accounts of past events

¹ *Dogme et Critique*, pp. 6 ff.

which are in themselves beyond the reach of direct intrinsic evidence and that dogmatic propositions similarly can be accepted on the authority of God, it is considered a sufficient reply to say that those ancient historical events which are accepted on human testimony are of the same order as the events which come under our actual experience, while dogmatic propositions, such as, 'The Word became Man,' 'Christ arose from the dead,' 'Christ is really present in the Blessed Eucharist,' are a species apart and distinct from the general body of positive human knowledge; and it is further contended that the truths which are antecedent to and necessary for faith, the existence of God, the omniscience of God and the divine veracity and the fact of revelation, are of the same order as the dogmatic propositions themselves and are incapable of mathematical demonstration. Then, thirdly, it is objected that dogmatic propositions are not expressed in intelligible language; that, for example, the words 'person,' 'nature,' 'real presence,' never had the same meaning when applied to the Trinity and the Blessed Eucharist and when applied in the propositions of positive natural knowledge, that with the abandonment of scholastic philosophy the language of dogmatic propositions conveys no definite meaning to the modern mind. And, finally, the fourth cause assigned for the repugnance of the modern mind to accept dogmatic propositions is, that dogma tends to disrupt the unity of nature and of knowledge; that the body of dogmatic truths claims to be a kingdom apart, to be specifically distinct and to have a different origin from the rest of human knowledge; that, unlike the positive sciences, it contributes nothing to the sum of our philosophic, or scientific, or economic knowledge; that it is barren and useless.

Now Modernists suggest that this repugnance of the modern mind to dogmatic propositions has arisen from a misunderstanding, from a mistaken notion that divine revelation and dogmatic formulæ are addressed to the intellect, that they express real intellectual fact-truth and demand the assent of the human mind. As a remedy for

the evil they propose that the system of external apologetics, which attempts to prove the intellectual truth of Christian dogma by appealing to miracles and prophecy, shall be made to give way to the system of immanence, which, they contend, was the primitive Catholic system of apologetics, sanctioned and hallowed by Apostolic usage.

I have already described in this journal, the immanent system of apologetics; but I think it will be useful to restate some of its principles before proceeding to explain the propositions condemned in the Decree *Lamentabili sane*.

1. Immanent writers, then, tell us first that divine supernatural revelation is not, as has been supposed, a message addressed by God to the human mind, but that it commenced as 'a consciousness of right and wrong,' 'a sympathetic response to good and antipathetic response to evil,' 'a preference for one line of conduct to another.' This primitive consciousness of right and wrong, which they regard as the protoplasm of religion, was subject, they say, to the general law of evolution by variation and natural selection, and broadened out until we reach its final human form in the pursuit, by men of modern thought, of the true, the good and the beautiful, of goodness in its widest sense, scientific, ethical and æsthetic.

2. The human mind, they say, commenced at an early date to study the phenomena of religion, to frame a theory, to give religion a place with the other systems of the world in the scientific conception of the universe. This, they say, is the legitimate work of theology; the tracts on natural theology and ethics are devoted to it; the conclusions arrived at rest solely on scientific premisses and are completely and absolutely independent of ecclesiastical authority; and like all other scientific conclusions they will be accepted or rejected, without fear of sin or censure, according as the evidence appears satisfactory or unconvincing at the bar of modern thought.

3. While natural reason has been busy formulating scientific theories of religion the religious 'feeling' too, they say, has been at work inventing or constructing a religious expression for the facts of the life of religion.

Sometimes it invents a theory ; but it borrows largely from the terminology of natural theology, ethics, and history. There is however this difference between terms and truths employed and recognized in scientific theology and in religious creeds, that in scientific theology they are addressed to the intellect and express intellectual truth, while in the religious creeds they are addressed to the religious ' feeling ' and express not intellectual but practical truth. The religious ' feeling ' is indifferent to the intellectual truth of its formularies. It selects them for their practical truth, for their practical utility, because they foster the life of religion. We ought to live as if God existed, as if there were a Trinity of divine Persons, as if Christ were really present in the Blessed Eucharist, as if there would be a general judgment. And these formulæ survive as long as they are found useful to foster the development of the religious life ; but when they commence to obstruct the growth and expansion of the religious life in the wide domain of the true, the good and the beautiful, of the scientific, the ethical and the æsthetic, they succumb and disappear in the struggle for existence and are succeeded by formulæ which are more congenial to the finer developments of the religious life. In this view modern thought is not coerced by ecclesiastical censures to give mental assent to propositions which present themselves as unproved and undemonstrable by intrinsic reasons ; which are not expressed in intelligible language ; which contribute nothing to the solution of the great problems of physical science, philosophy, economics, etc. Catholic men of science will assent to or dissent from the propositions of natural theology and of the ecclesiastical creeds according as they feel them to be warranted by intrinsic evidence, or to be destitute of evidence ; they are free to believe or disbelieve them intellectually ; but they are bound to believe them and they will believe them religiously and practically ; they will accept them as norms for their practical life ; they will strive to live as if there were a Supreme Being distinct from the world, as if there were a Trinity, etc.

4. These religious beliefs have not been communicated

supernaturally from heaven. They represent the labour of mankind from the beginning and the action of natural selection. Religious 'feeling' adopted, at each period, the formulæ best adapted to foster and develop the life of religion. With the evolution of the religious life the formulæ and theories of religion underwent variations; and the variety best adapted to foster religious life always survived in the struggle for existence.

I am not going, in the present article, to examine this theory critically; I will confine myself to a brief explanation of some of the condemned propositions. But I cannot refrain from observing that the term 'Modernism' seems to me to be altogether inapplicable to this theory. Is it quite a modern view to hold that reason can admit nothing which is not demonstrable by intrinsic evidence? Is it not the fundamental proposition of rationalism in Christian and pre-Christian times? And is the difficulty of terminology a novel one, peculiar to modern times? No, it is not; it is discussed in every treatise on God, in connexion with analogical predication. And are the truths of faith really barren and fruitless? As the supernatural state is above the natural state so supernatural truths are above the order of natural truth and are not intended for the solution of scientific, philosophic and economical problems. But within their own order will any Catholic say that religious truths, intellectually understood, are barren and fruitless? that our religious beliefs, say, in the Incarnation, in the forgiveness of sins, in the Real Presence, in future judgment, in future rewards and punishments, have no influence on our lives? In truth the principles of Modernism are in no sense *modern*; its method is to pour old poisons, the ancient errors, into the old venerable vessels, the dogmatic formularies of the Church, destined for more sacred contents, and thus introduce them into the minds and hearts of the faithful; and it leads a parasitic existence on the intellectual dogmas of the Church, eating out their vitals and yet depending on their survival for its existence, for if the intellectual truth of Scripture and the ecclesiastical formularies were once abandoned they would soon

cease to be employed as norms of right and wrong, as guides to direct and foster the growth of the religious life. How many of those, for example, would follow the leadership of Christ, who believed, as Modernists permit us to believe, that the Gospel story of His conception and birth is a myth, that the Fourth Gospel is only a theological treatise, that Christ Himself was only a poor deluded visionary who believed Himself to be the Messiah and the Son of God, that He would rise from the dead and establish a kingdom, whereas He was, in reality, neither a Messiah, nor the Son of God, and neither rose from the dead nor established a kingdom, but having died an ignominious death was cast into a common pit, there to rot, to crumble into dust and to find an abiding habitation ?

I now proceed to offer a brief explanation of the first section of the condemned propositions. There has been already in France a warm controversy as to whether the Decree *Lamentabili* is an infallible pronouncement. I pass by this controversy for the present. I consider it much more important and practical to direct attention to the propositions themselves, especially as nearly all the condemned propositions contravene previous infallible teachings of the Church. I will confine myself in the present article to the propositions dealing with ecclesiastical authority.

I.

The first proposition condemned in the recent Decree is the following : *Ecclesiastica lex quae praescribit subijcere praeviae censurae libros Divinas respicientes Scripturas ad cultores critices aut exegeseos scientificae librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti non extenditur*. By the Apostolic Constitution of Leo XIII, entitled *Officiorum ac Munerum*, all the faithful are bound to submit to ecclesiastical censure, before publication, books dealing with Sacred Scripture, Theology . . . and all writings generally in which the interests of religion and morality are at stake. Now it has been maintained that this law does not extend to workers at the higher criticism or at the scientific exegesis of the books

of the Old and New Testament. The proposition is condemned. The condemnation does not require the exercise of infallibility; for if a doubt exists, or if an erroneous opinion prevails about the extension of a law's obligation, the authentic declaration of the legislator, with or without infallibility, is sufficient to determine authoritatively the meaning of the law.

Criticism of the law requiring that books shall be submitted to ecclesiastical censure and of the discipline of condemning books and putting them on the Index is not confined to writers of the Immanent School. The matter is dealt with elsewhere in this number. But it is evident that, to safeguard the faith and morals of her children, the Church can require that books dealing with these subjects shall be submitted for ecclesiastical approbation before they are circulated among the faithful; and to get ecclesiastical approbation it is only necessary that books shall contain nothing contrary to the principles of morals or the truths of faith which the authors, as Catholics, are bound to profess.

II.

The second proposition is: *Ecclesiae interpretatio Sacrorum Librorum non est quidem spernenda, subjacet tamen accuratiori exegetarum iudicio et correctioni*. Distinguishing between the intellectual and the practical sense of Scripture and holding that the Church has no special mission to offer us an intellectual interpretation it is no wonder that Modernists should hold that the Church's attempts at intellectual interpretations of the Sacred Books, though not to be condemned, are to be subjected to the more accurate judgment and correction of the masters of scientific exegesis. The proposition is condemned; but it was already opposed to the defined doctrine about the prerogatives of the Church. The Church, in interpreting the intellectual sense of Scripture, is not subject to exegetes as to a higher tribunal. The Church gladly avails herself of the services of scientific exegetes; their conclusions may lead her to relax or repeal a disciplinary law relating to the

generally received traditional interpretation of some text of Scripture ; they may lead her to reconsider and change her provisional, though not her definitive, interpretations ; but she is never subject to exegetes as to a higher or equal authority.

III.

The third proposition is as follows : *Ex judiciis et censuris ecclesiasticis contra liberam et cultiorem exegesis latius colligi potest fidem ab Ecclesia propositam contradicere historiae, et dogmata catholica cum verioribus christianae religionis originibus componi reipsa non posse.* Immanent apologists, as we have seen, distinguish between 'revelation' and the 'formulae' or 'dogmas' in which its revelation is expressed. Revelation originated, they say, in a consciousness of right and wrong, which grew and varied and was determined, from time to time, by natural selection until it reached the term of its development in the religious consciousness of Christ. The formulae or dogmas originated in a similar way. The religious 'feeling' sought an expression, not intellectual but practical, for the internal, immanent revelation ; like the revelation itself the forms in which it was expressed varied and were subject to natural selection ; their intellectual truth was immaterial ; and they survived as long as they retained practical truth, as long as they continued of use to foster the growth of the religious life. Over against this theory the Church teaches, by her decisions, definitions and censures, that revelation is a divine communication addressed to the intellect, that the Scripture with all its parts is the word of God, that Catholic dogmas are truths revealed by God to the human mind. Modernists reply that the faith of the Church, as thus understood, contradicts history, and that Catholic dogmas cannot be reconciled with the truer (i.e. the immanent) origin of the Christian religion. The proposition is condemned ; but it was already opposed to the defined teaching of the Church.

IV.

The fourth proposition is as follows: *Magisterium Ecclesiae ne per dogmaticas quidem definitiones genuinum Sacrarum Scripturarum sensum determinare potest.* Modernists distinguish an intellectual and a practical sense of Scripture, as of the articles of the Creed. If by 'genuine sense' is meant the practical sense of Scripture, it cannot be defined for the intellect, because it has no meaning intellectually. It expresses in a prophetic indeterminate way the mystery of the immanent revelation. The Church, Modernists say, can define infallibly that the Scripture is true with the truth of goodness; that we ought to live as if the Scriptural narrative about God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Church, etc., were true; but she cannot define the 'practical' sense of Scripture in relation to the human intellect, because it has no meaning for the intellect. And if by 'genuine sense' is meant the intellectual meaning of Scripture, it does not come, Modernists would say, within the province of the Church's *magisterium* to define the intellectual sense and truth of Scripture; it belongs to the province of philosophy, history, and the sciences. Now, we do not recognize at all an unintellectual or non-intellectual sense of Scripture; and evidently it was already defined doctrine that when the Church by dogmatic definition defines the intellectual meaning of a text or texts of Scripture she determines the genuine meaning of the texts and that infallibly.

V.

The fifth proposition is: *Quum in deposito fidei veritates tantum revelatae contineantur, nullo sub respectu ad Ecclesiam pertinet iudicium ferre de assertionibus disciplinarum humanarum.* It is not the 'Modernists' alone who have advocated the autonomy of secular sciences. The German Liberal Catholics of the middle of the last century taught that philosophy should be independent of all authority. And the Vatican Council¹ anathematized the view that

¹ VI. *De fide et ratione*, can. 2.

human sciences should be treated with such liberty that their assertions, though opposed to revelation, might be held to be true and that the Church cannot proscribe them. But understood in the Modernist sense the proposition under consideration would have a more extensive meaning. For if in the deposit of faith only 'revealed' truths, in the Modernist sense, are contained, that is, the dogmas of faith understood in a practical but not intellectual sense, then according to this theory the Church could pronounce judgment neither on the conclusions of human sciences nor on the intellectual truth or falsehood of the assertions contained in the Sacred Scriptures. The proposition substantially was already anathematized by the Vatican Council.

VI.

The sixth proposition is as follows: *In definiendis veritatibus ita collaborant discens et docens Ecclesia, ut docenti Ecclesiae nihil supersit nisi communes discentis opinioniones sancire.* The meaning of this proposition will be easily understood from the statement of immanent principles with which I commenced this article. According to immanent writers the dogmas of the Church have not been communicated miraculously by God to the human mind. They have been selected by the religious 'feeling' irrespective of their intellectual truth, because of their practical value in fostering the life of religion. They have varied through the course of the ages, natural selection preserving those which were found useful by the human community. Natural selection has preserved in the Catholic Church all the dogmas of antiquity, Gentile and Jewish, together with purely Christian developments, which the Christian community—the hearing or the learning Church—finds useful for fostering its spiritual life. The Church must no longer be supposed to have authority to interpret and propose for our acceptance beliefs revealed by God to the human mind. Nothing remains for the teaching Church but to sanction, in a practical and not intellectual sense, as practically useful, the beliefs which

have survived by natural selection in the Christian community. It is scarcely necessary to observe that this condemned proposition was already opposed to the defined teaching of the Church.

VII.

The seventh and eighth propositions are the following :
 7. *Ecclesia, cum proscribit errores, nequit a fidelibus exigere ullum internum assensum, quo iudicia a se edita complectantur.* 8. *Ab omni culpa immunes existimandi sunt qui reprobationes a Sacra Congregatione Indicis aliisve Sacris Romanis Congregationibus latis nihili pendunt.* I couple these propositions because the reason for both is the same. If the province of the Church were to deal merely with the practical truth of Scripture, if the Church exceeded her bounds in proscribing intellectual errors, then we might hold that she cannot command internal assent to her decrees condemning errors, and that condemnations emanating from the Roman Congregations can be disregarded. But evidently it was already defined doctrine that the Church can deal with revelation as a body of truths addressed to the intellect and that when she condemns errors, let me say heresies, she can command internal assent to her condemnations. The eighth proposition is a statement of the mind of the Superior that it cannot be regarded as blameless to disregard the condemnations of the Roman Congregations.

It is evident from this section of propositions that Modernism implies a denial of the divine origin of the Church, of any difference by divine law between the *Ecclesia discens* and the *docens Ecclesia*, of the intellectual *magisterium* and infallibility of the Church and of her primacy ; that, according to Modernism, the province of the Church is to follow the Christian people, to watch and see what religious formulæ have survived among them in the struggle for existence, and to declare infallibly that these formulæ, whether intellectually true or intellectually false, are practically true, because practically useful, at least for the

present time. I say, for the present time ; because according to Modernists dogmas are approved only for the present time ; and if the existing dogmas, or any of them, ever began to impede and hamper the life of religion, and were on that account to fall into desuetude, the teaching Church would again infallibly follow the *Ecclesia discens*, define the abandonment of the discarded formulæ, as no longer practically true, and declare the new formulæ adopted by the community to be practically true, because practically useful to foster the religious life of the community.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

(To be continued.)

THE NON-CATHOLIC MISSION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

THE latest addition to the group of buildings that form the Catholic University of America is the Apostolic Mission House. Its special object is to train secular priests in the work of giving missions to non-Catholics. It has just completed its third year's work, and already forty priests have passed through its course of instruction and have entered upon a life of devotion to teaching the truths of the Catholic faith to those of our brethren who are without the true fold. It is the ambition of those who have established the Mission House to organize in every diocese of the United States a band of missionaries who will devote themselves to the work of explaining to non-Catholics what the teaching of the Catholic Church is, on all matters pertaining to the spiritual welfare of man. Already bands have been organized in twenty-four of the ninety dioceses into which the country is divided. The number of priests in each band varies from six, in large dioceses like New York or Cleveland, to but one in South Carolina or Omaha.

The history of the mission movement to non-Catholics goes back for many years before the founding of the Mission House. The conversion of America was the dream of Father Hecker, the founder of the newest congregation in the history of the Church—the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle. This grand dream gives the key to all the energy of the Paulist Fathers, whose work is now familiarly known in every part of the United States. It soon became evident, however, that the conversion of the great Republic could not be the special work of any religious order. The primary mission of the Church is to teach: 'Go teach all nations,' were the first words of Christ to the apostolic body in bidding them to take up the work for which He had called them. Hence it was that Father Elliott, the man most closely identified with

Father Hecker, and upon whom his cloak has fallen, realized that all the priests of America, and particularly the secular priests, should be invited to take part in the work.

With this idea he started about ten years ago as an organizer or travelling teacher of the Mission movement. At the invitation of Bishop Horstmann, he spent his first year in the great diocese of Cleveland, Ohio. Taking as his companions two or three of the young priests of the diocese, who volunteered to undertake the work, he proceeded to give a series of missions at the invitation of the parish priests in various parishes throughout the diocese. After a week or two had been given to the work of an ordinary Catholic mission, another week was given over to the special instruction of non-Catholics, who were always ready to come and listen to what the Catholic Church had to say upon questions of interest to all Christians. At the end of a year Father Elliott was enabled to leave the band under the direction of one of the local priests, and proceed to the organization of another band in another diocese. In this way mission bands were set up in New York, Providence and Hartford and one or two other places. Meantime the work was attracting attention all over the country, and it soon was felt that the method of organization was not sufficiently rapid to suit the needs of the case. It was therefore concluded to build a special seminary for the training of priests from all parts of the country. The seminary is vested in a band of trustees consisting of the Archbishop of New York as president, with two other bishops and four priests as members of the board. Two of these priests are Paulists. One is the Very Rev. A. P. Doyle, who is Secretary and Treasurer of the Board, and Rector of the Apostolic Mission House. The other is Father Elliott, who does the work of training the students of the Mission House for their work in the diocesan bands.

In order to appreciate the spirit in which the work is undertaken, it must be remembered that all controversy with Protestants is avoided. The missionary approaches

those who are outside the Church in a spirit of conciliation and friendship. He reminds his hearers that the Catholic Church is the largest of all the Christian organizations of the country; that 12,000,000 of their fellow-citizens, many of whom they themselves know and respect, are firmly attached to its doctrines; that children of the Church have played a part in the history of America ever since its discovery by Columbus. Every American ought, therefore, be interested in knowing what the position of the Catholic Church is upon those questions that are in dispute between the various Christian bodies in our day. He then proceeds to give a clear and systematic outline of Catholic doctrine. Prominence is given to those doctrines upon which many of the sects are still in agreement with Catholic truth. The doctrines upon which Protestants have gone astray are presented in a spirit of conciliation and respect. There is, not of course, any toning down of Catholic doctrine. The shibboleth of our common Christianity has not tainted even in the slightest degree any of the work with which the Mission House is connected. Every Catholic doctrine is taught in the clearest and most forcible way possible. The conciliation only refers to the manner in which the doctrine is presented. It cannot and does not affect the substance of the doctrine itself. The respect has in it no element of respect for error. It is respect only for the large body of Christian and Catholic truth, which even the Protestant Churches have preserved from amidst the wreckage of the great revolt; and respect also for the spirit of sincerity and fidelity which attaches many Protestants to even the errors of their various sects. We should remember that fidelity even to a false position is not always obstinacy, but only to a false position after one has got light enough to perceive its untruth.

The most characteristic and one of the most interesting things connected with the mission to non-Catholics is the question-box. At the door of the church is placed a box, with an invitation to non-Catholics to place in it written questions asking for any information they may desire. The

questions are answered each evening from the pulpit.[†] Only those who are seeking information are supposed to use the question-box. Questions asked with a view to promote controversy are met by a direct and simple statement of the doctrine of the Church. 'How can priests dare to claim the power of forgiving sins?' would be met by a simple statement of the Church's doctrine regarding the Sacrament of Penance.

The primary object of the Mission movement is to fulfil the command of Christ: 'Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature.' Many priests in America feel that it is the strict duty of every pastor to make positive effort in favour of the non-Catholics that live within the limits of his parish. It is not enough to have a church open to the public in each district; the public must get a periodical invitation to enter it. The usual work of a pastor is to dispense solid food to those who have grown up within the fold. But the little ones who through misfortune and not through malice lie outside, are hungering for milk. In America, where so much depends on advertising, the fullest use is made of the ordinary means of publicity. Before the mission, a careful statement of the work to be done is printed in the public Press, and each morning the local dailies contain a synopsis of the instruction of the preceding day. Many of the missionaries are careful to make out these synopses themselves so as to make the best possible impression upon the general public, even upon those who do not attend the mission. Special invitations are often printed and sent out by mail or delivered at the homes of the people by a personal agent. The agent plays the part of the seventy-two that our Divine Lord sent out in pairs to the towns of Palestine to announce His visit.

Since the inception of the non-Catholic mission movement as it is now organized about the Apostolic Mission House, 1,468 missions have been given to non-Catholics, with an average for each mission of forty-seven converts, either actually received into the Church, or placed under instruction, to be received later by the parochial clergy.

During the same period the apostolic bands have given 1,008 missions to Catholics at which 1,456,785 confessions were heard. These figures speak volumes for a movement that is still in its veriest infancy.

The Catholic Missionary Union, which has built and controls the Mission House, draws its support from the rich parishes of the North-east. It undertakes to give assistance in the mission field to the poor dioceses of the South and West. People in Ireland, as indeed in the prosperous cities of America, find it hard to imagine the utter poverty of the Church in remote parts of the United States. I myself have met an American Archbishop begging from church to church in order to be able to support his auxiliary bishop and priests in one of the large dioceses of the West. To form an idea of the poverty of some of the log-cabin churches I have seen here would be difficult for an Irish priest, even with a corrugated iron church in Connemara to stimulate his imagination. It is, therefore, evident that the mission movement in the South and West of the United States must depend for its support upon subsidy from a central body. The Missionary Union has already made a good beginning in this direction. If a bishop of the South or West offers to supply a priest willing to undertake the work, the Union will train him free of cost at the Mission House, and give him afterwards 500 dollars (£100) a year on condition that he gives fifteen missions of a week each to non-Catholics. Already it has expended 30,000 dollars (£6,000) on this branch of the work, and has on its pay roll ten missionaries in the West and South.

In order to appreciate the necessity of special post-graduate training for the work of giving missions to non-Catholics, it is well to know something of the course of studies actually followed at the Mission House. The following is the portion of the course of instruction dealing specially with non-Catholic missions as drawn up by Father Elliott himself :—

Missions to non-Catholics : In what they differ from Missions to Catholics.

The non-Catholic public, considered in general ; its spirit,
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errors, prejudices and tendencies. What common grounds of agreement exist.

Separate lectures on each of the more important Protestant denominations, their history, strength, doctrines, worship, peculiar spirit, and present tendencies. What fragments of truth each one contains.

How to impress their members favourably ; how to arrange for giving a non-Catholic mission ; ways of advertising it ; how Catholics may be guided in securing the attendance of their non-Catholic neighbours. What the expenses are and how they are to be met.

Lectures to non-Catholics.—Selection of subjects ; peculiar composition of each ; relative importance ; particular impression to be produced ; alternative methods of treatment.

Synopsis of Special Subjects.—Zeal for conversions (a plea to Catholics at the principal Mass on the opening Sunday) ; necessity of faith ; Divinity of Christ ; Protestant rule of faith ; Catholic rule of faith ; Sacrament of Penance ; Real Presence ; Purgatory ; infallibility ; intercession of saints ; Why am I a Catholic ? etc.

The Question-box.—Its management, method and spirit ; the kinds of questions usually asked ; the distribution of mission literature.

The Inquiry Class.—How to obtain members ; its meetings and management.

Instruction to Converts.—Discussion of the various methods and duration ; suggestions about receiving converts.

How to secure personal contact with non-Catholics ; management of individual cases and meeting of peculiar difficulties.

It will not be necessary to go over the remainder of the programme of the Mission House—suffice it is to say that full treatment is given to the subjects of missions to Catholics, retreats to communities, and the general history and regulation of mission bands.

The number of converts made is not the sole index of the amount of good done by the mission movement. There are millions of people in America who have never so much as seen a Catholic priest. There are many more millions who have never heard a word of God's true Church except from her enemies. There are consequently many millions who regard Catholics as little better than idolators

—an ignorant rabble led by spiritual tyrants and tricksters. Protestant denominations spend large sums of money to increase and strengthen anti-Catholic prejudices. With multitudes of their followers the name of Catholic is identified with all that is retrograde and unprogressive. To gain for the Church that respect and consideration amongst all classes of the American people, which she already enjoys with non-Catholics in all the enlightened and advanced cities of the country is no small boon in itself. It softens the prejudice of its bitterest enemies. It wins the respect and friendship of many who remain still unconvinced. And it smooths the thorny path of those who must often break social and family ties in order to come within the true fold. Above all it deepens the religious spirit of Catholics themselves. The army that is moving towards victory attracts everybody towards its flag. No man loves his religion better than when he sees it attracting outsiders within its fold.

And if this can be done in America why not also in Ireland? We have heard the cry ascend to heaven for the conversion of England and America, why not a cry for the complete conversion of Ireland? If God's Church can reap rich harvest in the money-sodden cities of Saxondom can it be impossible to labour and pray for the flower of a growing Church in the holy atmosphere of Ireland? Twenty-six per cent. of the people of Ireland—a number of souls well beyond the million mark—are groping in the dark for a light that their eyes would be glad to see. St. Patrick at a hundred years of age would not lay down his weary bones to rest while one-fourth of the dwellers in the wood Focluth clamoured to him to walk still amongst them. He would rather work for a score of other years and death alone could stay his heart and tongue. The spirit of the American mission movement is the spirit of which St. Patrick was the greatest exponent in the history of Christianity. He came to Ireland not to destroy but to save. No pagan gathering round a holy well did he disperse. He blessed its waters with the sign of Redemption, and insinuated a new and supernatural meaning into the

beautiful and poetical pagan rites by which it was venerated. And Protestantism is nobler than the noblest paganism. A ruin it is, no doubt, but a ruin of Christianity. With empty stare through its broken roof does it gaze aloft to the saddened sky. Its arches are broken and the delicate tracery of its windows crumble in the rubbish heaps by its walls. Rank weeds entwine themselves around its dismantled altars, But the noble lines of the Architect are discernible in it still. And the spirit that once made it His home looks forward to the day of its restoration. Let skilled hands be trained for the work, let the spirit of the antiquarian be mingled with the cunning of the mason. Since the whirlwind of human passion first broke upon it, it has felt the decay of centuries. All that is unsound must be rigorously removed. But where time has laid its hand but lightly the restorer can afford to be equally gentle in his treatment. Thus will he build a temple renewing the beauty and strength of the old, while he incorporates within it all that is sound and venerable retained through the ages of its decay.

MICHAEL O'FLANAGAN.

A NEW BOOK ON SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY ¹

AMONG the readers of the RECORD there are doubtless many whose interest in *purely philosophical* literature—Catholic or otherwise—is not very great. This I conceive to be largely due to the sort of philosophical training they received in their college days: their memory of philosophy is of a dry and uninviting subject, excessively abstract and speculative, supremely unpractical and far removed from the needs—whether material, intellectual, social or religious—of the world in which their lot is cast. It is a matter for regret that they should have carried away such erroneous notions about the place and the use of philosophy in life; that so many Catholic priests should underrate its practical value in the age in which we live. It is an age of intellectual unrest. Ideas, doubts, theories of all sorts—and more especially regarding the foundations of all our religious convictions—are propagated with lightning rapidity until they reach and leaven and disturb the masses. Few priests will be found nowadays to have enjoyed much missionary experience in any portion of the English-speaking world without having encountered Catholics who asked questions or proposed doubts and difficulties not to be answered off-hand or without a serious study of some philosophical problem or other. And it is scarcely to their old college text-books such priests have recourse in those cases; though often they might travel farther and fare worse.

Perhaps readers of this class would be interested to know that the old scholastic philosophy which once in their student days they made an honest attempt to understand, has been for the past twenty years bravely fighting its way into the world of modern thought; that it has come out from the college class halls and is 'hustling' not merely for

¹ *Scholasticism Old and New: An Introduction to Scholastic Philosophy, Medieval and Modern*, by [M. De Wulf, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Philosophy and Letters, Professor of the University of Louvain. Translated by P. Coffey, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Maynooth College, Ireland. (Dublin: M. H. Gill; London: Longmans; New York: Benziger.)

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recognition, but for supremacy, among existing intellectual systems ; that from such leading centres of enlightenment and progress as the Belgian University of Louvain it is issuing forth, renewed and reinvigorated and adorned with the modern garb of the language of the people ; in short, that scholastic philosophy in its most modern and attractive form is now being made accessible to the educated public at large. If those not inconsiderable numbers of our clerical friends to whom I refer should care to learn a little about the progress of that movement and to renew their acquaintance with those leading principles of our traditional philosophy which have a most intimate bearing on present-day intellectual problems, they will allow me to take the liberty of referring them to the volume which it is the object of these pages to introduce to readers of the RECORD—and through them to a still wider public.

There are, however, many other readers of the RECORD who *are* deeply interested in the progress and propagation of true philosophy ; who are fully alive to the necessity of meeting the multitudinous errors of the present day by preaching the truth aloud and spreading it abroad through every available channel ; who have followed with anxious interest the movement initiated by Leo XIII, now a quarter of a century ago, for the revival of the scholastic system of philosophy ; who are fully convinced that this philosophy will grow and develop, that its 'youth [will] be renewed like the eagle's,' if only it be brought into living contact with modern thought, if only it be allowed to assimilate all that is good and true in modern thought-systems in order the better to expose and overcome what is noxious and erroneous in them ; and who, therefore, regret that the sane and sound 'philosophy of the schools' is not yet presented as fully and attractively as it ought to be to the English-reading public.

Readers of this class, will, I imagine, be glad to learn that there is now available an English translation of a volume published a few years ago by a Louvain professor,¹

¹ *Introduction à la philosophie néo-scholastique*, par M. De Wulf, Docteur en Droit, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. (Louvain, Institut supérieur de Philosophie ; Paris, Alcan, 1904 ; pp. 350, 8vo.)

with the express purpose of introducing to the educated general reader—and particularly to the non-Catholic reader—the main principles and outlines of medieval scholastic philosophy, of comparing this with the new scholasticism as taught in the twentieth century in Louvain, of giving a doctrinal summary of the new scholastic teaching, of sketching the scope and spirit of the new scholastic movement, and of dispelling the prejudices of modern scientists and philosophers in regard to Catholic philosophy in general and scholasticism in particular.

Being the work of a scholar who has already distinguished himself by his remarkable studies in the history of medieval philosophy¹ the present volume can be recommended particularly to non-Catholic readers and students of modern philosophy as an unbiassed and objective presentation of what is commonly understood to be the traditional philosophy of the Catholic Church—though not quite justifiably as the author contends—namely, scholastic philosophy. It is a book that will be useful not merely to those who wish to acquaint themselves with the influences at work in modern scholasticism, but also to the student who, when he has gone through the study of the whole scholastic system, may desire to have at hand a compendious help to a rapid review of its leading principles, and also to that large class of students of modern philosophy to whom any reliable knowledge of the scholastic system has been hitherto almost inaccessible.

The book falls naturally into two parts, of which the first deals with the medieval, the second with the modern, presentation of scholasticism. Part I consists of three chapters, devoted respectively to a long, critical discussion of the traditional and current misconceptions and misleading descriptions of the medieval scholastic system; to a clear and attractive exposition of the main doctrinal contents of

¹ His most important work is his *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale* (Louvain, 2nd edit., 1905). Besides several minor works he has undertaken to edit (with critical introductions and annotations) a collection of medieval philosophical texts hitherto unpublished. This collection is entitled *Les Philosophes Belges*. Two important volumes have already appeared: the *De Unitate Formae* of Giles of Lessines and the first four *Quodlibeta* of Godfrey of Fontaines.

that system in its various departments,—metaphysics, theodicy, general and special physics, psychology, ethics and logic ; and to a brief account of the causes of the decay of scholasticism in the sixteenth century. It is no exaggeration to say that with the exception of those modern scholastics themselves who have thoroughly studied the system there are very few modern philosophers who have any fairly just or accurate appreciation of what scholasticism really is. It is commonly confounded with medieval philosophy, with philosophy taught in 'schools,' with philosophy taught in Latin, with the philosophy of Aristotle, with the medieval sciences, with the problem of the 'universals,' but most frequently with scholastic theology or an apology for the Roman Catholic religion. Those who entertain such views will be both surprised and instructed by a perusal of the two opening chapters of Professor De Wulf's book : surprised, perhaps, that anyone would dare contend that scholasticism is an independent and autonomous system of rational speculations on man and the universe ; instructed by the wealth of illuminating and suggestive teaching they will find embodied in the long despised and long ignored scholasticism.

It is, however, to Part II that the reader will naturally turn in the hope of seeing for himself how far the many present-day advocates of a return to scholasticism have succeeded, or are likely to succeed, in putting its principles in a form that will find favour with modern minds in search of the truth. Nor will he be disappointed. Corresponding to the three chapters of Part I he will find here a chapter on the relations of the new scholasticism to the modern sciences and to religious dogma, and on the methods it employs for research, teaching, and propagation ; a chapter on its doctrinal content as compared with that of its medieval forbear ; and a chapter on the grounds and conditions of its future growth and development. All three chapters he will find instructive and interesting, but more especially the second, which is, perhaps, the most important in the whole book. Before proceeding, however, to analyze the teachings of the new scholasticism, the author makes (in the first chapter) an eloquent plea, no less for the preserva-

tion of the sound traditional element in scholasticism than for the renovation of that element by assimilation from without. I take the liberty of quoting the passage in full.¹

When the new scholastic philosophy proclaims by its very name its continuity with a glorious past, it is merely recognizing this incontestable law of organic relationship between the doctrines of centuries. It does more, however. Its endeavour to re-establish and to plant down deeply amid the controversies of the twentieth century the principles that animated the scholasticism of the thirteenth is in itself an admission that philosophy cannot *completely* change from epoch to epoch; that the truth of seven hundred years ago is still the truth of to-day; that out and out relativism is an error; that down through all the oscillations of historical systems there is ever to be met with a *philosophia perennis*—a sort of atmosphere of truth, pure and undiluted, whose bright, clear rays have lighted up the centuries even through the shadows of the darkest and gloomiest clouds. 'The truth for which Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle sought is the same as that pursued by St. Augustine and St. Thomas. . . . In so far as it is elaborated in the course of history, truth is the child of time; but in so far as it embodies a content that is independent both of time and of history, it is the child of eternity.'² For, 'if reason be aught but a deceptive aspiration after the absolutely inaccessible, surely whatever has been brought to light, whatever our ancestors have unearthed and acquired in their pioneer labours, cannot have proved entirely worthless to posterity. . . . Instead of eternally commencing over again the solution of the great enigma of nature and of consciousness, would it not be wiser to preserve our traditional inheritance, and go on perfecting it? Can it be better to let the intelligence live on its own personal and ever-incipient thought than on the accumulated wisdom of centuries? Should we not be better employed in adding to that common fund of doctrine than in changing it every day—in the hope of attaching our names to some new system?'³ Such is obviously the postulate that must be either explicitly or implicitly recognized by all of us who find in scholasticism, and in the wealthy store of Greek thought assimilated by scholasticism, a remarkably close approximation to absolute truth, closer,

¹ Section 103, pp. 161-166.

² Willmann, *Geschichte des Idealismus*, v. ii., p. 550. Cf. Commer, *Die Immerwährende Philosophie* (Vienna, 1899).

³ Van Weddingen, *L'Encyclique de S.S. Léon XIII et la restauration de la philosophie chrétienne*, 1880, pp. 90 and 91.

perhaps, to the ideal of true wisdom than any of the contemporary forms of positivism or of neo-Kantism.¹

At the same time, let us hasten to add, the new scholasticism inscribes on its programme, side by side with this respect for the fundamental doctrines of tradition, *another essential principle* of equal importance with the first—which it supplements—and expressed with equal clearness by the name it has chosen for itself: the principle of *adaptation to modern intellectual needs and conditions*. The heir to a fortune accumulated a century ago does not treat it in the same way as its compiler would in his day. For the better employment of it he avails of all the advantages to be deprived from new and improved economic surroundings. He invests his capital in industrial enterprises, delivering it up to a vast and complicated currency that has little in common with the simple investments through which it earned interest for his forefathers. So it is, too, with the riches of the mind. *Absolute* immobility in philosophy, no less than *absolute* relativism, is contrary both to nature and to history. It leads only to decay and death. *Vita in motu*. To have scholasticism rigid and inflexible, would be to give it its death-blow, to make of it a mere *caput mortuum*—an interesting relic, no doubt, but only a relic, fit, indeed, to figure respectably at an international exhibition of bygone systems,

¹ Cf. De Wulf, *Kantisme et néo-scholastique* : 'For our part we believe that extreme evolutionism, which is losing ground every day in the special sciences, is an unsound hypothesis when applied to philosophy. No doubt history shows that systems adapt themselves to their surroundings, and that every age has its own proper aspirations and its own special way of approaching problems and solutions; but it also lays before us, clearly and unequivocally, the spectacle of ever-repeated beginnings *ab initio* and of rhythmic oscillations between opposite poles of thought. And if Kant has found a new formula for subjectivism and the *reine Innerlichkeit*, it would be a mistake to imagine that he has no intellectual ancestors. Even at the first dawn of history we find some of them, for M. Deussen has unearthed in the *Upanishads* to the Vedic hymns the distinction between the noumenon and the phenomenon, and has been able to recognize in the theory of the *Māyā* "Kants Grunddogma, so alt wie die Philosophie."

'No, it is by no means proven that all truth is relative to a given time or a given latitude; nor that philosophy is the product of the natural and necessary evolution of purely economic forces. The materialist conception of history is as groundless as it is gratuitous. Alongside the changing elements that are peculiar to any given stage of development in the life of humanity, there is at every stage and in every system an abiding soul of truth—a small fraction of that full and immutable truth which hovers around the mind in its highest flights and noblest efforts. This soul of truth it is that the new scholasticism hopes to find in certain fundamental doctrines of Aristotle and St. Thomas; and it is precisely in order to test their value that they must be cast into the crucible of modern thought and confronted with the doctrines opposed to them.' (*Revue Néo-Scholastique*, 1902, pp. 13 and 14.)

but fit for nothing else. . . . Besides, we find that those who have pronounced on the meaning and scope of the new scholasticism in recent years are all unanimous in declaring that if this philosophy contains a soul of truth in it, it should be able to fit in with all the advances made, and all the progress realized, since the Middle Ages, and to open wide its arms to all the rich fruits of modern culture.

Talamo advocates this work of modernization.¹ Gutberlet, the learned Fulda professor, outlines a similar programme in an article in the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, espousing the philosophical system of St. Thomas in order to complete and improve and correct it.² As Dr. Ehrhard, of Strassburg, has so well expressed it: 'St. Thomas of Aquin should be a beacon (*Lichtthurm*) to us, but not a boundary (*Grenzstein*). . . . The needs of any epoch are peculiar to that epoch and will never repeat themselves.'³ Like declarations have been frequently repeated by the professors of the Louvain Philosophical Institute, and by their official organ, the *Revue Néo-Scholastique*.⁴ They have been echoed over and over again by Mgr. d'Hulst,⁵ Kaufmann,⁶ Hettinger,⁷ Meuffels,⁸ Schneid,⁹ etc., all of whom refer to the well known advice of Leo XIII: 'We proclaim that every wise thought and every useful discovery ought to be gladly welcomed

¹ *L'Aristotélisme de la scolastique dans l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1876), Conclusion, p. 531.

² *Die Aufgabe der christlichen Philosophie in der Gegenwart* (Phil. Jahrb. 1888, pp. 1-23).

³ *Der Katholicismus und der zwanzigste Jahrhundert im Lichte der kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1902), p. 252.

⁴ See especially 1894, p. 13; 1899, p. 6; 1902, p. 5. Cf. Mercier, *Les origines de la psychologie contemporaine*, pp. 440 and foll.

⁵ *Mélanges philosophiques* (Paris, 1892), *passim*.

⁶ *Schweizerische Kirchenzeitung* (March 14, 1902).

⁷ *Timotheus, Briefe an einen jungen Theologen* (Freiburg, 1897), pp. 192 and foll. Cf. *LaQuinzaine*, (Decr. 1, 1902): *Comment faire?*

⁸ 'Rightly understood, therefore, the new scholasticism is no mere re-editing, no mere systematic and uncritical justification of everything that has been, rightly or wrongly, labelled with the elastic title of "Scholastic Philosophy." The new scholasticism has all that is best in medieval scholasticism, enriched and completed, moreover, by modern science, adapted to the needs of our times, directed in its tendencies by the spirit and teaching of the Papal Encyclical. In other words, the aim and object of the new scholasticism is ever to go on increasing and adapting to present needs the patrimony of truths, bequeathed to us by those who have gone before us and especially by St. Thomas Aquinas.'—*A propos d'un mot nouveau*, p. 527. [See also a series of four articles in the I. E. RECORD (Jan., Feb., May and June, 1905), in which we have discussed the scholastic view of the relations between philosophy and the sciences, and described how these relations are realized in practice in the teaching of the Philosophical Institute of the Catholic University of Louvain.—Tr.]

⁹ *Die Philosophie d. hl. Thomas und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*. (Würzburg, 1881), p. 74.)

and gratefully received by us, whatever its origin may have been.¹

In connexion with the methods of teaching and propagating the principles of scholastic philosophy in the twentieth century the author deals with the question about which so much has been written in recent years : in what language ought scholastic philosophy be taught,—in Latin or in the vernacular ? He does not venture to discuss the question in reference to “ecclesiastical seminaries and colleges where special reasons . . . oblige the students to familiarize themselves with the official language of the Church.’ He merely gives references to the literature on this aspect of the question and passes on to discuss it with reference to lay students. Here the case he makes for the vernacular is irresistible. After demolishing the arguments of the ‘Latinists’ he continues in these terms² :—

So far we have been suggesting considerations mostly of a defensive nature against a claim which is, to say the very least, exaggerated. On the other hand, the claim of those who support the modern languages gains enormously in force and persuasiveness, when we begin to reflect on the many serious disadvantages connected with the use of Latin nowadays in our schools. If we would secure an abiding vitality and influence for the new scholasticism, we must force an entrance for it, at any cost, into those indifferent or hostile circles from which its very name has hitherto sufficed to exclude it. It is not by shutting itself up in secluded class-halls, nor by receiving the incense of a small coterie of select admirers, that modern scholasticism is to accomplish the important mission intended for it by those who are devoting their lives to its propagation. It must be brought into touch with the modern mind, with all the main currents of ideas that are shaping the mentality of the age we live in.

¹ Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. Picavet, who is no scholastic, makes this candid plea for the new movement : ‘Why, if there be a new Cartesianism, a new Leibnitzianism, a new Kantism, should there not be also a new Thomism ? We think we have shown clearly enough that the millions of Catholics who with Leo XIII proclaim their allegiance to Thomism, have not the slightest intention to become mere echoes of the thirteenth century, nor to leave out of account, in constructing their systems, the researches and discoveries of modern science.’—(*Revue philos.*, 1893, vol. 35, p. 395.)

² Section 109, pp. 176-179.

We must give it an opportunity of stating and supporting its reasons and arguments, of opposing its solutions to rival solutions; in a word, we must secure currency for it in the world of contemporary thought.

Now, is it by the use of Latin that it is likely to force an entrance into those quarters from which it has been so long exiled? It certainly is not. It will knock in vain at the library door of the Positivist or Neo-Kantian if it finds its way thither embodied in ponderous Latin volumes. It will meet with the reception usually accorded to inconvenient visitors. It will be considered an anachronism, as archaic and out of date as the cut of its clothing—and put aside with the simple remark that it can have no use or interest except for Church folk. . . .

Then does anyone seriously believe that the beginner, while yet quite a stranger to the effort and the habit of philosophical thought, can possibly feel at ease within the cramping confines of an unfamiliar language? A teacher of ripe experience, who has had abundant opportunities of judging the tree by its fruits, has spoken in the following terms of the difficulties of the youthful student: 'A second difficulty, of the most serious kind and common to all beginners, arises from the utter strangeness of the new field that is opened up to their activity. . . . All is new and difficult—the notions, the terms, the methods and the language. He is suddenly introduced into a world of abstract ideas hitherto unknown. And then Latin, as a vehicle of thought, is unfamiliar to him. Even the old, well-known truths assume strange and, to him, unnatural forms, whilst the terminology of the schools is obscure and bewildering. He is soon lost, as in a fog. . . . Some never emerge from the gloom, and even those who do always remember it as the most trying period of their intellectual formation.'¹ And further on he says: 'It has been the experience of the writer for many years that, of those who have been taught philosophy, and especially scholastic philosophy, only in Latin, not more than one in half a dozen had brought away with him much more than a set of formulas, with only a very imperfect notion of their meaning, though not unfrequently accompanied by a strong determination to cling to them all, indiscriminately and at any cost.'²

Even the 'Church folk' themselves cannot be insensible to these considerations nor to the growing need there is at

¹ Hogan, *Clerical Studies*, pp. 64, 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

the present day that ecclesiastical students should thoroughly master the sound and saving truths of scholasticism so as to be able to take their places in the foremost ranks of those who are endeavouring to supply the people with an antidote for modern errors. But the experience of teachers would seem to point to the conclusion that where youthful students have to go through their philosophical studies exclusively in Latin, they carry away with them very little philosophy indeed. Our author continues as follows :—

Dr. Hogan, the late venerated President of the Boston Seminary, refers in those passages only to *ecclesiastical* students, who have such incentives, apart altogether from philosophy, to preserve and to utilize their store of *latinity*. In the case of *lay* students, therefore, who are attracted to the study of philosophy only by a strong, disinterested love for truth and a praiseworthy ambition to explore the great problems of the world and of life, this anachronism of language becomes, unfortunately, a disastrous and insurmountable obstacle. Of that we have had sad experience in the Louvain Philosophical Institute, to which the writer has the honour to belong. From 1895 to 1898, the courses were given in Latin: the experiment had practically the effect of an interdict; the lay students withdrew, leaving in the class-halls only the ecclesiastics, who were obliged to follow the lessons. The withdrawal of the regulation in 1898 just saved the institution which had been led to the brink of ruin.

It is also for reasons analogous to those that certain works in Latin, by men of the highest ability, have attained to such scanty publicity, scarcely finding their way beyond a quite restricted professional circle; while if they had been written in a living language they would have undoubtedly secured a widespread and favourable reception.

Passing on now to the long and important chapter in which the author examines the main teachings of the new scholasticism, I must content myself with a few characteristic quotations which will, it is hoped, give the reader some notion of what he is likely to find both in the volume under consideration and—more fully developed—in the various volumes of the Louvain *Cours de philosophie*.

Speaking of the needful 'renovation and reconstruction'

of medieval scholasticism in the twentieth century, he writes¹ :—

The organic principles of the system undergoing restoration, must unquestionably form the basis of the new scholasticism. But let there be no mistake about the scope of the contemplated restoration. It will not be brought about insensibly or unconsciously : it will not be merely mechanical or merely *a priori*. Here, above all, it behoves us to form well-reasoned convictions, based on long and ripe reflection. The new scholasticism must assert and make good its claim to live ; and for that it must stand the test of comparison with rival systems,² and of agreement with scientific conclusions.³ The matter and form theory is an explanation of cosmic change ; but it will not survive the twentieth century unless it compares favourably with mechanical atomism and with dynamism, both of which hypotheses claim to have discovered the true meaning of the facts. Scholastic spiritualism and scholastic ideology offer an interpretation of the facts of consciousness and an explanation of the difference between sensation and thought ; but they must also show us that the explanation offered by the positivists is not any better supported by the results of modern scientific research. The Middle Ages propounded doctrines of the most purely idealistic character regarding happiness and the last end of man ; but perhaps the utilitarianism of the positivists, or the formalism of Kant, or the pessimism of Schopenhauer, have shown these ideals to be chimerical ? Finally, metaphysics was regarded as the perfection and completion of knowledge in the schools of other days ; nowadays, its very possibility is called into question. Which is in the right, the past or the present ? It is important that we should know.

Each epoch in philosophy reveals a mental attitude all its own ; its favourite occupations disappear to give place to new pursuits in the ensuing epoch. The problems which concern us to-day are not exactly those that occupied the attention of our great-grandfathers. Were a writer of the eighteenth century to reappear amongst us to-day he would be as hopelessly bewildered by current philosophical thought as a labourer of the Empire would be if suddenly dropped down into a modern factory.

So, also, the peculiar genius of the Middle Ages will be no longer found in the twentieth century. The mind of the thirteenth century betrayed a peculiar *penchant* for metaphysical and psychological investigations,—for metaphysics especially,

¹ Sections 126-127, pp. 212-217.

² Sect. 120.

³ Sect. 113.

which represented the culminating point of human knowledge as being the product of the highest effort of abstract human thought. . . . In recent times, on the other hand, two entirely new and original tendencies have asserted themselves in the treatment of all such problems : towards *positivism* and towards *criticism*. The great dogma of *positivism*—the *positivity*, so to speak, of all human knowledge—would limit the knowable to the experimentable. This thesis, notwithstanding the error it contains when formulated in such exclusive terms, has taught contemporary philosophy to pay the most scrupulous attention to all facts, and more particularly to those that lie on the confines of philosophy and the natural sciences. An emphatic inculcation of the importance of observation, internal and external, is the outcome of the tendency in question. . . . Still more marked and widespread is the *critical* tendency, introduced by Kant into modern philosophy. Before trusting to any natural cognitive endowment whatever, Kant raised this previous question : does the structure of our faculties render at all possible the application of our knowledge to an extra-mental world ? And we know how the *Critique of Pure Reason* enshrouded all our speculative convictions one after another in subjectivism. If we are to believe Kant, the object of our knowledge is a *represented world* and not a *world-in-itself* ; for no thing-in-itself is knowable. The genius of Kant has a cloven, a twofold furrow in contemporary philosophical thought.

In the first place, he has been the direct inspiration of all subsequent systems of 'critical' and 'neo-critical' philosophy, both in the direction of transcendental idealism and of transcendental realism. The idealists—of the type of Fichte and Hegel—reduce all knowledge to a sort of mental poem, a product of *a priori* forms, and pronounce the thing-in-itself to be not merely *unknowable* but simply *non-existent*. Realists on the other hand—like Schopenhauer or Herbart, for example—admit the single fact of the existence of an unknowable, but persist in knowing nothing about it and in confining all human knowledge to the subjective elaborations of our world of appearances. But be they realists or idealists, followers of Fichte or followers of Schopenhauer, whether they mingle much criticism or little criticism with their systems, and whatever other elements foreign to Kantism they may appropriate—we may safely say that three-fourths at least of our contemporary philosophers have felt the influence of Kantian subjectivism in their studies on epistemology.

Then over and above this first influence on our manner of regarding these problems, Kant has exercised yet another still

more profound and far-reaching influence on the world of modern thought. Before *solving* the problem of certitude in the way just indicated, he *stated* the problem, and that in such a fashion, in language so insistent and peremptory, that it has become the problem *par excellence* of contemporary philosophy. Whether his answer be subjectivist or objectivist, every philosopher of the present day must face the troublesome question: 'Does the analysis of human knowledge give grounds for human certitude?'

Manifestly the current of thought in the twentieth century is not the same as it was in the thirteenth. Once more, then, what is to be the attitude of the new scholasticism? Can it avoid the new ways where mind and thought are now in action, and pursue its solitary course along the beaten—and abandoned—paths of the Middle Ages? No, certainly not; for so it might go on interminably without ever coming into contact with actual, modern life: a lonely and unnoticed wanderer, seven centuries behind its time.

The recognition of modern trends of thought makes it incumbent on the new scholasticism to take up new positions without abandoning the old ones. It is in the doctrinal domain that we must accomplish the blending of the old and new, of tradition and innovation, that is to be characteristic of the new scholasticism: *vetera novis augere et perficere*. A cursory glance over the various departments of philosophy will illustrate this clearly.

It was my intention to follow our author in taking this 'cursory glance' over the metaphysics, theodicy, cosmology, psychology, criteriology, esthetics, ethics, logic, and a few other subsidiary branches, which constitute the new scholastic programme; but though there are most suggestive and illuminating remarks and observations on almost every page of this second chapter, I must forego the pleasure of making any further extracts: the present article has already exceeded its due limits. The portions I have quoted, so far, from the work of the Louvain professor, will not fail to arouse the interest of those readers who have already heard of the new scholastic philosophy and who may be anxious to know at first hand what changes for the better it purports to effect in our traditional teaching. They will learn from a perusal of *Scholasticism Old and New* that those changes are neither few nor insignificant; and they will be glad to find that Professor De Wulf has ample

reasons for concluding his review of the present situation in the bold and sanguine spirit revealed in these, his closing paragraphs¹:—

Besides the new scholasticism, two other great currents share between them all the philosophical systems of the opening century: neo-Kantism and positivism. In these two latter currents it is easy to detect the influence of prolonged doubt about the existence of an absolute or noumenal reality. Neo-Kantism especially has exerted quite an extraordinary influence, both in Europe and in America, on the convictions of contemporary thinkers. They are all subjectivists of some shade or other; phenomenism has become a sort of atmosphere breathed by all modern thought.

Neo-Kantism and positivism are both alike met by the rational dogmatism of the new scholastic philosophy—the only one that merits serious attention among contemporary dogmatic systems. Inheriting as it does the traditional spiritualism of a Plato, an Aristotle, a St. Augustine and a St. Thomas, it bases its claims neither on the tradition which it perpetuates, nor on arguments from authority—which can be twisted in opposite directions like the nose of a waxen image, to which it is quaintly compared by a thirteenth century scholastic, Alanus of Lille: *auctoritas cereum habet nasum, id est, in diversum potest flecti sensum*. On the contrary, it is after an examination of the facts that are engaging the attention of our contemporaries, after interpreting the results achieved by the sciences, and after testing critically its own principles, that the new scholasticism lays down its conclusions, and invites philosophers of the twentieth century to recognize them and deal with them on precisely the same titles as they deal with those of neo-Kantism and positivism.

That it can rightfully claim to have such consideration accorded to it, its adversaries themselves admit. Men like Boutroux acknowledge that the system of Aristotle can compare advantageously to-day with Kantism and with evolutionism.² Paulsen and Eucken regard the new scholasticism as the rival of Kantism, and describe the opposition of the rival systems as a war between two worlds (*der Kampf zweier Welten*).³ 'In

¹ Sections 161-162, pp. 260-262.

² Aristote, *Etudes d'histoire de philosophie* (Paris,), 1901 p. 202.

³ Eucken, *Thomas von Aquino und Kant. Ein Kampf zweier Welten* (Kantstudien, 1901, Bd. vi., h. 1). Paulsen, *Kant, d. r. Philosoph. des Protestantismus* (ib. 1899). The latter study being conceived from the religious point of view, is of less importance from the point of view of the present work.

the presence of such a striking and confident (*siegesgewiss*) forward march of medieval ideas,' writes Mr. Doering, 'it will no longer suffice merely to ignore them, or to decline or stop short of questions of principles. The time has come for each to deliberately choose his attitude in regard to those principles, and to raise aloft his banner.'¹ Many indeed are the tributes paid by various other adversaries to the new scholasticism, but it would be both superfluous and needless to reproduce all of them here.²

If we record such testimonies here at all, it is firstly in order to show how absurd is the attitude of those numerous sceptics who condemn without hearing and mock at what they do not understand. And it is, secondly, in order to persuade those of our friends who are impatient for the rapid and sweeping triumph of our philosophy, that success must not be expected from extrinsic factors only, but must always be the crown and the result of real doctrinal superiority. Leo XIII did not create the merit of the new scholasticism by virtue of a decree, but he understood its merit, and saw his opportunity. His energetic words may have hastened the dawn and added to the renown of the new scholastic philosophy; but they could never have given its doctrines an abiding and recognized authority, did not these doctrines themselves give evidence and promise of a deep and vigorous vitality.

They will prevail, as the truth prevails; but their growth will be progressive, and always conditioned by the general level of man's intellectual acquirements. In this respect the new scholasticism is self-moving like every living thing; a stop in its evolution would be the symptom of another decay.

P. COFFEY.

¹ Doering, in the *Zeitschr. f. Psychol. u. Physiol. d. Sinnesorgane*, 1899, pp. 222-224, in a review of Mercier's *Origines de la Psychologie contemporaines*.

² See, for example, Mercier's *Origines, etc.*, ch. viii.: 'Le neo-Thomisme'; and the *Revue Neo-Scholastique*, 1894, pp. 5 and foll., and under the heading 'Le mouvement neo-thomiste.'

THE PSALMS IN THE VULGATE

IT is the prerogative of truth to become clearer the more it is examined, and more evident in proportion to the opposition shown it. As gold is refined in the fire which destroys whatever alloy of baser material may be mixed with it, and as the diamond gains new lustre from the chafing which polishes its facets, so every renewed enquiry into its details only serve to bring out the features of truth with greater relief. This we see very clearly illustrated in the case of our Vulgate version of the Sacred Scriptures. Up to the sixteenth century we hear nothing very derogatory of them, but no sooner had the Council of Trent placed it in our hands as an authentic text of the Bible, than Protestant prejudice was up in arms. It could find no words too strong to reprobate this ignorant Popish version, all the vials of the Apocalypse were poured out to the dregs on it. But, as in many instances, so in this also, the advance of science was compelled to justify the action of the Church, and, strange enough, it is Protestant critics themselves—especially Lackmann and Tischendorf—who by their investigations have shown that the text on which our Vulgate is based, is, of all the revisions, the nearest to the original. In the present paper we are concerned only with the Vulgate version of the Psalms, and to this we shall confine our attention. What we read in our Office now is not St. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, which, as far as I know, has not received any special sanction from the Church, but the *Vetus Itala*, revised and corrected by St. Jerome through a comparison with Origin's *Hexapla*, and in that sense alone is he called their author in this essay.

On April 8, 1546, during its fourth session, the Council of Trent, in words well known to every student of Scripture, decreed that the Vulgate was to be regarded as an authentic copy of the Bible (*pro authentica habeatur*). What does this mean? To anyone reading the decree it will be evident

that there is no comparison instituted between the Vulgate and the original versions, neither is there any prohibition to consult the Hebrew or Greek. There is no seal set upon its grammar, geography, natural history, or chronology. This is, in substance, what the decree does not mean. And although for some time extreme views were held, especially by Spanish theologians, we have now more than moral unanimity as to what it does mean.

Authenticam non eo sensu declaravit Concilium Tridentinum Vulgatam Editionem ut significaret nullum vel levissimum mendum in illam irrepsisse multoque minus ut eandem originalibus textibus praeferret, sed ut testaretur vulgatam prae omnibus Latinis editionibus quae tunc circumferebantur in universum egregie praeclareque originales textus reddere, nunquam in substantialibus deficere, nihil a revelata doctrina absonum continere, nihilque a pietate alienum.¹

Eo sensu [says Cornely²] vulgatam declaratam authenticam ut verus et genuinus fons revelationis dici queat et debeat ita quidem ut non tantum nulla falsa doctrina vel morum regula erronea ex illa legitime deduci possit, sed ut etiam illa quae ad verbi divini scripti substantiam pertinet, fideliter exprimat.

These words are too plain to need a commentary, and in precisely the same strain wrote Pallavicini, Salmeron, Vega, Bellarmine, Frassen, Bonfrerius, Perrone, Beelen, Glaire, Franzelin, as to the meaning of the Fathers of Trent. Surely, then, we have authority enough to warrant us in saying that when the Church declared the Vulgate authentic she meant nothing more or less than that it contains nothing contrary to Faith or morals, and substantially represents the original.

It would appear to follow [says Dr. Barry], and is commonly held, that the Church guarantees, by calling the Vulgate 'authentic,' its substantial accordance with those originals of which it is a rendering, but not its accuracy in all minute particulars.³

We are free to hold, therefore, that there may be lesser defects in the Vulgate, and that such should occur is not

¹ Vercellone *apud* Lamy, *Intro. Gen.*, p. 174 § 2.

² *Intro. Gen.* i. p. 474 § 175.

³ *Tradition of Scripture*, p. 29.

only not surprising, but rather the wonder is that it should be so perfect. For we must never forget that the Psalms, as we read them in our Office, are only a translation, and, therefore, on that score alone, must be imperfect, for no reproduction, however well executed, can fully represent the original. Those who still take an interest in their classics and read them as literature will perceive how little justice was done to the great originals by the 'keys' they used long ago as boys, and every lover of Homer will re-echo the remark made by the shrewd critic on Pope's translation: 'It is excellent English, Mr. Pope, but you must not call it Homer.'

'Translations of the Homeric pomes,' says a writer in the *Cornhill*,¹ 'especially that of the *Iliad*, have been so numerous lately that the subject threatens to become wearisome, and still we are without any work which adequately represents *all* the qualities of the *Iliad*.' And, speaking of Pope's translation, the same writer adds:

Pope was in fact so great a writer and so full of the brilliant spirit of the age of Marlborough and Bolingbroke that by sheer ability and skill he imposed a *Popian* Homer as a Homeric Homer on the English people for one hundred years.

The conclusion from these remarks forces itself strongly upon us—if a man like Pope, equipped as adequately as a mortal could be, a born poet and an accomplished Greek scholar, utterly failed to reproduce the original, is it any wonder that our translator labouring on a work infinitely more difficult and with equipments far less perfect should show human imperfections in his work? If one were to ask in what consists the imperfection of any translation, perhaps the best answer to give would be the fact that it is a translation, and be it said to the honour of St. Jerome, that most, if not all of the *menda levissima* in the Psalms arise from the difficult work of construing into Latin a language which, perhaps, of all others is most alien to its genius and syntax. For, as Dr. Barry truthfully says:—

The Holy Scripture, in whatever language written, is a series

¹ Vol. xvi., 1867.

of Oriental, nay of Semite and Hebrew compositions, and must be analysed accordingly : that even the Vulgate Latin is neither in style nor language European, but a rendering of Asiatic forms of thought into an idiom as far removed from them as it well could be . . . in Scripture there is nothing Latin except a few borrowed terms up and down the New Testament.¹

Whenever any difficulty occurs in the Vulgate the solution generally given is to say it is a Hebraism—that is the 'open sesame' which is supposed to unlock every labyrinth, but if we inspect the matter more closely we shall find that these expressions are not Hebraisms at all in any true sense of the word. For by a Hebraism or Hebrew idiom I understand an expression altogether peculiar to this language. That there are true idioms in Hebrew is an admitted fact, but to relegate every difficulty that appears into this region is simply an unwarranted straining of terms, and let me venture to assert that three-fourths of those so-called peculiarities are the result of subjecting Hebrew to a syntax to which it is entirely foreign. Let me enter a little into detail. Grammarians have tried to persuade themselves that the Latin genitive is found in Hebrew only when the preceding word is in the constructive case. But this is not so, for on their own admission the constructive case is often put for the absolute and *vice versa*, and therefore the constructive case is not an infallible sign of the genitive. And besides, what they call the constructive case is often only an emphatic or augmentative termination. Take, for example, the very first words of Psalm i. We do not translate the Hebrew (*aschre haisch*) *beatitudines viri* or *vir beatitudinum* but *vir beati* for *beatissimus*. The plural here, as in many places through the Psalms, is simply augmentative, and the constructive case is a *nota relationis* and nothing more. Again, we are asked to regard as a Hebraism the custom of joining two nouns by a conjunction to show that the second is in the genitive or used adjectively, e.g., *montes in Gelboe*, *formido ad gladium*, *aper de silva*, etc. But this also is an unfounded assumption. For, if there be one thing surer than another in Hebrew syntax, it

¹ *Tradition of Scripture*, p. 18.

is that the conjunctions and prepositions have no other force than that of a bond or link. Whether our translator fully recognised this truth or not I cannot say, but if expressions such as the above-mentioned were translated by the genitive, they would have brought out the meaning of the original, and another Hebraism would have disappeared from the horizon. The figure of speech called ellipsis, is common to all languages, and no one would regard its occurrence as a peculiar idiom : *Di meliora piis* is not a peculiar Latinism, nor *beannact leat* a peculiar Irishism, but the moment we meet *Dominus in coelo sedes ejus*, there is no possible explanation but a Hebrew idiom ! Another fertile source of imperfection in our Vulgate is that there are many expressions in Hebrew whose full signification was not grasped by the translator, or for which he could find no equivalent in Latin. In translating, for instance, the Hebrew word *bahal* by *Dominus* we find such combinations as *Dominus somniorum* for *somniator*, *Dominus sagittarum* for *sagittarius*, *Dominus inimicorum* for *inimicus*, etc., and this manner of speaking appears to us very strange. But this strangeness comes merely from the fact that the Latin *Dominus* is not so generic as the Hebrew word. In the latter language the word *man* is derived from the idea of superiority, and, therefore, it is not surprising that *man* and *Lord* should be synonymous. But the Latin *homo* and *dominus* are not at all equivalents. The exact rendering of the Hebrew word would be the French *homme* or our *man*, and there would not be the slightest idiosyncrasy in translating the expressions above by the French *l'homme aux rêves*, *homme de flèches*, *homme d'inimitié*, or by our own English, *a man of dreams*, etc. The same remark may be applied even with greater force to other seemingly extraordinary expressions. Everywhere through the Vulgate and in the Psalms we find such diction as *filius pinguedinis* for *pinguis*, *filius impietatis* for *impius*, *filius mortis* for *dignus morte*, *fili Orientis* for *Orientales*, *filius pharetræ* for *sagitta*, and we are naturally struck with wonder. We freely grant that if the Hebrew terms (*ben*, *bar*, *bath*) had no other signification than the Latin *filius* or *filia*, we should

have a very extraordinary idiom indeed. But, in their primitive sense, they have a much more generic and extended meaning than the terms by which they are translated in the Vulgate. They express the complete idea of filiation—everything that a child is in respect to its mother, i.e., not only one who comes forth from her womb, but one whom she carries in her arms, whom she nestles on her breast, who sports around her in childhood, who follows her as a lamb does its shepherd, who grows up to be the staff of her declining years, in a word, one whom she never leaves. In the Hebrew equivalent of *filius* or *filia* we have contained, therefore, two ideas (1) that of going forth from, and hence we see how *fili Orientis* comes to mean *Orientales*, and *filius pharetrae* to mean *sagitta* without any metaphor whatever. But this is only half their meaning. By an easy deduction from what I have said above they signify (2) union with, companionship, partisanship, and hence again the meaning of *filius impietatis* is the partisan of impiety, *filius mortis*, one devoted to death, etc. We see, therefore, that though these translations are faulty in adhering too slavishly to the letter and not adapting themselves to the spirit of the original, they are not Hebraisms, as many would have us to understand. But, perhaps, someone may object and say it is wrong to find fault with translations which are all found in express terms in the Septuagint and New Testament where we read *υἱὸς θανάτου*, etc. Is it possible or probable that these translators did not know the force of the language they employed? We believe they did certainly, but they wanted to be literal, and what could be done? They knew that the nearest equivalent to the Hebrew *bar* was *υἱὸς* in Greek and *filius* in Latin—they did their best under the circumstances, and angels could do no more. The Greek translator of Ecclesiasticus realized the difficulty of his task when he wrote in his Prologomenon to that book, *Non enim eandem vim habent hebraica quando in aliam linguam translata sunt.*

In all modern languages the connecting particles have definite and fixed meanings. Some are used to affirm, others to deny, some to give reasons and others to draw

conclusions. But in Hebrew this is not so. Their radical force here is to bind together the different parts of the discourse to show the relation or dependence of what precedes with what follows ; and it not unfrequently happens that they have in one place a meaning diametrically opposed to that given them in another. It is, therefore, the duty of the translator to assign to them their proper signification. This our translator often does, but not always. A few examples will suffice. Take, for instance, the 118th Psalm which we meet every day in the Office. In verse 105 we find *lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis*. Here the particle is simply a connective, and is properly translated by *et*. But take verses 109 and 110 in the same Psalm, *Anima mea in manibus meis semper et legem tuam non sum oblitus, Posuerunt peccatores laqueum mihi et legem tuam non sum oblitus*. It is quite evident that the second portion of both these verses is adversative and *et* is not the proper translation of the connective. The meaning is brought out well in the English Prayer Book, which renders them thus : ' My soul is always in my hand yet do I not forget Thy law, the ungodly have laid a snare for me but yet I swerved not from Thy commandments.' What has been said about the connecting particles may be applied also to the relative pronoun, for in Hebrew there is no such thing as a relative strictly so called, but a *nota relationis*, which necessarily finds its complement in the pronoun to be added, hence the expression *quorum non audiantur voces eorum*.¹ The employment of the positive where we should expect the comparative, e.g., *bonum est confidere in Domino quam confidere in homine*,² and of the feminine where we should expect the neuter, e.g., *unam petii a Domino hanc requiram*, need cause no difficulty if we remember that these translations arise from a slavish adhesion to the original Hebrew where there are no degrees of comparison as we understand them, and no neuter gender.

It would be entirely beyond the scope of this essay to

¹ Ps. xviii. 4.

² Ps. cxvii

deal with anything more than mere generalities, but I hope I have shown that the imperfections and peculiar terms of expression found in the Psalms as they stand in the Vulgate are due, for the most part, to the fact that the Vulgate is a translation, for Lamartine's well-known saying that 'no author is translatable' applies with double force to the case we are considering.

The history of the false Renaissance shows that there were many then—as perhaps there are now—who were shocked at what they term the uncouth and unclassical phraseology of the Vulgate Scriptures.¹ But it is only those who misinterpret the scope of the Incarnation and the Scriptures that will make such a charge as this. The words of the Divine Master are: 'I thank Thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and revealed them to the little ones.' And He gives as one of the signs of His mission that 'the poor have the Gospel preached to them.'² The word of God was not announced by the Apostles and their immediate successors in the language of the educated classes, it was announced to the poor, and, therefore, its preachers were obliged to use in their instructions the language of everyday life. Hence we find that the Septuagint translators, as also the New Testament writers, did not employ classical Greek, but the Graeco-Judaic *lingua plebeia*. And precisely the same phenomenon meets us in the Western Church. Here again it is not the language of the 'upper ten' of Rome which the translators used, but the *lingua vulgaris*. This was an absolute necessity of the times, and the Church has not considered it wise to change it. And besides, if the fruit is good, what matters it about the kernel in which it is enclosed? Let us rather say with the Psalmist, *Quam dulcia fancibus meis eloquia tua super mel ori meo, . . . declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat et intellectum dat parvulis*.

P. V. HIGGINS, c c.

¹ Cf. Pastor's *History of the Popes*, Introduction.

² Matt. xv. 25.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CLANDESTINITY

THE new legislation¹ concerning *sponsalia* and marriage puts an end to the vast confusion which difficulty of interpretation and inability to measure facts cast around the old law of the Council of Trent. According to the decree *Tametsi*: 'Those who otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest himself or of another priest acting with the license of the parish priest or of the Ordinary, and in the presence of two or three witnesses, shall attempt to contract matrimony, the Holy Synod renders altogether incapable of contracting marriage thus, and decrees that contracts of this kind are null and void.' Simple in its main outlines this law gave rise to innumerable controversies and conscientious doubts. Indeed, it was often impossible to determine whether or not a marriage was celebrated in accordance with its provisions. The decree *Ne temere inirentur clandestina conjugia* so simplifies the celebration of marriage that in future invalidity arising from the law of clandestinity will be comparatively rare. Anxious doubts and inextricable dissensions had also full play in regard to *sponsalia* for the validity of which no legal formalities were necessary throughout the greater part of the Church. The decree *Ne temere* now demands certain formalities which will make it easy to know when there are espousals having, for the *forum internum* and the *forum externum*, all the canonical effects which true espousals carry in their train. A summary of the new enactments will, I hope, prove useful to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

¹ Cf. I. E. RECORD, p. 442 *infra*. In quoting the decrees in English I have used the translation of the *Tablet*, August 31.

BETROTHAL

Concerning *sponsalia* the decree is short and effective. In the first place no espousals will be valid in the future unless they are contracted in writing. The document must be signed by the parties making the promise of future marriage, and also either by the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place, or by at least two witnesses. It will be noted that the signatures of the parish priest *and* of two witnesses are not necessary ; what is required is the signature of the parish priest *or* of at least two witnesses. If both or either of the contracting parties cannot write this must be mentioned in the document, and in this case the signature of an additional witness is needed.

In the second place the parish priest whose signature is required is not only a parish priest in the strict canonical sense who presides over a canonically erected parish ; but also, in places where there are no canonically erected parishes, the Rector who is in spiritual charge of a specified district, and who is equivalent to a parish priest ; and also the priest universally delegated *ad curam animarum* in missions whose territorial boundaries are not yet fixed.

The same rule holds good in connexion with the new legislation which requires the presence of the parish priest of the place for the validity of Catholic marriages, so that a Rector of a specified district and the priest generally deputed to take spiritual charge of a mission not yet confined within strictly determined territorial limits, as well as a parish priest in the strict canonical sense, are authorized witnesses, within their own territory, of Catholic marriages. Our curates do not come under the description of a parish priest contained in this new decree. Just as they, like any other priest, can be deputed by the parish priest or Ordinary to assist validly at marriages within the territory of the parish priest or Ordinary, so, too, it would seem, they can be similarly deputed to sign the document required for espousals.

The legislation demanding these formalities for valid betrothal, is binding not only for the *forum externum* but

also for the *forum internum*, so that no matrimonial engagement amongst Catholics is binding in conscience unless these formalities are observed. This point is made clear by the recent reply of the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs to the effect that the formalities demanded for espousals by the Plenary Council of Latin America are necessary both for the *forum externum* and the *forum internum*.¹

The persons affected by the law are Catholics contracting *sponsalia* with one another, parties only one of whom is a Catholic, and non-Catholics of whom one at least is a pervert.

MARRIAGE

After next Easter, when the new enactments come into force, only those marriages will be valid which will be celebrated in the presence of the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place and of at least two witnesses. This law, together with the limitations laid down by the decree, affects marriages of Catholics *inter se*, and also marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics whether the latter are baptized or not, even when a dispensation has been obtained from the impediment arising from difference of religion, unless in its wisdom the Holy See sees fit to make exceptions for any particular place or region. The law does not affect the marriages of non-Catholics *inter se* except one or both of the contracting parties be a pervert from the Catholic Church. It will be seen from this that a great change has been brought about in this country in reference to mixed marriages. Heretofore such marriages were valid even though they were not celebrated in the presence of the parish priest, but after Easter next the presence of the parish priest will be necessary for their validity.

The decree *Ne temere* will, after Easter, be binding throughout the whole Catholic world. The decree *Tametsi* of Trent required a special kind of promulgation which

¹ Cf. I. E. RECORD, August, 1907, p. 206.

never took place in many regions. In England, Scotland, and many parts of America, the law of Trent was not binding because it never was promulgated. In the future, however, these countries will be in the same condition as the rest of the Catholic world, so that there, as elsewhere, the presence of the Rector will be needed for the validity of all marriages between Catholics, between Catholics and non-Catholics, and between all parties one of whom at least was a pervert from the Catholic faith.

Here, however, two important exceptions, indicated in the decree *Ne temere*, need mention. 'When danger of death is imminent and where the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place, or a priest delegated by either of these cannot be had, then, in order to provide for the relief of conscience and (should the case require it) for the legitimation of offspring, marriage may be contracted validly and licitly before any priest and two witnesses.' The other exception is contained in the following words: 'Should it happen that in any district the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of them before whom marriage can be celebrated, is not to be had, and that this condition of things has lasted for a month, marriage may be validly and licitly entered upon by the formal declaration of consent made by the spouses in the presence of two witnesses.' The second exception is of no practical importance in this country, but the first exception is of great use whenever there is imminent danger of death, when the relief of conscience demands a marriage, and when the regularly authorized witness, be he parish priest, Ordinary, or delegate of one of these, cannot be had. Then any priest can assist at the marriage, just as any priest can, in analogous circumstances, validly absolve from all sins and censures.

As already indicated, the authorized witness of a marriage amongst Catholics will in future be the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place; and by a parish priest is to be understood not only a parish priest in the strict sense, but also in places where there are no canonical parishes, the Rector of a specified district, and also the

generally delegated priest in charge of a mission of which the boundaries are not definitely fixed. The parish priest and the Ordinary may delegate another priest, specified and certain, to assist at marriages within the limits of their district. This delegation may be general or particular, but it must be given for a priest specially designated. In former times delegation could be validly given for any priest to be selected by the contracting parties, but such indefinite delegation will not avail in future. The delegated priest is bound by the terms of his mandate and also by the limitations, affecting validity or lawfulness of assistance at marriage, which bind the parish priest and the Ordinary of the place.

The parish priest and the Ordinary of the place *validly* assist at a marriage: (1) Only from the day they have taken possession of the benefice or entered upon their office, unless they have been by public decree excommunicated by name or suspended from the office; (2) only within the limits of their territory—within which they assist *validly* at marriages not only of their own subjects, but also of those not subject to them; (3) provided when invited and asked, and not compelled by violence or by grave fear, they demand and receive the consent of the contracting parties.

Since these limitations bring about a notable change in previously enacted legislation, it will be useful to say a few words about each of them.

(1) Formerly, as soon as a parish priest was appointed and so long as he remained a parish priest, he could validly assist at the marriages of his subjects notwithstanding any excommunication or suspension from his office, which he may have incurred, or even though he had not yet taken possession of his benefice; the title of parish priest validly conferred and retained was all that was required. In future, however, only possession of the benefice or the office will qualify the parish priest to be an official witness of marriage, and he will lose this authorization as soon as he is by a public decree excommunicated by name or suspended from his office; deprivation of the benefice or office will not be required to deprive him of authority to assist validly at a marriage.

(2) The parish priest and the Ordinary are authorized witnesses of marriage only in their own territories, and in this the new decree differs widely from the Tridentine law according to which a parish priest could validly assist and depute another priest to assist at the marriages of his subjects in any part of the world. If the decree *Ne temere* has limited the place where a parish priest can validly assist at marriages of his subjects, it has extended the number of persons at whose marriages he can validly assist, since in future all Catholics, whether subjects or not, can be validly married in the presence of the parish priest of the place where the marriage is celebrated. It is easy to see that this regulation will limit enormously the number of marriages which are invalid *ex capite clandestinitatis*, because the presence of the parish priest of the place or of his delegate is necessary and will suffice for the validity of all Catholic marriages that may be contracted in the parish, so that mistakes arising from the difficulty of discovering the *proprius parochus* are practically rendered ineffective.

(3) The third limitation regarding validity of assistance at marriage is made opportune by the extension just mentioned. While formerly a parish priest would be a valid witness of a marriage, even though he was present uninvited or was compelled to assist by violence or by grave fear, in future such unwilling presence shall not suffice for the validity of marriage. Hence no future Don Abbondio need dread a Rodrigo's revenge.

The parish priest and Ordinary of the place *lawfully* assist :—

(1) When they have legitimately ascertained the free state of the contracting parties, having duly complied with the conditions laid down by the law ; (2) when they have ascertained that one of the contracting parties has a domicile, or at least has lived for a month in the place where the marriage takes place ; (3) if this condition be lacking the parish priest and the Ordinary of the place, to assist licitly at a marriage, require the permission of the parish priest or the Ordinary of one of the contracting parties, unless it be a case of grave necessity, which excuses from this permission ; (4) concerning persons without

fixed abode (*vagos*), except in case of necessity it is not lawful for a parish priest to assist at their marriage, until he reports the matter to the Ordinary or to a priest delegated by him, and obtains permission to assist ; (5) in every case let it be held as a rule that the marriage is to be celebrated before the parish priest of the bride, unless some just cause excuses from this.

The conditions for lawful assistance, indicated under (1) and (4) are the same as have been heretofore in existence ; the condition contained in (5) makes general a rule that is already in force in many regions ; but in future it will have the good result of lessening the number of marriages celebrated in churches which are not the parochial churches of the brides. According to conditions (2) and (3) the parish priest can licitly assist at a marriage of others than *vagi* in his district only when one or other of four hypotheses is verified. He can lawfully assist if one of the parties has a domicile in the district, or one has resided in the district during the month previous to the marriage, or permission has been obtained from the *proprius parochus* of one of the parties, or, finally, there is a case of grave necessity which excuses from this permission. Any one of these four hypotheses being verified the parish priest can not only validly, but also licitly assist at the marriage.

To possess a domicile in a place a month's residence is not required, hence a parish priest can lawfully assist at the marriage of those who are domiciled in his parish even though a month has not yet elapsed since residence was begun. Is the same true of a quasi-domicile, when there has not been a month of actual residence in the parish ? It would not surprise me if some difference of opinion were to exist on this point, since people having only such a quasi-domicile must, so far as marriage is concerned, be reckoned as *vagi* if a month's residence is necessary before the pastor of the place can lawfully assist at their marriage, and many will be reluctant to consider them *vagi* and will be inclined, in consequence, to say either that ' domicile ' in the text of the decree must be understood to include domicile in the strict sense and domicile in the wide sense, or that the

omission of all mention of a quasi-domicile does not mean its abolition. It seems to me, however, that either a domicile in the strict sense or at least a month's residence is necessary to make a person fully subject to the parish priest of the place in regard to marriage; that a person without one or other of these qualifications must be regarded as a *vagus* if he has not a domicile or a month's residence in another parish. This seems to be the plain meaning of the text of the decree which speaks of the necessity of a domicile or at least a month's residence; and especially in view of the fact that when the Council desires to include a simple quasi-domicile it has no difficulty in making mention of it, and also in view of the fact that in the preamble of the decree the Council states that it proposes to remove the confusion which arises from the difficulty of determining when a quasi-domicile is acquired; a considerable portion of this confusion would be merely transferred from the validity to the lawfulness of assistance at marriage if a quasi-domicile without a month's residence were to remain sufficient, as heretofore, to make a person fully subject to the parish priest of the place so far as marriage is concerned. Hence I am led to conclude that 'domicile' in the text of the decree means a domicile in the strict sense, and also that those who have a quasi-domicile, without a month's residence in the place, must, so far as marriage is concerned, be regarded as *vagi*, unless they are subject to another pastor by reason of a domicile or a month's residence in his parish.

I may mention that the permission which a parish priest requires in order licitly to assist at the marriage of another parish priest's subject is altogether different in its nature from the authority which a delegate receives to assist validly at a marriage. The latter acts as a deputy of the delegating parish priest, while a priest who has obtained the permission in question assists at the marriage in virtue of authority which he directly receives from Canon Law, though the lawful use of that authority is, outside cases of grave necessity, dependent on the consent or permission

of the parish priest of the contracting parties. It follows from this marked difference between the two kinds of license that a priest can give even general delegation to another priest to assist at all Catholic marriages that are celebrated in his district, whereas, if he were a mere delegate of another parish priest, his power of sub-delegation would be limited.

The decree *Ne temere* orders registration of the marriage in the marriage register and also in the baptismal register. In the registration in the register of marriages the parish priest, or he who takes his place, must write at once the names of the contracting parties and of the witnesses, the place and day of the celebration of marriage, and the other details, according to the method prescribed in the ritual books or by the Ordinary; and this even when another priest delegated either by the parish priest himself or by the Ordinary has assisted at the marriage. In registering the marriage in the book of baptisms, the parish priest is to note that the married person contracted marriage on such a day in his parish. If the married person has been baptized elsewhere the parish priest who has assisted at the marriage is to transmit, either directly or through the episcopal *curia*, the announcement of the marriage that has taken place, to the parish priest of the place where the person was baptized, in order that the marriage may be inscribed in the book of baptisms. Whenever the marriage is contracted in the exceptional cases already mentioned—viz., in imminent danger of death and in the absence during a month of the parish priest, the Ordinary of the place, and any delegate of these—the priest in the former case, the witnesses in the latter, are bound conjointly with the contracting parties to provide that the marriage be inscribed as soon as possible in the prescribed books.

Parish priests who violate the rules laid down are to be punished by their Ordinaries according to the nature and gravity of their transgression. Moreover, if they assist at the marriage of anybody in violation of the rules laid down about the necessity of a domicile, or a month's actual residence, or the permission of the *proprius parochus*

which is needed except in case of grave necessity, they are not to appropriate the sole fees, but must remit them to the parish priest of the contracting parties.

As already indicated these provisions begin to have the force of law from next Easter.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

QUASI-DOMICILE AFTER MORE THAN SIX MONTHS OR A FULL MONTH OF ACTUAL RESIDENCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—There is a good deal of misunderstanding, and I have read and heard conflicting opinions about the question, whether a quasi-domicile in a parish can be acquired only by an actual residence for more than six months without the intention of remaining there for that length of time. Would you be kind enough to state the right teaching on that point of ecclesiastical law? Moreover, during the past few days I have heard it said that whatever may be the old doctrine and mode established by the Church for the acquisition of a canonical quasi-domicile, they have now been abrogated by the new marriage law, according to which not only six months, but even one full month of actual habitation in a parish is all that will, henceforth, be required for the legitimate acquisition of the quasi-domicile and the lawful celebration of all marriages amongst Catholics. Is that view correct? An answer will oblige.

A.

To answer our correspondent's query it will suffice to briefly state the evolution of the canonical legislation on that particular point of ecclesiastical discipline contained in his question. It will not, we hope, be out of place if we begin a little *ab ovo*. It is well known that two conditions are simultaneously required for the acquisition of a quasi-domicile: an actual residence in the locality and the intention of remaining there for a certain period of time. Old authors used to say that the length of time required for that purpose is only *notabilis anni pars*, but this was a vague and uncertain

definition which gave rise to quite a number of different opinions and left unsettled the numberless and intricate difficulties connected with it. Happily that question was decided by the Holy Office in the decree of June 7, 1867, by stating that : ' Ad constituendum quasi-domicilium . . . duo requiruntur, habitatio in loco ubi Matrimonium contrahitur atque animus ibidem permanendi *per maiorem anni partem*.' As to the intention of remaining in a place for the greater part of the year in order to acquire a quasi-domicile, the common teaching was, and rightly too, that this intention must exist and be certain from the whole beginning of the actual residence, and if so, a quasi-domicile is acquired from the very first day of habitation in the locality, while, on the contrary it would never be acquired, should the permanence be protracted even for a year, if the intention of remaining for the greater part of the year be wanting, on the ground that one of the constituent elements of a quasi-domicile is in the case absent.

To many, this theory seemed queer, and the reason assigned for it quite strange. It appears, in fact, a rather curious principle that some individual, for instance, who goes to a certain city only to transact some business or to find employment with the intention of leaving the place as soon as he has completed the first or failed to secure the latter, would *never* acquire there a quasi-domicile, although he might remain for one, and even for several years ; taking especially into consideration that when it is question of the acquiring of a quasi-domicile the *elementum corporis*, that is, the actual residence for the time fixed by law, is the principal factor required.¹ Moreover, it is contended that the intention necessary for the acquisition of a quasi-domicile is always present after the six months of actual residence, for it looks but natural and reasonable that the same fact of residence necessarily carries with it the intention of remaining as long as that residence was protracted, and it is its best and surest indication and proof.

¹ This is the teaching of several canonists, including Pope Innocent IV as a private doctor ; and the privilege granted, of late, to several countries by the Roman Congregations, to regard the time of residence determined in the privilege as the sole condition for acquiring a quasi-domicile, seems to lend countenance to this view.

This line of reasoning seemed fairly logical to a small number of Canonists who were led to hold the opinion that six months of actual residence in a place, independently of the intention of staying for that length of time, is quite sufficient for the acquiring of a quasi-domicile—although more numerous and competent authorities always and in various ways denounced it as a theory against the existing ecclesiastical legislation.¹

On the 9th of November, 1898, the Holy Office issued a decree which was an answer to a matrimonial case forwarded by the ecclesiastical Curia of Paris, and an instruction as to the line of practice to be followed in similar cases in the future. The decree runs thus :—

Orator acquiescat, et addatur : Se conferentes in civitatem Parisiensem ex alio loco vel paroecia *per sex menses*, censendos esse ibidem habere quasi-domicilium in ordine ad Matrimonium, *quin inquisitio facienda sit* de animo ibi permanendi per maiorem anni partem, facto verbo cum SSmo.

From this decree the advocates of the opinion of six months' actual habitation as the only condition required for a quasi-domicile drew the conclusion that their theory had already received an authoritative approval from the Holy See, and that, moreover, it had been converted into a general law of the Church abrogating the previous ecclesiastical legislation on this particular point. As the general nature of the wording of the decree seemed to justify their contention, a good many of even quite modern Canonists agreed to that view, so that Bargilliat, for instance, absolutely states :—

Qui in aliqua paroecia per sex menses commorati fuerint censendi sunt ibidem habere quasi-domicilium in ordine ad Matrimonium contrahendum, *quin inquisitio facienda sit* de animo ibidem permanendi per maiorem anni partem.²

However, those authors who relied on that decree as on a certain proof and apodictical argument in corroboration of

¹ Cf. De Becker, *De Spons. et Matrim.*, edit. ii., p. 94 ; Boudinhon, *Quelques reflexions sur le domicile et le quasi-domicile* ; Card. Gennari, *Cons. Can.*, ii., p. 328, etc.

² Bargilliat, *Praelect. Jur. Can.*, ii., n. 910,

their doctrine were completely deceived ; because the instruction laid down by the Holy Office in the aforesaid rescript, far from being a general disposition for the whole Church, is only a particular response and a privilege conceded to the city of Paris. This may be first demonstrated from the local determinative clause of the rescript : *se conferentes in civitatem Parisiensem*, which shows the range of the reply by fixing the limits of the concession. Again, it is called a special privilege by the Cardinal Bishop of Breslau who, on the 23rd of June, 1902, petitioned the Holy See to extend to Berlin this special privilege already accorded to Paris. Moreover, the Assessor of the Holy Office, requested by the Congregation of the Council to state whether the answer given to Paris on the 9th November, 1898, contained a general concession or a particular privilege, the 26th of January, 1903, replied *ex officio* as follows :—

In this Supreme Tribunal [we translate from the Italian] it] has never been adopted as a general principle that a parish priest can validly assist at the marriage of persons who have spent six months in his parish without making inquiries as to their *animus permanendi*, and that the dispositions issued for a Paris case were and must be regarded as particular ones.

All this is in conformity with the opinion set forth by Cardinal Gennari¹ on this question, who has good reason to know the value and meaning of [the rescript for the Paris case, being at the time of its issue the Assessor of the Holy Office, and mainly responsible for its enactment and publication.

It seems clear, therefore, that the Church has never recognized as a general ecclesiastical law the principle that a quasi-domicile may be acquired only by six months of actual residence and without the intention of remaining for that length of time.

But, has the recent marriage law sanctioned that principle, and made it at last a general law of the Church ?

¹ Cf. *Monit. Eccl.*, vol. x., p. 220.

Has this new legislation introduced a novel mode of acquiring a quasi-domicile, enacting that all which will, henceforth, be required in all cases for the acquisition of a quasi-domicile is not six months but only a month of actual habitation, thus abolishing the old theory and way of acquiring a quasi-domicile? There is some room for doubt. First of all, be it remembered that whatever alteration is made by the new law in the way of acquiring a quasi-domicile it affects exclusively the Sacrament of Matrimony, and does not regard any other ecclesiastical matter or disciplinary practice, for which the old rule and theory still holds good. So that—to cite one case out of many—if a man dies in a strange parish after having resided there for a month and even for six months or more without the intention of acquiring a quasi-domicile, and remaining for the greater part of the year, we maintain that, according to the usual theory about quasi-domicile still in force and apart from special customs or legislations, he has no right of burial in the place of his demise, nor has the local pastor any claim to the celebration of the exequial ceremonies, and much less to the offerings usually presented on such an occasion.

With regard to the Sacrament of Matrimony, some believe that the month's residence prescribed by the new law is an additional way of acquiring a quasi-domicile without abolishing, at the same time, the usual mode hitherto in existence, at least as long as the month's residence in a new locality has not yet expired. It is not quite certain, they tell us, whether the new law has altogether dispensed with the intention of remaining for the most part of the year in order to acquire a quasi-domicile, or whether it has established a month's residence in a place as a *praesumptio iuris* that the intention of remaining for the greater part of the year is present; and as a practical rule to the local ecclesiastical superiors to decide about the liceity of a marriage, should it, in some cases, be difficult to make inquiries about the intention of the contracting parties. This practical rule of a month's residence as a *praesumptio iuris* for the presence of the intention of remaining for the greater part of the year, was made long ago by Benedict XIV, Const. *Paucis*

Abhinc,¹ to judge about the validity of the marriage, especially after its celebration; and it is no wonder if the same rule is now established as a *praesumptio iuris* to decide about the lawful assistance at a marriage particularly before its celebration.

Others, on the contrary, hold that the usual way of acquiring a quasi-domicile will no longer be in existence when this new marriage law will come into force. This seems a more probable opinion when we look at the wording of the decree. It designates *only* two places where a marriage may be lawfully celebrated, the place of the domicile and that of the actual habitation after a month—*constitit de domicilio vel saltem de mensura commoratione*—and with regard to the last method indicated by this law the principle of law may be applied that, *Ubi lex non distinguit neque nos distinguere debemus*. This is also the opinion expressed by the Consultors who were asked by the Congregation of the Council to write a '*votum*' before the enactment of the new law; and finally, the same conclusion may be arrived at if we take into consideration the aim of the Roman authorities in framing the new law. This was—as it appears from the introductory part of the decree—to do away with the quasi-domicile as it was in existence in the past, on account of the numberless and intricate difficulties to which it gave rise and with which local ecclesiastical superiors were frequently confronted at the expense, sometimes, of the validity of the marriage.

S. LUZIO.

¹ Zitelli, *Apparatus*, p. 421, dealing with the Constitution of Benedict XIV, writes: '*Mensis igitur adiicitur ad praesumptionem non ad terminum. Quocirca si de animo non constat mense praesumitur.*' Cf. also Aichner, p. 575; Santi, vol. iv., p. 139.

LITURGY

METHOD OF HOLDING INFANT AT BAPTISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—How should a child be held at the time when the water is poured on the head in the administration of Baptism? Should the child be held with face downwards or with face looking upwards? The latter way seems to me the more convenient position for the pouring on of the baptismal water. May the priest administer the sacrament in this position, or is he bound to pour on the water on the head in the downward position?

PRACTICAL.

There is no explicit direction in the Roman Ritual about the exact way in which the infant should be held while the minister pours the water on its head. The rubric simply runs thus: 'Tunc Patrino vel Matrino, vel utroque, infan-tem tenente, Sacerdos vasculo seu urceolo accipit Aquam baptismalem, et de ea ter fundit super caput infantis in modum crucis,' etc. Commentators, however, on the Roman Ritua go into more or less detail, and lay down expressly what the rubric merely insinuates. Now, in giving detailed directions as to the precise manner in which the sponsors should hold the infant, they explicitly state that it should be held with the face downwards, and over the vessel that receives the water after it is poured on the head. Thus Baruffaldis, whose work on the Ritual is a recognized classic, says that the face should be in a downward position, and that the water is to be poured 'non supra faciem sed supra capitis.'¹ And all subsequent Rubricists—at least those consulted—following in the footsteps of this great authority, merely repeat his teaching. De Herdt says, 'infans tenetur ita ut habeat faciem pronam versus vas, in quod defluit aqua e capite decidens'²: Van der Stappen, 'infans debet sustineri capite nudato, et versa

¹ *Com. in Rit. Rom.*, vol. i., *Ordo Bap.*, tit. xix.

² *Praxis Liturgias Sacrae*, iii., p. 220.

facie ad terram.¹ It is doubtful if there is any modern Commentator of note who prescribes the method that seems to recommend itself to our correspondent.

Should it be asked why all are so unanimous in adopting this plan, the answer appears to be, partly the great authority of Baruffaldis, and partly its intrinsic merits from their point of view at all events. It prevents the water from falling on the face or getting into the eyes of the infant. But is a priest, to whom the suggestion of our correspondent commends itself as better and more convenient in practice, bound to follow the direction of the Commentators? He does not appear to be, because their recommendations are merely directive and not preceptive. They give them as the best method in their opinion of carrying out the rubrical ordinance. This view is confirmed by what we read in Lehmkuhl. Speaking of the case where some difficulty may be experienced in making the water flow on the skin of the head where there is a good deal of hair, he suggests the dividing or parting of the hair with the left hand, while the right pours on the water. But in the next clause he adds, '*melius tamen omnis dubitandi causa tollitur, si in fronte baptismus confertur.*'² Now this implies that the baptismal water may be licitly poured on the forehead and in order that such a thing may be done conveniently, the infant must be held with the face upwards. The conclusion, then, seems to be that the method of holding the infant recommended by the Rubricists generally is not binding in conscience, but is to be regarded as their idea of how to carry out the Rubric in the most approved way.

LITANY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN AT BENEDICTION ON
CORPUS CHRISTI

REV. DEAR SIR,—May the Litany of Loretto be sung during Benediction on the feast of Corpus Christi?

SACERDOS.

If the Benediction mentioned is that which takes place

¹ *Sac. Lit.*, iv. § 98 : item O'Kane, p. 102.

² *Theol. Mor. Comp.*, ii., p. 47.

in connexion with the solemn Procession of the Blessed Sacrament that is usually held on this day, it would not be proper to have the Litany of the Blessed Virgin sung during it. The *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* gives a detailed description of the ceremonies to be observed on this occasion and has no reference to any Litany. Our correspondent, presumably, contemplates the case where Benediction is held in the evening, and where there it has no connexion whatever with the Corpus Christi Procession, and wants to know if in these circumstances the Litany may be sung. Even here the Litany would not, at all events, be appropriate, for though there are no very fixed regulations in regard to the character of the hymns, etc., sung at Benediction, as long as they are of the approved kind, still there is at least an implied understanding that all the musical compositions and prayers should be suitable to the occasion on which Benediction takes place. Now, the reason why solemn Benediction is permitted on Corpus Christi is to do honour to the Feast. Hence it is only proper that the hymns and prayers employed at this Benediction should be of such a character as have reference to the Feast celebrated or to the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar. The Litany, then, would appear to be out of place on such an occasion.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

DAYS OF ABSTINENCE—ALCOHOL v. MEAT

REV. DEAR SIR,—A correspondence has been going on in the pages of the *Tablet* for the past couple of weeks, touching a very important subject, but as the *Tablet* has not a very large circulation in Ireland, it occurs to me as a happy thought to transfer the subject to your columns for the sake of greater publicity. The matter was initiated by The MacDermot, whose very name entitles him to respect. He wrote to suggest that for the sake of Temperance and other reasons the Church should alter her legislation and change the abstinence on Fridays and such like days from meat to alcohol.

It would appear that he approached the Archbishop of Dublin on the question, and that the latter expressed himself as not unfavourable to the scheme, at least as regards its general principles, if not its details. This brought forth some answers *pro* and *con*, notably one signed 'T. A. P.' who, whilst going a certain distance with The MacDermot, would hold the Fridays sacrosanct from change, but as to the other abstinence days he would vote for the dispensation *in favour of Total Abstinents of a certain standing and of them only.*

Lastly, The MacDermot suggests that the residents of each diocese, who are in favour of such some alteration in the disciplinary law of the Church, should memorialize their bishop to that effect, asking him to unite with his brother-bishops in petitioning the Holy See to grant this favour. And thus the matter rests for the present.

Now, although the suggestion appears rather revolutionary at first sight, we must bear in mind that the present Pope has made even more startling changes, e.g., the non-fasting Communion for sickly (not dying) persons, and again, what I may call the new *Tametsi*. What does the Church propose to herself by disallowing us meat on Fridays and certain other days throughout the year? Is it to injure or run down our physical health? No. And yet some doctors (*vide* Dr. Mapother's letter) hold that even one day's abstinence has this effect—which I decline to believe.

Is not the Church's intention rather to pull down our *spirit*, by denying to us something we desire to have? Well, if this be so, what is the difference between meat and drink? To many thousands of persons it would be a far greater mortification to go

without alcohol than meat, and all of us agree that even granting that abstinence from meat may sometimes do us harm, abstinence from alcohol never can.

There is no doubt that if such a dispensation were granted to *bona-fide Total Abstiners and to them only*, it would immensely increase their numbers and would give an impetus to the Temperance cause in Ireland, such as nothing else can or will. I, therefore, am in favour of the change being made for them and them alone. Surely to be a Total Abstainer all the year round ought to be deemed sufficient compliance with the Church's *spirit* of mortification.—Yours,

G.

DOCUMENTS

POPE PIUS X TO THE EDITORS OF THE 'ETUDES'

EPISTOLA

PII PP. X AD MODERATORES ET SCRIPTORES COMMENTARII 'LES
ETUDES' IN QUINQUAGESIMO ANNO EIUSDEM INSTITUTIONIS*Dilecti Filii, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,*

Multa eaque merita benevolentia vestrum constanter persecuti commentarium, obstinere in praesens a singulari deferendo testimonio animi non possumus, amplam aperiendae voluntatis opportunitatem faustitate suppeditante vestra, ob memoriam anni quinquagesimi in scribendo edendoque feliciter expleti. Haeret enim in mente quanta cum alacritate laborum animorumque cum fidelitate persequi institutum commentari contenderitis, salubri semper nativae catholicae fidei edocenda doctrina, sacrisque iuribus Ecclesiae generose tuendis. Devenata etiam Galliae tempora, quando subit catholica res exagitationem dolosam saevamque, vestrae non paulum opinioni virtutis explorataeque erga Nos observantiae addidere, propterea quod suscepta et impertita ab Apostolica Sede consilia curaveritis explananda populo, Nostram inde quum sollicitudinem de sanctissimis rebus, tum dilectionem gentis Gallorum illustrantes. Hisce de causis, praemii ergo, atque etiam incitamenti gratia, libet propitiam occasionem amplecti gratulandi ex animo vobiscum de latis in religionem doctrinasque, praesertim sacras, uberrimis fecundisque fructibus, nuncupandique pro commentarii vita et incremento felicia ac sincera vota, id sine dubitatione ratos, progressiones vestras item rei catholicae progressionem exstituras, illudque certo confisos, quos nec auctoritas nec scientia deficiunt, ne animum quidem esse defecturum, si quando acceptas a patribus memorias sacras tutari viriliter et vindicare sit opus a fallaci recentiorum quorumdam exsistentium doctrina. Vobis vero singulis ut Nostra pateat propensa voluntas, auspicem caelestium gratiarum Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIV Martii anno MCMVII, Pontificatus Nostri quarto.

PIUS PP. X.

**ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X ON
MODERNIST ERRORS**

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X
LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE

DE MODERNISTARVM DOCTRINIS.

AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQVE
LOCORVM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOS-
TOLICA SEDE HABENTES

PIVS PAPA X

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Pascendi dominici gregis mandatum Nobis divinitus officium id munus in primis a Christo assignatum habet, ut traditae sanctis fidei depositum vigilantissime custodiat, repudiatis. profanis vocum novitatibus atque oppositionibus falsi nominis scientiae. Quae quidem supremi providentia pastoris nullo plane non tempore catholico agmini necessaria fuit: etenim, auctore humani peneris hoste, nunquam defuere *virī loquentes perversa*,¹ *vaniloqui et seductores*,² *errantes et in errorem militantes*.³ Verumtamen inimicorum crucis Christi, postrema hac aetate, numerum crevisse admodum fatendum est; qui, artibus omnino novis astuque plenis, vitalem Ecclesiae vim elidere, ipsumque, si queant, Christi regnum evertere funditus nituntur. Quare silere Nobis diutius haud licet, ne muneri sanctissimo deesse videamur, et benignitas, qua, spe sanioris consilii, huc usque usi sumus, officii oblivio reputetur.

Qua in re ut moram ne interponamus illud in primis exigit, quod fautores errorum iam non inter apertos hostes quaerendi sunt modo; verum, quod dolendum maxime verendumque est, in ipso latent sinu gremioque Ecclesiae, eo sane nocentiores, quo minus perspicui.—Loquimur, Venerabiles Fratres, de multis e catholicorum laicorum numero, quin, quod longe miserabilius, ex ipso sacerdotum coetu, qui, fucoso quodam Ecclesiae amore, nullo solido philosophiae ac theologiae praesidio, immo adeo venenatis imbuti penitus doctrinis quae ab Ecclesiae osoribus traduntur, Ecclesiae eiusdem renovatores, omni posthabita modestia animi, se iactitant; factoque audacius agmine, quidquid sanctius est in Christi opere impetunt, ipsa

¹ Act. xx. 30.

² Tit. i. 10.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 13.

haud incolūmi divini Reparatoris persona, quam, ausu sacrilego, ad purum putumque hominem extenuant.

Homines huiusmodi Ecclesiae Nos hostibus adscribere, etsi mirantur ipsi, nemo tamen mirabitur iure, qui, mente animi seposita cuius penes Deum arbitrium est, illorum doctrinas et loquendi agendique rationes cognorit. Enimvero non is a veritate discedat, qui eos Ecclesiae adversarios quovis alio perniciosiores habeat. Nam non hi extra Ecclesiam, sed intra, ut diximus, de illius perniciē consilia agitant sua : quāobrem in ipsis fere Ecclesiae venis atque in visceribus periculum residet, eo securiore damno, quo illi intimius Ecclesiam norunt. Adde quod securim non ad ramos surculosque ponunt ; sed ad radicem ipsam, fidem nimirum fideique fibras altissimas. Icta autem radice hac immortalitatis, virus per omnem arborem sic propagare pergunt, ut catholicae veritatis nulla sit pars unde manus absteineant, nulla quam corrumpere non elaborent. Porro, mille nocendi artes dum adhibent, nihil illis callidius nihil insidiosius : nam et rationalistam et catholicum promiscue agunt, idque adeo simulatissime, ut incautum quemque facile in errorem pertrahant ; cumque temeritate maxime valeant, nullum est consecutionum genus quod horreant aut non obfirmate secureque obtrudant. Accedit praeterea in illis, aptissime ad fallendos animos, genus vitae cum maxime actuosum, assidua ac vehemens ad omnem eruditionem occupatio, moribus plerumque austeris quaesita laus. Demum, quod fere medicinae fiduciam tollit, disciplinis ipsi suis sic animo sunt comparati, ut dominationem omnem spernant nullaue recipiant frena ; et freti mendaci quadam conscientia animi, nituntur veritatis studio tribuere quod uni reapse superbiae ac pervicaciae tribuendum est.—Equidem speravimus huiusmodi quandoque homines ad meliora revocare : quo in genere suavitate primum tamquam cum filiis, tum vero severitate, demum, quanquam inviti, animatione publica usi sumus. Nostis tamen, Venerabiles Fratres quam haec fecerimus inaniter : cervicem, ad horam deflexam, mox extulerunt superbius. Iam si illorum solummodo res ageretur, dissimulare forsitan possemus : sed catholici nominis e contra securitae agitur. Quapropter silentium, quod habere diutius piaculum foret, intercipere necesse est ; ut personatos male homines, quales reapse sunt, universae Ecclesiae demonstramus.

Quia vero modernistarum (sic enim iure in vulgus audiunt) callidissimum artificium est, ut doctrinas suas non ordine digestas proponant atque in unum collectas, sed sparsas veluti atque invicem seiunctas, ut nimirum ancipites et quasi vagi videantur, cum e contra firmi sint et constantes ; praestat, Venerabiles

Fratres, doctrinas easdem uno heic conspectu exhibere primum, nexumque indicare quo invicem coalescunt, ut deinde errorum caussas scrutemur, ac remedia ad averruncandam perniciem praescribamus.

Ut autem in abstrusiore re ordinatim procedamus, illud ante omnia notandum est, modernistarum quemlibet plures agere personas ac veluti in se commiscere; philosophum nimirum, credentem, theologum, historicum, criticum, apologetam, instauratorem: quas singulatim omnes distinguere oportet, qui eorum systema rite cognoscere et doctrinarum antecessiones consequutionesque pervidere velit.

Iam, ut a philosopho exordiamur, philosophiae religiosae fundamentum in doctrina illa modernistae ponunt, quam vulgo *agnosticismum* vocant. Vi huius humana ratio *phaenomenis* omnio includitur, rebus videlicet quae apparent eaque specie qua apparent: earundem praetergredi terminos nec ius nec potestatem habet. Quare nec ad Deum se erigere potis est nec illius existentiam, ut per ea quae videntur, agnoscere. Hinc infertur, Deum scientiae obiectum directe nullatenus esse posse; ad historiam vero quod attinet, Deum subiectum historicum minime censendum esse.—His autem positis, quid de *naturali theologia*, quid de *motivis credibilitatis*, quid de *externa revelatione* fiat, facile quisque perspiciet. Ea nempe modernistae penitus e medio tollunt, et ad *intellectualismum* amandant; ridendum, inquit, systema ac iamdiu emortuum. Neque illos plane retinet quod eiusmodi errorum portenta apertissime damnarit Ecclesia: siquidem Vaticana Synodus sic sanciebat: *Si quis dixerit Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea quae facta sunt, naturali rationis humanae lumine certo cognosci non posse, anathema sit*;¹ itemque: *Si quis dixerit fieri non posse, aut non expedire, ut per revelationem divinam homo de Deo cultuque ei exhibendo edoceatur, anathema sit*;² ac demum: *Si quis dixerit revelationem divinam externis signis credibilem fieri non posse, ideoque sola interna cuiusque experientia aut inspiratione privata homines ad fidem moveri debere, anathema sit*.³ Qua vero ratione ex *agnosticismo*, qui solum est in ignoratione, ad *atheismum* scientificum atque historicum modernistae transeant, qui contra totus est in inficiatione positus: quo idcirco ratiocinationis iure, ex eo quod ignoretur utrum humanarum gentium historiae inter-
venerit Deus necne, fiat gressus ad eandem historiam neglecto omnino Deo explicandam, ac si reapse non intervenerit; novit

¹ *De Revel.* can. i.

² *Ibid.* can. ii.

³ *De Fide*, can. iii.

plane qui possit. Id tamen ratum ipsis fixumque est, atheam debere esse scientiam itemque historiam; in quarum finibus non nisi *phaenomenis* possit esse locus, exturbato penitus Deo et quidquid divinum est.—Qua ex doctrina absurdissima quid de sanctissima Christi persona, quid de Ipsius vitae mortisque mysteriis, quid pariter de anastasi deque in caelum ascensu tenedum sit, mox plane videbimus.

Hic tamen *agnosticismus*, in disciplina modernistarum, non nisi ut pars negans habenda est: positiva, ut aiunt, in *immanentia vitali* constituitur. Narum nempe ad aliam ex altera sic procedunt.—Religio, sive ea naturalis est sive supra naturam ceu quodlibet factum, explicationem aliquam admittat oportet. Explicatio autem, naturali theologia deleta adituque ad revelationem ob reiecta credibilitatis argumenta intercluso, immo etiam revelatione qualibet externa, penitus sublata extra hominem inquiritur frustra. Est igitur in ipso homine quaerenda: et quoniam religio vitae quaedam est forma, in vita omnino hominis reperienda est. Ex hoc *immanentiae religiosae* principium asseritur. Vitalis porro cuiuscumque phaenomeni cuiusmodi religionem esse iam dictum est, prima veluti motio ex indigentia quapiam seu impulsione est repetenda: primordia vero, si de vita pressius loquamur, ponenda sunt in motu quodam cordis, qui *sensus* dicitur. Eam ob rem, cum religionis obiectum sit Deus, concludendum omnino est, fidem, quae initium est ac fundamentum cuiusvis religionis, in sensu quodam intimo collocari debere, qui ex indigentia divini oriatur. Haec porro divini indigentia, quia monnisi certis aptisque in complexibus sentitur, pertinere ad conscientiae ambitum ex se non potest; latet autem primo infra conscientiam, seu, ut mutuato vocabulo a moderna philosophia loquuntur, in *subconscientia*, ubi etiam illius radix occulta manet atque indeprehensa.—Petet quis forsitan, haec divini indigentia, quam homo in se ipse percipiat, quo demum pacto in religionem evadat. Ad haec modernistae: Scientia atque historia, inquiunt, duplici includuntur termino; altero externo, aspectabili nimirum mundo, altero interno, qui est conscientia. Alterutrum ubi attigerint, ultra quo procedant non habent: hos enim praeter fines adest *incognoscibile*. Coram hoc *incognoscibili*, sive illud sit extra hominem ultraque aspectabilem naturam rerum, sive intus in *subconscientia* lateat, indigentia divini in animo ad religionem pronò, nullo, secundum *fideismi* scita, praevertente mentis iudicio, peculiarem quemdam commovet *sensum*: hic vero divinam ipsam *realitatem*, tum tamquam obiectum tum tamquam sui causam intimam, in se implicatam habet atque hominem, quodammodo cum Deo coniungit. Est porro hic

sensus quem modernistae fidei nomine appellant, estque illis religionis initium.

Sed non hic philosophandi, seu rectius delirandi, finis. In eiusmodi enim *sensu* modernistae non fidem tantum reperiunt ; sed, cum fide inque ipsa fide, prout illam intelligunt, *revelationi* locum esse affirmant. Enimvero ecquid amplius ad revelationem quis postulet ? An non revelationem dicemus, aut saltem revelationis exordium, *sensum* illum religiosum in conscientia apparentem ; quin et Deum ipsum, etsi confusius, sese, in eodem religioso *sensu*, animis manifestantem ? Subdunt vero : cum fidei Deus obiectum sit aequae et caussa, revelatio illa et de Deo pariter ed a Deo est : habet Deum videlicet revelantem simul ac revelatum. Hinc autem, Venerabiles Fratres, affirmatio illa modernistarum perabsurda, qua religio quaelibet pro diverso adspectu, naturalis una ac supernaturalis dicenda est. Hinc conscientiae ac revelationis promiscua significatio. Hinc lex, qua *conscientia religiosa* ut regula universalis traditur, cum revelatione penitus aequanda, cui subesse omnes oporteat, supremam etiam in Ecclesia potestatem, sive haec doceat sive de sacris disciplinave statuatur.

Attamen in toto hoc processu, unde, ex modernistarum sententia, fides ac revelatio prodeunt, unum est magnopere attendendum, non exigui quidem momenti ob consequutiones historico-criticas, quas inde illi eruunt.—Nam *Incognoscibile*, de quo loquuntur, non se fidei sistit ut nudum quid aut singulare ; sed contra in phaenomeno aliquo arcte inhaerens, quod, quamvis ad campum scientiae aut historiae pertinet, ratione tamen aliqua praetergreditur ; sive hoc phaenomenon sit factum aliquod naturae, arcani quidpiam in se continens, sive sit quivis unus ex hominibus, cuius ingenium acta verba cum ordinariis historiae legibus componi haud posse videntur. Tum vero fides, ab *Incognoscibili* allecta quod cum phaenomeno iungitur, totum ipsum phaenomenon complectitur ac sua vita quodammodo permeat. Ex hoc autem duo consequuntur. Primum, quaedam phaenomeni *transfiguratio*, per elationem silicet supra veras illius conditiones, qua aptior fiat materia ad induendam divini formam, quam fides est inductura. Secundum, phaenomeni eiusdem aliquapiam, sic vocare liceat, *defiguratio* inde nata, quod fides illi, loci temporisque adiunctis exempto, tribuit quae reapse non habet : quod usuvenit praecipue, quum de phaenomenis agitur exacti temporis, eoque amplius quo sunt vetustiora. Ex gemino hoc capite binos iterum modernistae eruunt canones ; qui, alteri additi iam ex agnosticismo habito, critices historicae fundamenta constituunt. Exemplo res illustrabitur ; sitque illud e Christi persona petitur. In persona

Christi aiunt, scientia atque historia nil praeter hominem offendunt. Ergo vi primi canonis ex agnosticismo deducti, ex eius historia quidquid divinum redolet delendum est. Porro, vi alterius canonis, Christi persona historica *transfigurata* est a fide: ergo subducendum ab ea quidquid ipsam evehit supra conditiones historicas. Demum, vi tertii canonis, eadem persona Christi a fide *desfigurata* est: ergo removenda sunt ab illa sermones, acta quidquid, uno verbo, ingenio, statui, educationi eius, loco ac tempori quibus vixit, minime respondet. Mira equidem ratiocinandi ratio: sed haec modernistarum critice.

Religiosus igitur *sensus*, qui per *vitalem immanentiam* e latebris *subconscientiae* erumpit, germen est totius religionis ac ratio pariter omnium, quae in religione quavis fuere aut sunt futura. Rudis quidem initio ac fere informis, eiusmodi *sensus* paulatim atque influxu arcani illius principii unde ortum habuit, adolevit una cum progressu humanae vitae cuius, ut diximus, quaedam est forma. Habemus igitur religionis cuiuslibet, etsi supernaturalis, originem: sunt nempe illae *religiosi sensus* merae explicationes. Nec quis catholicam exceptam putet; immo vero ceteris omnino parem: nam ea in conscientia Christi, electissimae naturae viri, cuiusmodi nemo unus fuit necerit, *vitalis* processu *immanentiae*, non aliter, nata est. Stupent profecto, qui haec audiant, tantam ad asserendum audaciam, tantum sacrilegium! Attamen, Venerabiles Fratres, non haec sunt solum ab incredulis effutita temere. Catholici homines, immo vero e sacerdotibus plures, haec palma edisserunt; talibusque deliramentis Ecclesiam se instauraturos iactant! Non heic iam de veteri errore agitur, quo naturae humanae supernaturalis ordinis veluti ius tribuebatur. Longius admodum processum est: ut nempe sanctissima religio nostra, in homine Christo aequae ac in nobis, a natura, ex se suaque sponte, edita affirmetur. Hoc autem nil profecto aptius ad omnem supernaturalem ordinem abolendum. Quare a Vaticana Synodo iure summo sancitum fuit: *Si quis dixerit, hominem ad cognitionem et perfectionem quae naturalem superet, divinitus evehi non posse, sed ex seipso ad omnis tandem veri et boni possessionem iugi profectu pertingere posse et debere anathema sit.*¹

Huc usque tamen, Venerabiles Fratres, nullum dari vidimus intellectui locum. Habet autem et ipse, ex modernistarum doctrina, suas in actu fidei partes. Quo dein pacto, advertisse praestat. In *sensu* illo, inquirunt, quem saepius nominavimus, quoniam *sensus* est non cognitio, Deus quidem se homini sistit: verum confuse adeo ac permixte ut a subiecto credente vix aut

¹ *De Revel.* can. iii.

minime distinguatur. Necesse igitur est aliquo eundem sensum collustrari lumine, ut Deus inde omnino exiliat ac secernatur. Id nempe ad intellectum pertinet, cuius est cogitare et analysim instituere; per quem homo vitalia Phaenomena in se exsurgentia in species primum traducit, tum autem verbis significat. Hinc vulgata modernistarum enunciatio: debere religiosum hominem fidem suam *cogitare*. Mens ergo, illi *sensui* adveniens, in eundem se inflectit, inque eo elaborat pictoris instar, qui obsoletam tabulae cuiusdem diagraphen collustret ut nitidius efferat: sic enim fere quidam modernistarum doctor rem explicat. In eiusmodi autem negotio mens dupliciter operatur: primum, naturali actu et spontaneo, redditque rem sententia quadam simplici ac vulgari; secundo vero reflexe ac penitius, vel, ut aiunt, *cogitationem elaborando*, eloquiturque cogitata *secundariis* sententiis, derivatis quidem a prima illa simplici, limatioribus tamen ac distinctioribus. Quae *secundariae* sententiae, si demum a supremo Ecclesiae magisterio sancitae fuerint, constituent *dogma*.

Sic igitur in modernistarum doctrina ventum est ad caput quoddam praecipuum, videlicet ad originem dogmatis atque ad ipsam dogmatis naturam. Originem enim dogmatis ponunt quidem in primigeniis illis formulis simplicibus, quae, quodam sub respectu, necessariae sunt fidei; nam revelatio, ut reapse sit, manifestam Dei notitiam in conscientia requirit. Ipsum tamen dogma *secundariis* proprie contineri formulis affirmare videntur.—Eius porro ut assequamur naturam, ante omnia inquirendum est, quaenam intercedat relatio inter *formulas religiosas* et *religiosum* animi *sensum*. Id autem facile intelliget, qui teneat *formularum* eiusmodi non alium esse finem, quam modum suppeditare credenti, quo sibi suae fidei rationem reddat. Quamobrem mediae lilae sunt inter credentem eiusque fidem: ad fidem autem quod attinet, sunt inadequatae eius obiecti notae, vulgo *symbola* vocitant; ad credentem quod spectat, sunt mera *instrumenta*. Quocirca nulla confici ratione potest, eas veritatem absolute continere: nam, qua *symbola*, imagines sunt veritatis, atque idcirco sensui religioso accommodandae, prout hic ad hominem refertur: qua *instrumenta*, sunt veritatis vehicula atque ideo accommodanda vicissim homini, prout refertur ad religiosum sensum. Obiectum autem *sensus religiosi*, utpote quod *absoluto* continetur, infinitos habet adspectus, quorum modo hic modo alius apparere potest. Similiter homo, qui credit, aliis atque aliis uti potest conditionibus. Ergo et formulas, quas dogma appellamus, vicissitudini eidem subesse oportet, ac propterea varietati esse obnoxias. Ita vero ad intimam *evolutionem* dogmatis expeditum

est iter.—Sophismatum profecto coacervatio infinita, quae religionem omnem pessumdat ac delet! ¶ ¶

Evolvi tamen ac mutari dogma non posse solum sed oportere, et modernistae ipsi perfracte affirmant, et ex eorum sententiis aperte consequitur.—Nam inter praecipua doctrinae capita hoc illi habent, quod ab *immanentiae vitalis* principio deducunt: *formulas religiosas*, ut *religiosae* reapse sint¹ nec solum intellectus commentationes, vitales esse debere vitamque ipsam vivere *sensus religiosi*. Quod non ita intelligendum est, quasi hae formulae, praesertim si mere imaginativae, sint pro ipso religioso sensu inventae: nihil enim refert admodum earum originis, ut etiam numeri vel qualitatis: sed ita, ut eas *religiosus sensus*, mutatione aliqua, si opus est, adhibita, *vitaliter* sibi adiungat. Scilicet, ut aliis dicimus, necesse est ut *formula primitiva* acceptetur a corde ab eoque sanciat; itemque sub cordis ductu sit labor, quo *secundariae formulae* progignuntur. Hinc accidit quod debeant hae formulae, ut vitales sint, ad fidem pariter et ad credentem accommodatae esse ac manere. Quamobrem, si quavis ex causa huiusmodi accommodatio cesset, amittunt illae primigenias notiones ac mutari indigent.—Haec porro formularum dogmaticarum cum sit vis ac fortuna instabilis, mirum non est illas modernistis tanto esse ludibrio ac despectui; qui nihil e contra loquuntur atque extollunt nisi religiosum sensum vitamque religiosam. Ideo et Ecclesiam audacissime carpunt tamquam devio itinere incedentem, quod ab externa formularum significatione religiosam vim ac moralem minime distinguat, et formulis notione carentibus casso labore ac tenacissime nihaerens, religionem ipsam dilabi permittat. *Caeci* equidem *et duces caecorum*, qui superbo scientiae nomine inflati usque eo insaniunt ut aeternam veritatis notionem et germanum religionis sensum pervertant: novo invecto systemate, quo, ex *proiecta et effrenata novitatum cupiditate*, veritas, ubi certo consistit non quaeritur, sanctisque et apostolicis traditionibus posthabitis, doctrinae aliae inanes, fuitiles, incertae nec ab Ecclesia probatae adsciscunt, quibus veritatem ipsam fulciri ac sustineri vanissimi homines arbitrantur.¹

Atque haec, Venerabiles Fratres, de modernista ut philosopho. —Iam si, ad credentem progressus, nosse quis velit unde hic in modernistis a philosopho distinguatur, illud advertere necesse est, etsi philosophus *realitatem* divini ut fidei obiectum admittat, hauc tamen ab illo *realitatem* non alibi reperiri nisi in credentis animo, ut obiectum sensus est et affirmationis atque ideo phaenomenorum ambitum non excedit: utrum porro in se illa extra sensum existat atque affirmationem huiusmodi, praeterit

¹ Gregor. XVI Ep. Encycl., 'Singulari Nos,' 7 kal. Iul. 1834.

philosophus ac negligit. E contra modernistae credenti ratum ac certum est, *realitatem* divini reapse in se ipsam existere nec prorsus a credente pendere. Quod si postules, in quo tandem haec credentis assertio nitatur; reponent: in privata cuiusque hominis *experientia*.—In qua affirmatione, dum equidem hi a rationalistis dissident, in protestantium tamen ac pseudomysticorum opinionem discedunt. Rem enim sic edisserunt: in *sensu religioso* quandam esse agnoscendum cordis intuitum; quo homo ipsam, sine medio, Dei *realitatem* attingit, tantamque de existentia Dei haurit persuasionem deque Dei tum intra tum extra hominem actione, ut persuasionem omnem, quae ex scientia peti possit, longe antecellat. Veram igitur ponunt experientiam, eamque rationali qualibet experientia praestantior: quam si quis, ut rationalistae, inficiatur, inde fieri affirmant, nuod nolit is in eis se ipse constituere moralibus adiunctis, quae ad experientiam gignendam requirantur. Haec porro *experientia*, cum quis illam fuerit assequutus, proprie vereque credentem efficit. Quam hic longe absumus a catholicis institutis! Commenta eiusmodi a Vaticana Synodo improbata iam vidimus. His semel admissis una cum erroribus ceteris iam memoratis, quo pacto ad atheismum pateat via, inferius dicemus. Nunc statim advertisse iuverit, ex hac *experientiae* doctrina, coniuncta alteri de *symbolismo*, religionem quamlibet, ethnicorum minime excepta, ut veram esse habendam. Quidni etenim in religione quavis experientiae huiusmodi occurrant? occurrisse vero non unus asserit. Quo iure autem modernistae veritatem experientiae abnuent, quam turca affirmet; verasque experientias unis catholicis vindicabunt? Neque id reapse modernistae denegant; quin immo, subobscuri allii, alii apertissime, religiones omnes contendunt esse veras. Secus autem sentire nec posse, manifestum est. Nam religioni cuiquam quo tandem ex capite, secundum illorum praecepta, foret falsitas tribuenda? Certe vel ex fallacia *sensus religiosi*, vel quod falsiloqua sit formula ab intellectu prolata. Atqui *sensus religiosus* unus semper idemque est, etsi forte quandoque imperfectior: formula autem intellectus, ut vera sit, sufficit ut *religioso sensui* hominique credenti respondeat, quicquid de huius perspicuitate ingenii esse queat. Unum, ad summum, in religionum diversarum conflictu, modernistae contendere forte possint, catholicam, utpote vividiorum, plus habere veritatis; itemque christiano nomine digniorem eam esse, ut quae christianismi exordiis respondeat plenius. Has consecutiones omnes ex datis antecedentibus fluere, nemini erit absonum. Illud stupendum cummaxime, catholicos dari viros ac sacerdotes, qui, etsi, ut autumari malumus, eiusmodi portenta horrent,

agunt tamen ac si plene probent. Eas etenim errorum talium magistris tribuunt laudes, eos publice habent honores, ut sibi quisque suadeat facile, illos non homines honorare, aliquo forsán numero non expertes, sed errores potius, quos hi aperte asserunt inque vulgus spargere omni ope nituntur.

Est aliud praeterea in hoc doctrinae capite, quod catholicae veritati est omnino infestum.—Nam istud de *experientia* praeceptum ad *traditionem* etiam transfertur, quam Ecclesia huc usque asseruit, eamque prorsus adimit. Enimvero modernistae sic traditionem intelligunt, ut sit *originalis experientiae* quaedam cum aliis communicatio per praedicationem, ope formulae intellectivae. Cui formulae propterea, praeter vim, ut aiunt, *repraesentativam*, *suggestivam* quandam adscribunt virtutem, tum in eo qui credit, ad *sensum religiosum* forte torpentem excitandum, instaurandamque *experientiam* aliquando habitatum in eis qui nondum credunt, ad *sensum religiosum* primo gignendum et *experientiam* producendam. Sic autem experientia religiosa late in populos propagatur; nec tantummodo in eos qui nunc sunt per praedicationem, sed in posteros etiam, tam per libros quam per verborum de aliis in alios replicationem.—Haec vero experientiae communicatio radices quandoque agit vigetque; senescit quandoque statim ac moritur. Vigere autem, modernistis argumentum veritatis est; veritatem enim ac vitam promiscue habent. Ex quo inferre denuo licebit: religiones omnes quotquot extant veras esse, nam secus nec viverent.

Re porro huc adducta, Venerabiles Fratres, satis superque habemus ad recte cognoscendum, quem ordinem, modernistae statuunt inter fidem et scientiam, quo etiam scientiae nomine historia apud illos notatur. Ac primo quidem tenendum est, materiam uni obiectam materiae obiectae alteri externam omnino esse ab eaque seiunctam. Fides enim id unice spectat, quod scientia *incognoscibile* sibi esse profitetur. Hinc diversum utrique pensum: scientia versatur in phaenomenis, ubi nullus fidei locus; fides e contra versatur in divinis, quae scientia penitus ignorat. Unde demum conficitur, inter fidem et scientiam nunquam esse posse discidium: si enim suum quaeque locum teneat, occurrere sibi invicem nunquam poterunt, atque ideo nec contradicere.—Quibus si qui forte obiciant, quaedam in aspectabili occurrere natura rerum quae ad fidem etiam pertineant uti humanam Christi vitam; negabunt. Nam, etsi haec phaenomenis accensentur, tamen, quatenus vita fidei imbuuntur, et a fide, quo supra dictum est modo, *transfigurata* ac *defigurata* fuerunt, a sensibili mundo sunt abrepta et in divini materiam translata. Quamobrem poscenti ulterius, an Christus vera patravit miracula vereque futura praesenserit, an vere revixerit

atque in caelum consenderit; scientia agnostica abnuet, fides affirmabit; ex hoc tamen nulla erit inter utramque pugna. Nam abnuet alter ut philosophus philosophos alloquens, Christum scilicet unice contemplatus secundum *realitatem historicam*; affirmabit alter ut credens cum credentibus loquutus, Christi vitam spectans prout *iterum vivitur* a fide et in fide.

Ex his tamen fallitur vehementer qui reputet posse opinari, fidem et scientiam alteram sub altera nulla penitus ratione esse subiectam. Nam de scientia quidem recte vereque existimabit; secus autem de fide, quae, non uno tantum sed triplici ex capite, scientiae subiici dicenda est. Primum namque advertere oportet, in facto quovis religioso, detracta *divina realitate* quamque de illa habet *experientiam* qui credit, cetera omnia, praesertim vero *religiosas formulas*, phaenomenorum ambitum minime transgredi, atque ideo cadere subscientiam. Liceat utique credenti, si volet, de mundo excedere; quamdiu tamen in mundo deget, leges, obtutum, iudicia scientiae atque historiae numquam, velit nolit, effugiet.—Praeterea, quamvis dictum est Deum solius fidei esse obiectum, id de divina quidem *realitate* concedendum est, non tamen de *idea* Dei. Haec quippe scientiae subest; quae, dum in ordine, ut aiunt logico philosophatur, quidquid etiam absolutum est attingit atque ideale. Quocirca philosophia seu scientia cognoscendi de idea Dei ius habet, eamque in sui evolutione moderandi et, si quid extrarium invaserit, corrigendi. Hinc modernistarum effatum: evolutionem religiosam cum morali et intellectuali componi debere; videlicet, ut quidam tradit quem magistrum sequuntur, eisdem subdi. Accedit demum quod homo dualitatem in se ipse non patitur, quamobrem credentem quaedam intima urget necessitas fidem cum scientia sic componendi, ut a generali ne discrepet idea, quam scientia exhibet de hoc mundo universo. Sic ergo conficitur, scientiam a fide omnino solutam esse, fidem contra, ut ut scientiae extranea praedicetur, eidem subesse.—Quae omnia, Venerabiles Fratres, contraria prorsus sunt iis quae Pius IX decessor Noster tradebat, docens: ¹ *Philosophiae esse, in iis quae ad religionem pertinent, non dominari sed ancillari, non praescribere quid credendum sit, sed rationabili obsequio amplecti, neque altitudinem scrutari mysteriorum Dei, sed illam pie humiliterque revereri.* Modernistae negotium plane invertunt: quibus idcirco applicari queunt, quae Gregorius IX item decessor Noster de quibusdam suae aetatis theologis scribebat: ² *Quidam apud vos, spiritu vanitatis ut uter distenti, positos a Patribus terminos profana transferre satagunt novitate; coelestis paginae intellectum . . .*

¹ Brev. ad Ep. Wratislav. 15 Iun. 1857.

² Ep. ad Magistros theol. paris., non. Iul. 1223.

ad doctrinam philosophicam rationalium inclinando, ad ostentationem scientiae, non profectum aliquem auditorum. . . . Ipsi, doctrinis variis et peregrinis abducti, redigunt caput in caudam, et ancillae cogunt famulari reginam.

Quod profecto apertius patebit intuenti quo pacto modernistae agant, accommodate omnino ad ea quae docent. Multa enim ab eis contrarie videntur scripta vel dicta, ut quis facile illos aestimet ancipites atque incertos. Verumtamen consulte id et considerate accidit: ex opinionie scilicet quam habent de fidei atque scientiae seiunctione mutua. Hinc in eorum libris quaedam offendimus quae catholicus omnino probet; quaedam, aversa pagina, quae rationalistam dictasse autumes. Hinc, historiam sacribentes, nullam de divinitate Christi mentionem iniiciunt; ad concionem vero in templis eam firmissime profitentur. Item, enarrantes historiam, Concilia et Patres nullo loco habent; catechesim autem si tradunt, illa atque illos cum honore afferunt. Hinc etiam exegesim theologiam et pastoraalem a scientifica et historica secernunt. Similiter, ex principio quod scientia a fide nullo pacto pendeat, quum de philosophia, de historia, de critice disserunt, Lutheri sequi vestigia non exhorrentes,¹ despicientiam praeceptorum catholicarum, sanctorum Patrum, oecumenicarum synodorum, magisterii ecclesiastici omnimodis ostentant de qua si carpantur, libertatem sibi adimi conqueruntur. Professi demum fidem esse scientiae subiiciendam, Ecclesiam passim aperteque reprehendunt quod sua dogmata philosophiae opinionibus subdere et accommodare obstinatissime renuat: ipsi vero, veteri ad hunc finem theologia sublata, novam invehere contendunt, quae philosophorum delirationibus obsecundet.

Hic iam, Venerabiles Fratres, nobis fit aditus ad modernistas in theologico agone spectandos. Salebrosum quidem opus: sed paucis absolvendum.—Agitur nimirum de concilianda fide cum scientia, idque non aliter quam una alteri subiecta. Eo in genere modernista theologus eisdem utitur principiis, quae usui philosopho esse vidimus, illaque ad credentem aptat: principia inquit *immanentiae* et *symbolismi*. Sic autem rem expeditissime perficit. Traditur a philosopho *principium fidei esse immanens*; a credente additur *hoc principium Deum esse*: concludit ipse *Deus ergo est immanens in homine*. Hinc *immanentia theologica*. Iterum: philosopho certum est *repraesentationes obiecti fidei esse tantum symbolicas*; credenti pariter certum est

¹ Prop. 29 damn. a Leone X, Bull. 'Exsurge Domine' 16 Maii 1520. *Via nobis facta est enervandi auctoritatem Conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et iudicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocumque Concilio.*

fidei obiectum esse Deum in se : theologus igitur colligit : *repraesentationes divinae realitatis esse symbolicas*. Hinc *symbolismus theologicus*.—Errores profecto maximi : quorum uterque quam sit perniciosus, consequentiis inspectis patebit.—Nam, ut de *symbolismo* statim dicamus, cum symbola talia sint respectu obiecti, respectu autem credentis sint instrumenta ; cavendum primum, inquiunt, credenti, ne ipsi formulae ut formula est plus nimio inhaereat, sed illa utendum unice ut absolutae adhaerescat veritati, quam formula reteggit simul ac tegit nititurque exprimere quin unquam assequatur. Addunt praeterea, formulas eiusmodi esse a credente adhibendas quatenus ipsam iuverint, ad commodum enim datae sunt non ad impedimentum : incolumi utique honore qui, ex sociali respectu, debetur formulis, quas publicum magisterium aptas ad communem conscientiam exprimendam iudicavit, quamdiu scilicet idem magisterium secus quidpiam non edixerit.—De *immanentia* autem quid reapse modernistae sentiant, difficile est indicare ; non enim eadem omnium opinio. Sunt qui in eo collocant, quod Deus agens intime adsit in homine, magis quam ipse sibi homo ; quod plane, si recte intelligitur, reprehensionem non habet. Alii in eo ponunt, quod actio Dei una sit cum actione naturae ut causas primae cum causae secundae ; quod ordinem supernaturalem reapse delet. Alii demum sic explicant, ut suspicionem efficiant pantheisticae significationis ; id autem cum ceteris eorum doctrinis cohaeret aptius.

Huic vero *immanentiae* pronunciato aliud adiicitur, quod a *permanentia divina* vocare possumus : quae duo inter se eo fere modo differunt, quo *experientia* privata ab *experientia* per traditionem transmissa. Exemplum rem collustrabit : sitque ab Ecclesia, et Sacramentis deductum. Ecclesia, inquiunt, et Sacramenta a Christo ipso instituta minime credenda sunt. Cavet id agnosticismus, qui in Christo nil praeter hominem novit, cuius conscientia religiosa, ut ceterorum hominum, sensim efformata est : cavet lex immanentiae, quae externas, ut aiunt, *applicationes* respuit : cavet item lex evolutionis, quae ut germina evolvantur tempus postulat et quandam adiunctorum sibi succedentium seriem ; cavet demum historia, quae talem reapse rei cursum fuisse ostendit. Attamen Ecclesias et Sacramenta *mediate* a Christo fuisse instituta retinendum est. Qui vero ? Conscientias christianas omnes in Christi conscientia virtute quodammodo inclusas affirmant, ut in semine planta. Quoniam autem germina vitam seminis vivunt ; christiani omnes vitam Christi vivere dicendi sunt. Sed Christi vita, secundum fidem, divina est : ergo et christianorum vita. Si igitur haec vita, decursu aetatum, Ecclesiae et

Sacramentis initium dedit : iure omnino dicetur initium huiusmodi esse a Christo ac divinum esse. Sic omnino conficiunt divinas esse etiam Scripturas sacras, divina dogmata.—His porro modernistarum theologia ferme absolvitur. Brevis profecto supellex : sed ei perabundans, qui profiteatur, scientiae, quidquid praeceperit, semper esse obtemperandum.—Horum ad cetera quae dicemus applicationem quisque facile per se viderit.

De origine fidei deque eius natura attigimus huc usque. Fidei autem cum multa sint germina, praecipua vero Ecclesia, dogma, sacra et religiones, libri quos sanctos nominamus ; de his quoque quid modernistae doceant, inquirendum.—Atque ut dogma initium ponamus, huius quae sit origo et natura iam supra indicatum est. Oritur illud ex impulsione quadam seu necessitate, vi cuius qui credit in suis cogitatis elaborat, ut conscientia tam sua quam aliorum illustretur magis. Est hic labor in rimando totus expoliendoque primigeniam mentis *formulam*, non quidem in se illam secundum logicam explicationem, sed secundum circumstantia, seu, ut minus apte ad intelligendum inquirunt, *vitaliter*. Inde fit ut circa illam, *secundariae* quaedam, ut iam innuimus, sensim enascantur formulae ; quae postea in unum corpus coagmentatae vel in unum doctrinae aedificium, cum a magisterio publico sanctitiae fuerint utpote communi conscientiae respondentes, dicuntur dogma. Ab hoc discernendae sunt probe theologorum commentationes : quae ceteroqui, quamvis vitam dogmatis non vivunt, non omnino tamen sunt inutiles, tum ad religionem cum scientia componendam et oppositiones inter illas tollendas, tum ad religionem ipsam extrinsecus illustrandam protuendamque ; forte etiam utilitati fuerint novo cuidam futuro dogmati materiam praeparando.—De cultu sacrorum haud foret multis dicendum, nisi eo quoque nomine Sacramenta venirent ; de quibus maximi modernistarum errores. Cultum ex duplici impulsione seu necessitate oriri perhibent ; omnia etenim, ut vidimus, in eorum systemate impulsionebus intimis seu necessitatibus gigni asseruntur. Altera est ad sensibile quiddam religioni tribuendum, altera ad eam proferendam, quod fieri utique nequaquam possit sine forma quadam sensibili et consecrantibus actibus ; quae Sacramenta dicimus. Sacramenta autem modernistis nuda sunt symbola seu signa ; quamvis non vi carentia. Quam vim ut indicent, exemplo ipsi utuntur verborum quorundam ; quae vulgo fortunam dicuntur sortita, eo quod virtutem conceperint ad notiones quasdam propagandas, robustas maximeque percellentes animos. Sicut ea verba ad notiones, sic Sacramenta ad sensum religiosum ordinata sunt : nihil praeterea. Clarius profecto dicerent, si Sacramenta unice ad nutriendam fidem

instituta affirmarent. Hoc tamen Tridentina Synodus damnavit: ¹ *Si quis dixerit haec sacramenta propter solam fidem nutriendam instituta fuisse, anathema sit.*

De librorum etiam sacrorum natura et origine aliquid iam delibavimus. Eos, ad modernistarum scita, definire probe quis possit syllogen *experientiarum*, non cuique passim advenientium sed extraordinariarum atque insignium, quae in quapiam religione sunt habitae.—Sic prorsus modernistae docent de libris nostris tum veteris tum novi testamenti. Ad suas tamen opiniones callidissime notant: quamvis experientia sit praesentis temporis, posse tamen illam de praeteritis aequae ac de futuris materiam sumere, prout videlicet qui credit vel exacta rursus per recordationem in modum *praesentium vivit*, vel futura per praeoccupationem. Id autem explicat quomodo historici quoque et apocalyptici in libris sacris censi queant. Sic igitur in hisce libris Deus quidem loquitur per credentem; sed, uti fert theologia modernistarum per *immanentiam* solummodo et *permanentiam vitalem*.—Quaeremus, quid tum de inspiratione? Haec, respondent, ab impulsione illa, nisi forte vehementia, nequaquam discernitur, qua credens ad fidem suam verbo scriptove aperiendam adigitur. Simile quid habemus in poetica inspiratione; quare quidam aiebat. Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo. Hoc modo Deus initium dici debet inspirationis sacrorum librorum.—De qua praeterea inspiratione modernistae addunt, nihil omnino esse in sacris libris quod illa careat. Quod quum affirmant, magis eos crederes orthodoxos quam recentiores alios, qui inspirationem aliquantum coangustant, ut, exempli causa, quum *tacitas* sic dictas *citationes* invehunt. Sed haec illi verbo tenus ac simulate. Nam si Biblia ex agnosticismi praeceptis iudicamus, humanum scilicet opus, ab hominibus pro hominibus exaratum, licet ius theologo detur ea per *immanentiam* divina praedicandi; qui, demum inspiratio coarctari possit? Generalem utique modernistae sacrorum librorum inspirationem asseverant: catholico tamen sensu nullam admittunt.

Largiorem dicendi segetem offerunt, quae modernistarum schola de Ecclesia imaginatur. Ponunt initio eam ex duplici necessitate oriri, una in credente quovis, in eo praesertim qui primigeniam ac singularem aliquam sit nactus experientiam, ut fidem suam cum aliis communicet; altera, postquam fides communis inter plures evaserit, in *collectivitate*, ad coalescendum in societatem et ad commune bonum tuendum, augendum, propagandum. Quid igitur Ecclesia? partus est *conscientiae collectivae* seu consociationis conscientiarum singularium; quae vi *permanetiae vitalis*, a primo aliquo credente pendeant,

¹ Sess. VII. de Sacramentis in genere, can. 5.

videlicet, pro catholicis, a Christo.—Porro societas quæpiam moderatrice auctoritate indiget, cuius sit officium consociatos omnes in communem finem dirigere, et compagis elementa tueri prudenter, quæ in religioso coetu, doctrina et cultu absolvuntur. Hinc in Ecclesia catholica auctoritas tergemina; *disciplinæ, dogmaticæ, cultualis*.—Iam auctoritatis huius natura ex origine colligenda est; ex natura vero iura atque officia repetenda. Praeteritis aetatibus vulgaris fuit error quod auctoritas in Ecclesiam extrinsecus accesserit, nimirum immediate a Deo; quare *autocratica* merito habebatur. Sed hæc nunc temporis obsolvere. Quo modo Ecclesia e conscientiarum collectivitate emanasse dicitur, eo pariter auctoritas ab ipsa Ecclesia vitaliter emanat. Auctoritas igitur, sicut Ecclesia, ex conscientia religiosa oritur, atque ideo eidem subest: quam subiectionem si spreverit, in tyrannidem vertitur. Ea porro tempestate nunc vivimus, quum libertatis sensus in fastigium summum excrevit. In civili statu conscientia publica populare regimen invexit. Sed conscientia in homine, aequæ atque vitæ, una est. Nisi ergo in hominum conscientiis intestinum velit excitare bellum ac fovere, auctoritati Ecclesiae officium inest democraticis utendi formis; eo vel magis quod, ni faxit, exitium imminet. Nam amens profecto fuerit, qui in sensu libertatis, qualis nunc viget, regressum posse fieri aliquando autumet. Constrictus vi atque inclusus, fortior se profundet, Ecclesia pariter ac religione deleta.—Hæc omnia modernistæ rationantur; qui propterea toti sunt in indagandis viis ad auctoritatem Ecclesiae cum credentium libertate componendam.

Sed enim non intradomesticos tantum parietes habet Ecclesia, quibuscum amice cohaerere illam oporteat; habet et extra. Non una namque ipsa occupat mundum; occupant aequæ consociationes aliae, quibuscum commercium et usus necessario intercedat. Quæ iura igitur, quæ sint Ecclesiae officia cum civilibus consociationibus determinandum est etiam, nec aliter determinandum nisi ex ipsius Ecclesiae natura, qualem nimirum modernistæ nobis descripsere.—In hoc autem eisdem plane regulis utuntur, quæ supra pro scientia, atque fide sunt allatae. Ibi *obiectis* sermo erat, heic de *finibus*. Sicut igitur *ratione obiecti* fidem ac scientiam extraneas ab invicem vidimus; sic Status et Ecclesia alter ab altera extranea sunt ob fines quos persequuntur, temporalem ille hæc spirituales. Licuit profecto alias temporale spirituali subiici; licuit de *mixtis* quaestionibus sermonem interseri, in quibus Ecclesia ut domina ac regina intererat, quia nempe Ecclesia a Deo, sine medio, ut ordinis supernaturalis est auctor, instituta ferebatur. Sed iam hæc a philosophis atque historicis respuuntur. Status ergo ab Ecclesia

dissociandus, sicut etiam catholicus a cive. Quamobrem catholicus quilibet, quia etiam civis, ius atque officium habet, Ecclesiae auctoritate neglecta, eius optatis consiliis praeceptisque posthabitis, spretis immo reprehensionibus, ea persequendi quae civitatis utilitati conducere arbitretur. Viam ad agendum civi praescribere praetextu quolibet, abusus ecclesiasticae potestatis est, toto nisu reiiciendus. — Ea nimirum, Venerabiles Fratres unde haec omnia dimanant, eadem profecto sunt, quae Pius VI decessor Noster, in Constitutione apostolica *Auctorem fidei*, solemniter damnavit.¹

Sed modernistarum scholae satis non est debere Statum ab Ecclesia seiungi. Sicut fidem, quoad elementa, ut inquirunt, phaenomenica scientiae subdi oportet, sic in temporalibus negotiis Ecclesiam subesse Statui. Hoc quidem illi aperte nondum forte asserunt; ratiocinationis tamen vi coguntur admittere. Posito etenim quod in temporalibus rebus Status possit unus, si accadat credentem, intimis religionis actibus haud contentum, in externos exilire, ut puta administrationem susceptionemve Sacramentorum; necesse erit haec sub Status dominium cadere. Ecquid tum de ecclestica auctoritate? Cum haec nisi per externos actus non explicetur; Statui, tota quanta est, erit obnoxia. Hac nempe consecutione coacti, multi e protestantibus *liberalibus* cultum omnem sacrum externum, quin etiam externam quamlibet religiosam consociationem e medio tollunt, religionemque, ut aiunt, *individualement* invehere adnuntiant. — Quod si modernistae nondum ad haec palam progrediuntur, petunt interea ut Ecclesia quo ipsi impellunt sua se sponte inclinet seseque ad civiles formas aptet. Atque haec de auctoritate *disciplinari*. — Nam de *doctrinali* et *dogmatica* potestate longe peiora sunt ac perniciosiora quae sentiunt. De Magisterio Ecclesiae sic scilicet commentantur. Consociatio religiosa in unum vere coalescere nequaquam potest, nisi una sit consociatorum conscientia, unaque, qua utantur, formula. Utraque autem haec unitas mentem quandam quasi communem expostulat, cuius sit reperire ac determinare formulam, quae communi conscientiae rectius respondeat; cui quidem menti satis auctoritatis inesse oportet ad formulam quam statuerit communitati imponendam. In hac porro coniunctione ac veluti

¹ Prop. 2. *Propositio, quae statuit, potestatem a Deo datam Ecclesiae ut communicaretur Pastoribus, qui sunt eius ministri pro salute animarum; sic intellecta, ut a communitate fidelium in Pastores derivetur ecclesiastici ministerii ac regiminis potestas: haeretica.* — Prop. 3. *Insuper quae statuit Romanum Pontificem esse caput ministeriale; sic explicata ut Romanus Pontifex non a Christo in persona beati Petri, sed ab Ecclesia potestatem ministerii accipiat, qua velut Petri successor, verus Christi vicarius ac totius Ecclesiae caput pollet in universa Ecclesia: haeretica.*

fusionem tum mentis formulam eligentis tum potestatis eandem prescribentis, magisterii ecclesiastici notionem modernistae collocant. Cum igitur magisterium ex conscientiis singularibus tandem aliquando nascatur, et publicum officium in earumdem conscientiarum commodum mandatum habeat; consequitur necessario, illud ab eisdem conscientiis pendere, ac proinde ad populares formas esse inflectendum. Quapropter singularium hominum conscientias prohibere quominus impulsiones quas sentiunt palam aperteque profiteantur, et criticae viam praepedire qua dogma ad necessarias evolutiones impellat, potestatis ad utilitatem permissae non usus est sed abusus.—Similiter in usu ipso potestatis modus temperatioque sunt adhibenda. Librum quemlibet, auctore incognito, notare ac proscribere, nulla explicatione admissa, nulla disceptatione, tyrannidi profecto est proximum.—Quare heic etiam medium est quoddam iter reperiendum, ut auctoritati simul ac libertati integra sint iura. Interea temporis catholico sic est agendum, ut auctoritatis quidem observantissimum se publice, profiteatur suo tamen obsequio ingenio non intermittat.—Generatim vero sic de Ecclesia praescribunt: quoniam ecclesiasticae potestatis finis ad spiritualia unice pertinet; externum apparatus omnem esse tollendum, quo illa ad intuitum oculos magnificentius ornatur. In quo illud sane negligitur, religionem, etsi ad animos pertineat, non tamen unice animis concludi; et honorem potestati in ipsum Christum institutorem recidere.

Porro ut totam hanc de fide deque vario eius germine materiam absolvamus, restat, Venerabiles Fratres, ut de utrorumque explicatione postremo loco modernistarum praecepta audiamus.—Principium hic generale est; in religione, quae vivat, nihil variabile non esse, atque idcirco variandum. Hinc gressum faciunt ad illud, quod in eorum doctrinis fere caput est, videlicet ad *evolutionem*. Dogma igitur, ecclesia, sacrorum cultus, libri, quos ut sanctos veremur, quin etiam fides ipsa, nisi intermortua haec omnia velimus, evolutionis teneri legibus debent. Neque hoc mirum videri queat, si ea prae oculis habeantur, quae sunt de horum singulis a modernistis tradita. Posita igitur evolutionis lege, evolutionis rationem a modernistis ipsis descriptam habemus. Et primo quoad fidem. Primigenia, inquit, fidei forma rudis et universis hominibus communis fuit, ut quae ex ipsa hominum natura atque vita oriebatur. Evolutio vitalis progressum dedit: nimirum non novitate formarum extrinsecus accedentium, sed ex perversione in dies auctiore sensus religiosi in conscientiam. Dupliciter autem progressio ipsa est facta: *negative* primum, elementum quodvis extraneum, ut puta ex familia vel gente adveniens, eliminando; dehinc *positive*, intellectiva ac morali

hominis expolitione, unde notio divini amplior ac lucidior *sensusque religiosus* exquisitior evasit. Progredientis vero fidei eadem sunt causae afferendae, quam quae superius sunt allatae ad eius originem explicandam. Quibus tamen extraordinarios quosdam homines addi oportet (quos nos prophetas appellamus, quorumque omnium praestantissimus est Christus); tum quia illi in vita ac sermonibus arcani quidpiam praesetulerunt, quod fides divinitati tribuebat; tum quia novas nec ante habitas *experientias* sunt nacti, religiosae cuiusque temporis indigentiae respondentes.—Dogmatis autem progressus inde potissimum enascitur, quod fidei impedimenta sint superanda, vincendi hostes, contradictiones refellendae. Adde his nisum quemdam perpetuum ad melius penetranda quae in arcanis fidei continentur. Sic, ut exempla cetera praetereamus, de Christo factum est: in quo, divinum illud quaecumque, quod fides admittebat, ita pedetentim et gradatim amplificatum est, ut demum pro Deo haberetur.—Ad evolutionem cultus facit praecipue necessitas ad mores traditionesque populorum sese accommodandi; item quorundam virtute actuum fruendi, quam sunt ex usu mutuati.—Tandem pro Ecclesia evolutionis causa inde oritur, quod componi egeat cum adiunctis historicis cumque civilis regiminis publice investitis formis.—Sic illi de singulis. Hic autem, antequam procedamus, doctrina haec de *necessitatibus* seu *indigentis* (vulgo *dei bisogni* significantius appellant) probe ut notetur velimus; etenim, praeterquam omnium quae vidimus, est veluti basis ac fundamentum famosae illius methodi, quam historicam dicunt.

In evolutionis doctrina ut adhuc sistamus illud praeterea est advertendum quod etsi indigentiae seu necessitates ad evolutionem impellunt; his tamen unis acta, evolutione transgressa facile traditionis fines atque ideo a primegenio vitali principio avulsa, ad ruinam potius quam ad progressionem traheret. Huic modernistarum mentem plenius sequuti, evolutionem ex confictione duarum virium evenire dicemus, quarum altara ad progressionem agit, altara ad conservationem retrahit. Vis, conservatrix viget in Ecclesia, contineturque traditione. Eam vero exerit religiosa auctoritas; idque tam iure ipso, est enim in auctoritatis natura traditionem tueri; tam re, auctoritas namque, a commutationibus vitae reducta ad stimulis ad progressionem pellentibus nihil aut vix urgetur. E contra vis ad progrediendum rapiens atque intimis indigentis respondens latet ac molitur in privatorum conscientis, illorum praecipue qui vitam, ut inquirunt, propius atque intimius attingunt.—En hic, Venerabiles Fratres, doctrinam illam exitiosissimam efferre caput iam cernimus, quae laicos homines in Ecclesiam subinfert ut pro-

gressionis elementa.—Ex convento quodam et pacto inter binas hasce vires, conservatricem et progressionis fautricem, inter auctoritatem videlicet et conscientias privatorum, progressus ac mutationes oriuntur. Nam privatorum conscientiae, vel harum quaedam, in conscientiam collectivam agunt; haec vero in habentes auctoritatem, cogitque illos pactiones conflare atque in pacto manere.—Ex his autem pronum est intelligere, cur modernistae mirentur adeo, quum reprehendi se vel puniri sciunt. Quod eis culpa vertitur, ipsi pro officio habent religiose explendo. Necessitates conscientiarum nemo melius novit quam ipsi, eo quod propius illas attingunt, quam ecclesiastica auctoritas. Eas igitur necessitates omnes quasi in se colligunt: unde loquendi publice ac scribendi officio devinciuntur. Carpat eos, si volet, auctoritas; ipsi conscientia officii fulciuntur, intimaque experientia norunt non sibi reprehensiones deberi sed laudes. Utique non ipsos latet progressionis sine certaminibus haud fieri, nec sine victimis certamina: sint ergo ipsi pro victimis, sicut prophetae et Christus. Nec ideo quod male habentur, auctoritati invident: suum illam exsequi munus ultro concedunt. Queruntur tantum quod minime exaudiuntur; sic enim cursus animorum tardatur: hora tamen rumpendi moras certissime veniet nam leges evolutionis coerceri possunt, infringi omnino non possunt. Instituto ergo itinere pergunt: pergunt, quamvis redarguti et damnati; incredibilem audaciam fucatae demissionis velamine obducentes. Cervices quidem simulate inflectunt: manu tamen atque animo quod susceperunt persequuntur audacius. Sic autem volentes omnino prudentesque agunt: tum quia tenent, auctoritatem stimulandam esse non evertendam; tum quia necesse illis est intra Ecclesiae septa manere, ut collectivam conscientiam sensim immutent: quod tamen quum aiunt, fateri se non advertunt conscientiam collectivam ab ipsis dissidere, atque ideo nullo eos iure illius se interpretes venditare.

Sig igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, modernistis auctoribus atque actoribus, nihil stabile nihil immutabile in Ecclesia esse oportet. Qua equidem in sententia praecursoribus non caruere, illis nimirum, de quibus Pius IX decessor Noster iam scribebat: *Isti divinae revelationis inimici humanum progressum summis laudibus efferentes, in catholicam religionem temerario plane ac sacrilego ausu illum inducere vellent, perinde ac si ipsa religio non Dei, sed hominum opus esset aut philosophicum aliquod inventum, quod humanis modis perfici queat.*¹—De revelatione praesertim ac dogmate nulla doctrinae modernistarum novitas; sed eadem illa est, quam in Pii IX syllabo reprobata reperimus, sic

¹ Encycl. 'Qui pluribus,' 9 Nov. 1846.

enunciata: *Divina revelatio est imperfecta et idcirco subiecta continuo et indefinito progressui, qui humanae rationis progressioni respondeat*:¹ solemnius vero in Vaticana Synodo per haec verba: *Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingenii perficienda, sed tamquam divinum depositum Christi sponsae tradita, fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quotque dogmatum in sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine recedendum*:² quo profecto explicatio nostrarum notionum, etiam circa fidem, tantum abest ut impediatur, ut imo adiuvetur ac provehatur. Quamobrem eadem Vaticana Synodus sequitur: *Crescat igitur et multum vehementerque proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis quam totius Ecclesiae, aetatum et saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia; sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu eademque sententia*.³

Sed postquam in modernismi assectatoribus philosophum, credentem, theologum observavimus iam nunc restat ut pariter historicum, criticum, apologetam, reformatorem spectemus.

Modernistarum quidam, qui componendis historiis se dedunt, solliciti magnopere videntur ne credantur philosophi: profitentur quin immo philosophiae se penitus expertes esse. Astute id quam quod maxime: ne scilicet cuiuspiam sit opinio, eos, praeiudicatis imbui philosophiae opinionationibus, nec esse propterea, ut aiunt, omnino *objectivos*. Verum tamen est, historiam illorum aut critice meram loqui philosophiam; quaeque ab iis inferuntur, ex philosophicis eorum principiis iusta ratiocinatione concludi. Quod equidem facile consideranti patet.—Primi tres huiusmodi historicorum aut criticorum canones, ut diximus, eadem illa sunt principia, quae supra ex philosophis attulimus: nimirum *agnosticismus*, theorema de *transfiguratione* rerum per fidem, itemque aliud quod de *defiguratione* dici posse visum est. Iam consecutiones ex singulis notemus. Ex *agnosticismo* historia, non aliter ac scientia, unice de phaenomensis est. Ergo tam Deus quam quilibet in humanis divinus interveniens ad fidem reiiciendus est, utpote ad illam pertinens unam. Quapropter si quid occurrat duplici constans elemento, divino atque humano, cuiusmodi sunt Christus, Ecclesia, Sacramenta aliaque id genus multa; sic partiendum erit ac discernendum, ut quod humanum fuerit historiae, quod divinum tribuatur fidei. Ideo vulgata apud modernistas discretio inter Christum historicum

¹ Syll. Pro. p. 5.

² Const. 'Dei Filius' cap. iv.

³ Loc. cit.

et Christum fidei, Ecclesiam historiae et Ecclesiam fidei, Sacramenta historiae et Sacramenta fidei, aliaque similia passim. Deinde hoc ipsum elementum humanum, quod sibi historicum sumere videmus, quale illud in monumentis apparet, a fide per *transfigurationem* ultra conditiones historicas elatum dicendum est. Adiectiones igitur a fide factas rursus secernere oportet, easque ad fidem ipsam amandare atque ad historiam fidei : sic, quum de Christo agitur, quidquid conditionem hominis superat, sive naturalem, prout a psychologia exhibetur, sive ex loco atque aetate, quibus ille vixit, conflata.—Praeterea, ex tertio philosophiae principio, res etiam, quae historiae ambitum non excedunt, cribro veluti cernunt, eliminantque omnia ac pariter ad fidem amandant quae ipsorum iudicio, in factorum *logica*, ut inquirunt, non sunt vel personis apta non fuerint. Sic volunt Christum ea non dixisse, quae audientis vulgi captum excedere videntur. Hinc de *reali* eius historia delent et fidei permittunt allegorias omnes quae in sermonibus eius occurrunt. Quaremus forsitan qua lege haec segregentur ? Ex ingenio hominis, ex conditione qua sit in civitate usus, ex educatione, ex adiunctorum facti cuiusquam complexu : uno verbo, si bene novimus, ex norma, quae tandem aliquando in mere *subjectivam* recidit. Nituntur scilicet Christi personam ipsi capere et quasi gerere : quidquid vero paribus in adiunctis ipsi fuissent acturi, id omne in Christum transferunt.—Sic igitur, ut concludamus, a *priori* et ex quibusdam philosophiae principiis, quam tenent quidem sed ignorare asserunt, in *reali*, quam vocant, historia Christus Deum non esse affirmant nec quidquam divini egisse ; ut hominem vero ea tantum patrasse aut dixisse, quae ipsi, ad illius se tempora referentes, patrandi aut dicendi ius tribuunt.

Ut autem historia ab philosophia, sic critice ab historia suas accipit conclusiones. Criticus namque, indicia sequutus ab historico praebita, monumenta partitur bifariam. Quidquid post dictam triplicem obtruncationem superat *reali* historiae assignat ; cetera ad fidei historiam seu *internam* ablegat. Has enim binas historias accurate distinguunt ; et historiam fidei, quod bene notatum volumus, historiae *reali* ut realis est opponunt. Hinc, ut iam diximus, geminus Christus ; realis alter, alter qui nunquam reapse fuit sed ad fidem pertinet : alter qui certo loco certaue vixit aetate, alter qui solummodo in piis commentationibus fidei reperitur : eiusmodi, exempli causa, est Christus, quem Ioannis evangelium exhibet ; quod utique, aiunt, totum quantum est commentatio est.

Verum non his philosophiae in historiam dominatus absolvitur. Monumentis, ut diximus, bifariam distributis, adest iterum philosophus cum suo dogmate *vitalis immanentiae* :

atque omnia edicit, quae sunt in ecclesiae historia, per *vitalem emanationem* esse explicanda. Atqui vitalis cuiuscumque emanationis aut caussa aut conditio est in necessitate seu indigentia quapiam ponenda: ergo et factum post necessitatem concipi oportet, et illud historice huic esse posterius. Quid tum historicus? Monumenta iterum, sive quae in libris sacris continentur sive aliunde adducta, scrutatus, indicem ex iis conficit singularum necessitatum, tum ad dogma tum ad cultum sacrorum tum ad alia spectantium, quae in Ecclesia, altera ex altera, locum habuere. Confectum indicem critico tradit. Hic vero ad monumenta, quae fidei historiae destinantur, manum admovet; illaque per aetates singulas sic disponit, ut dato indici respondeant singula: eius semper praecepti memor, factum necessitate, narrationem facto anteverti. Equidem fieri aliquando possit, quasdam Bibliorum partes, ut puta epistolas, ipsum esse factum a necessitate creatum. Quidquid tamen sit, lex est, monumenti cuiuslibet aetatem non aliter determinandam esse, quam ex aetate exortae in Ecclesia uniuscuiusque necessitatis. Distinguendum praeterea est inter facti cuiuspiam exordium eiusdemque explicationem: quod enim uno die nasci potest, non nisi decursu temporis incrementa suscipit. Hanc ob causam debet criticus monumenta, per aetates, ut diximus, iam distributa bipartiri iterum, altera quae ad originem rei altara quae ad explicationem pertineant secernens; eaque rursus ordinare per tempora.

Tum denuo philosopho locus est; qui iniungit historico sua studia sic exercere, uti evolutionis praecepta legesque praescribunt. Ad haec historicus monumenta iterum scrutari; inquirere curiose in adiuncta conditionesque, quibus Ecclesia per singulas aetates sit usa, in eius vim conservatricem, in necessitates tam internas quam externas quae ad progrediendum impellerent, in impedimenta quae obfuerunt, uno verbo, in ea quaecumque quae ad determinandum faxint quo pacto evolutionis leges fuerint servatae. Post haec tandem explicationis historiam, per extrema veluti lineamenta, describit. Succurrit criticus aptatque monumenta reliqua. Ad scriptionem adhibetur manus: historia confecta est.—Cui iam, petimus, haec historia inscribenda? Historico ne an critico? Neutri profecto; sed philosopho. Tota ibi per *apriorismum* res agitur: et quidem per apriorismum haeribus scatentem. Miseret sane hominum eiusmodi de quibus Apostolus diceret: *Evanuerunt in cogitationibus . . . dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt*:¹ at bilem tamen commovent quum Ecclesiam criminantur monumenta sic permiscere

¹ Ad Rom. i. 21 e 22.

ac temperare ut suae utilitati loquantur, Nimirum affingunt Ecclesiae, quod sua sibi conscientia apertissime improbari sentiunt.

Ex illa porro monumentorum per aetates partitione ac dispositione sequitur sua sponte non posse libros sacros iis auctoribus tribui, quibus reapse inscribuntur. Quam ob causam modernistae passim non dubitant asserere, illos eosdem libros, Pentateuchum praesertim ac prima tria Evangelia, ex brevi quadam primigenia narratione, crevisse gradatim accessionibus, interpositionibus nempe in modum interpretationis sive theologicae sive allegoricae, vel etiam iniectis ad diversa solummodo inter se iungenda. Nimirum, ut paucis clariusque dicamus, admittenda est *vitalis evolutio* librorum sacrorum, nata ex evolutione fidei eidemque respondens. Addunt vero huius evolutionis vestigia adeo esse manifesta, ut illius fere historia describi possit. Quin immo et reapse describunt, tam non dubitanter, ut suis ipsos oculis videresse crederes scriptores singulos, qui singulis aetatibus ad libros sacros amplificandos admorint manum. Haec autem ut confirmet, criticen, quam *textualem* nominant, adiutricem appellant; nitunturque persuadere hoc vel illud factum aut dictum non suo esse loco, aliasque eiusmodi rationes proferunt. Diceres profecto eos narrationum aut sermonum quosdam quasi typos praestituisse sibi, unde certissime iudicent quid suo quid alieno stet loco. Hac via qui apti esse queant ad decernendum, aestimet qui volet. Verumtamen qui eos audiat de suis exercitationibus circa sacros libros affirmantes, unde tot ibi incongrue notata datum est deprehendere, credet fere nullum ante ipsos hominum eosdem libros voluisse, neque hos infinitam propemodum Doctorum multitudinem quaquaersus rimatam esse, ingenio plane et eruditione et sanctitudine vitae longe illis praestantiorum. Qui equidem Doctores sapientissimi tantum abfuit ut Scripturas sacras ulla ex parte reprehenderent, ut immo, quo illas scrutabantur penitius, eo maiores divino Numini agerent gratias, quod ita cum hominibus loqui dignatum esset. Sed heu! non iis adiumentis Doctores nostri in sacros libros incubuerunt, quibus modernistae! scilicet magistratam et ducem non habuere philosophiam, quae initia duceret a negatione Dei, nec se ipsi iudicandi normam sibi delegerunt. Iam igitur patere arbitramur, cuiusmodi in re historica modernistarum sit methodus. Praeit philosophus; illum historicus excipit; pone ex ordine legunt critice tum interna tum textualis. Et quia primae causae hoc competit ut virtutem suam cum sequentibus communicet, evidens fit, criticen ejusmodi non quampiam esse criticen, sed vocari iure *agnosticam*, *immanentistam*, *evolutionistam*: atque ideo, qui eam profitetur

eaque utitur, errores eidem implicitos profiteri et catholicae doctrinae adversari. Quam ob rem mirum magnopere videri possit, apud catholicos homines id genus critices adeo hodie valere. Id nempe geminam habet causam: foedus in primis, quo historici criticique huius generis arctissime inter se iunguntur, varietate gentium ac religionum dissensione posthabita: tum vero audacia maxima, qua, quae quisque effutiat, ceteri uno ore extollit et scientiae progressionem tribuunt; qua, qui novum portentum aestimare per se volet, facto agmine adoriuntur; qui neget, ignorantiae accusent; qui amplectitur ac tuetur, laudibus exornent. Inde haud pauci decepti; qui, si rem attentius considerarent, horrarent. Ex hoc autem praepotenti errantium dominio, ex hac levium animorum incauta assensione quaedam circumstantiis aeris quasi corruptio gignitur, quae per omnia permeat luemque diffundit. Sed ad apologetam transeamus.

Hic apud modernistas dupliciter a philosopho et ipse pendet, *Non directe* primum, materiam sibi sumens historiam, philosopho, ut vidimus, praecipiente conscriptam: *directe* dein, mutuatus ab illo dogmata ac iudicia. Inde illud vulgatum in schola modernistarum praeceptum, debere novam apologesim controversias de religione dirimere historicis inquisitionibus et psychologicis. Quamobrem apologetae modernistae suum opus aggre-diuntur rationalistas monendo, se religionem vindicare non sacris libris neve ex historiis vulgo in Ecclesia adhibitis, quae veteri methodo descriptae sint; sed ex historia *reali*, modernis praeceptionibus modernaque methodo conflata. Idque non quasi *ad hominem* argumentati asserunt, sed quia reapse hanc tantum historiam vera tradere arbitrantur. De adserenda vero sua in scribendo sinceritate securi sunt; iam apud rationalistas noti sunt, iam, ut sub eodem vexillo stipendia merentes, laudati: de qua laudatione, quam verus catholicus respueret, ipsi sibi gratulantur, eamque reprehensionibus Ecclesiae opponunt. Sed iam quo pacto apologesim unus aliquis istorum perficiat videamus. Finis, quem sibi assequendum praestituit, hic est: hominem fidei adhuc expertem eo adducere, ut eam de catholica religione *experientiam* assequatur, quae ex modernistarum scitis unicum fidei est fundamentum. Geminum ad hoc patet iter: *obiectivum* alterum, alterum *subiectivum*. Primum ex agnosticismo procedit; eoque spectat, ut eam in religione, praesertim catholica, vitalem virtutem inesse monstret, quae psychologum quemque itemque historicum bonae mentis suadeat, oportere in illius historia *incogniti* aliquid celari. Ad hoc, ostendere necessum est, catholicam religionem, quae modo est, eam omnino esse quam Christus fundavit, seu non aliud praeter progredientem

eius germinis explicationem; quod Christus invexit. Primo igitur germen illud quale sit, determinandum. Idipsum porro hac formula exhiberi volunt: Christum adventum regni Dei nunciasse, quod brevi foret constituendum, eiusque ipsum fore Messiam, actorem nempe divinitus datum atque ordinatorem. Post haec demonstrandum, qua ratione id germen, semper *immanens* in catholica religione ac *permanens*, sensim ac secundum historiam sese evolverit aptarique succedentibus adiunctis, ex iis ad se *vitaliter* trahens quidquid doctrinalium, cultualium, ecclesiasticarum formarum sibi esset utile; interea vero impedimenta si quae occurrerent superans, adversarios profligans, insectationibus quibusvis pugnisque superstes. Postquam autem haec omnia, impedimenta nimirum, adversarios, insectationes, pugnas, itemque vitam foecunditatemque Ecclesiae id genus fuisse monstratum fuerit, ut, quamvis evolutionis leges in eiusdem Ecclesiae historia incolumes appareant, non tamen eidem historiae plene explicandae sint pares; *incognitum* coram stabit, suaque sponte se offeret. Sic illi. In qua tota ratiocinatione unum tamen non advertunt, determinationem illam germinis primigenii deberi unice *apriorismo* philosophi agnostici et evolutionistae, et germen ipsum sic gratis ab eis definiri ut eorum causae congruat.

Dum tamen catholicam religionem recitatis argumentationibus asserere ac suadere elaborant apologetae novi, dant ultro et concedunt, plura in ea esse quae animos offendant. Quin etiam, non obscura quadam voluptate, in re quoque dogmatica errores contradictionesque reperire se palam dictitant: subdunt tamen, haec non solum admittere excusationem, sed, quod mirum esse oportet, iuste ac legitime esse prolata. Sic etiam, secundum ipsos, in sacris libris, plurima in re scientifica vel historica errore afficiuntur. Sed, inquiunt, non ibi de scientiis agi aut historia, verum de religione tantum ac re morum. Scientiae illic et historia integumenta sunt quaedam, quibus experientiae religiosae et morales obteguntur ut facilius in vulgus propagarentur; quod quidem vulgus cum non aliter intellexeret, perfectior illi scientia aut historia non utilitati sed nocumento fuisset. Ceterum, addunt, libri sacri, quia natura sunt religiosi, vitam necessario vivunt: iam vitae sua quoque est veritas et logica, alia profecto a veritate et logica rationali, quin immo alterius omnino ordinis, veritas scilicet comparationis ac proportionis tum ad *medium* (sic ipsi dicunt) in quo vivitur, tum ad finem ob quem vivitur. Demum eo usque progrediuntur ut, nulla adhibita temperatione, asserant, quidquid per vitam explicatur, id omne verum esse ac legitimum. Nos equidem, Venerabiles Fratres, quibus una atque unica est veri-

tas, quique sacros libros sic aestimamus quod *Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem*,¹ hoc idem esse affirmamus ac mendacium utilitatis seu officiosum ipsi Deo tribuere; verbisque Augustini asserimus: *Admisso semel in tantum auctoritatis fastigium officioso aliquo mendacio nulla illorum librorum particula remanebit, quae non ut cuique videbitur vel ad mores difficilis vel ad fidem incredibilis, eadem perniciosissima regula ad mentientis auctoris consilium officiumque referatur.*² Unde fiet quod idem sanctus Doctor adiungit: *In eis, scilicet Scripturis, quod vult quisque credet, quod non vult non credet.* Sed modernistae apologetae progrediuntur alacres. Concedunt praeterea, in sacris libris eas subinde ratiocinationes occurrere ad doctrinam quampiam probandam, quae nullo rationali fundamento regantur; cuiusmodi sunt quae in prophetiis nituntur. Verum has quoque defendunt quasi artificia quaedam praedicationis, quae a vita legitima fiunt. Quid amplius? Permittunt, immo vero asserunt, Christum ipsum in indicando tempore adventus regni Dei manifeste errasse: neque id mirum, inquiunt, videri debet; nam et ipse vitae legibus tenebatur! Quid post haec de Ecclesia dogmatibus? Scatent haec etiam apertis oppositionibus: sed, praeterquamquod a logica vitali admittuntur, veritati symbolicae non adversantur; in iis quippe de infinito agitur cuius infiniti sunt respectus. Demum, adeo haec omnia probant tuenturque, ut profiteri non dubitent, nullum Infinito honorem haberi excellentiorem quam contradicentia de ipso affirmando! Probata vero contradictione, quid non probabitur?

Attamen qui nondum credat non *obiectivis* solum argumentis ad fidem disponi potest, verum etiam *subiectivis*. Ad quem finem modernistae apologetae ad *immanentiae* doctrinam revertuntur. Elaborant nempe ut homini persuadeant, in ipso atque in intimis eius naturae ac vitae recessibus celari cuiuspiam religionis cuiuscumque sed talis omnino qualis catholica est; hanc enim *postulari* prorsus inquiunt ab explicatione vitae perfecta. Hic autem queri vehementer Nos iterum oportet, non desiderari e catholicis hominibus, qui, quamvis *immanentiae* doctrinam ut doctrinam reiiciunt, ea tamen pro apologesi utuntur; idque adeo incauti faciunt, ut in natura humana non capacitatem solum et convenientiam videantur admittere ad ordinem supernaturalem, quod quidem apologetae catholici opportunis adhibitibus temperationibus demonstrarunt semper, sed germanam verique nominis exigentiam. Ut tamen verius dicamus, haec

¹ Conc. Vat. *De Rev.*, c. 2.

² Epist. 28.

catholicae religionis exigentia a modernistis invehitur, qui volunt moderatores audiri. Nam qui *integralistae* appellari queunt, ii homini nondum credenti ipsum germen, in ipso latens, demonstrari volunt, quod in Christi conscientia fuit atque ab eo hominibus transmissum est. Si igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, apologeticam modernistarum methodum, summatim descriptam, doctrinis eorum plane congruentem agnoscimus: methodum profecto, uti etiam doctrinas, errorum plenas, non ad aedificandum aptas sed ad destruendum, non ad catholicos efficiendos sed ad catholicos ipsos ad haeresim trahendos, immo etiam ad religionis cuiuscumque omnimodam eversionem!

Pauca demum superant addenda de modernista ut reformator est. Iam ea, quae huc usque loquuti sumus, abunde manifestant quanto et quam acri innovandi studio hi homines ferantur. Pertinet autem hoc studium ad res omnino omnes, quae apud catholicos sunt. Innovari volunt philosophiam in sacris praesertim Seminariis: ita ut, amandata philosophia scholasticorum ad historiam philosophiae inter cetera quae iam absoleverunt systemata, adolescentibus moderna tradatur philosophia, quae una vera nostraeque aetati respondens. Ad theologiam innovandam, volunt, quam nos rationalem dicimus, habere fundamentum modernam philosophiam. Positivam vero theologiam, niti maxime postulant in historia dogmatum. Historiam quoque scribi et tradi expetunt ad suam methodum praescriptaque moderna.—Dogmata eorundemque evolutionem cum scientia et historia componenda edicunt. Ad catechesim quod spectat, ea tantum in catecheticis libris notari postulant sdogmata, quae innovata fuerint sintque ad vulgi captum. Circa sacrorum cultum, minuendas inquit externas religiones prohibendumve ne crescant. Quamvis eundem alii, qui symbolismo magis favent, in hac re indulgentiores se praebeant. Regimen ecclesiae omni sub respectu reformandum clamitant, praecipue tamen sub disciplinari ac dogmatico. Ideo intus forisque cum moderna, ut aiunt, conscientia componendum, quae tota ad democratiam vergit: ideo inferiori clero ipsisque laicis suae in regimine partes tribuendae, et collecta nimium contractaque in centrum auctoritas dispartiendae. Romana consilia sacris negotiis gerendis immutari pariter volunt; in primis autem tum quod a *santo officio* tum quod ab *indice* appellatur. Item ecclesiastici regiminis actionem in re politica et sociali variandam contendunt, ut simul a civilibus ordinationibus exulet, eisdem tamen se aptet ut suo illas spiritu imbuat. In re morum, illud asciscunt americanistarum scitum, activas virtutes passivis anteponi oportere, atque illas prae istis exercitatione promoveri. Clerum sic comparatum petunt ut

veterem referat demissionem animi et paupertatem ; cogitatione insuper et facto cum modernismi praeceptis consentiat. Sunt demum qui, magistris protestantibus dicto lubentissime audientes, sacrum ipsum in sacerdotio coelibatum sublatum desiderent. Quid igitur in Ecclesia intactum relinquunt, quod non ab ipsis nec secundum ipsorum pronunciata sit reformandum ?

In tota hac modernistarum doctrina exponenda, Venerabiles Fratres, videbimur forte alicui diutius immorati. Id tamen omnino oportuit, tum ne, ut assolet, de ignoratione rerum suarum ab illis reprehendamus ; tum ut pateat, quum de modernismo est quaestio, non de vagis doctrinis agi nulloque inter se nexu coniunctis, verum de uno compactoque veluti corpore, in quo si unum admittas, cetera necessario sequantur. Ideo didactica fere ratione usi sumus, nec barbara aliquando respuimus verba, quae modernistae usurpant. Iam systema universum uno quasi obtutu respicientes, nemo mirabitur si sic illud definimus, ut omnium haereseon conlectum esse affirmemus. Certe si quis hoc sibi proposuisset, omnium quotquot fuerunt circa fidem errores succum veluti ac sanguinem in unum conferre ; rem nunquam plenius perfecisset, quam modernistae perfecerunt. Immo vero tanto hi ulterius progressi sunt, ut, non modo catholicam religionem, sed omnem penitus, quod iam inuimus, religionem deleverint. Hinc enim rationalistarum plausus : hinc qui liberius apertiusque inter rationalistas loquuntur, nullos se efficaciores quam modernistas auxiliores invenisse gratulantur. Redeamus enimvero tantisper, Venerabiles Fratres, ad exitiosissimam illam *agnosticismi* doctrinam. Ea scilicet, ex parte intellectus, omnis ad Deum via praeccluditur homini, dum aptior sterna putatur ex parte cuiusdam animi sensus et actionis. Sed hoc quam perperam, quis non videat ? Sensus enim animi actioni rei respondet, quam intellectus vel externi sensus proposuerint. Demito intellectum ; homo externos sensus, ad quos iam fertur, proclivius sequetur. Perperam iterum ; nam phantasiae quaevis de sensu religioso communem sensum non expugnabunt : communi autem sensu docemur, perturbationem aut occupationem animi quampiam, non adiumento sed impedimento esse potius ad investigationem veri inquimus ut in se est ; nam verum illud alterum *subiectivum*, fructus interni sensus et actionis, si quidem ludendo est aptum, nihil admodum homini confert, cuius scire maxime interest sit necne extra ipsum Deus, cuius in manus aliquando incidet. *Experientiam* enimvero tanto operi adiutricem inferunt. Sed quid haec ad sensum illum animi adiciat ? Nil plane, praeter quam quod vehementiorem faciat ; ex qua vehementia fiat proportione, firmior praeter persuasio de veritate

obiecti. Iam haec duo profecto non efficiunt ut sensus ille animi desinat esse sensus, neque eius immutant naturam, semper deceptioni obnoxiam, nisi regatur intellectu; immo vero illam confirmant et iuvant, nam sensus quo intensior, eo potiore iure est sensus. Cum vero de religioso sensu hic agamus deque experientia in eo contenta, nostis probe, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta in hac re produentia sit opus, quanta item doctrina quae ipsam regat prudentiam. Nostis ex animorum usu, quorundam praecipue in quibus eminet sensus; nostis ex librorum consuetudine, qui de asceti tractant; qui quamvis modernistis in nullo sunt pretio, doctrinam tamen longe solidiorem, subtilioremque ad observandum sagacitatem praeseferunt, quam ipsi sibi arrogant. Equidem Nobis amentis esse videtur aut saltem imprudentis summopere pro veris, nulla facta investigatione, experientias intimas habere, cuiusmodi modernistae venditant. Cur vero, ut per transcursum dicamus, si harum experientiarum tanta vis est ac firmitas, non eadem tribuatur illi, quam plura catholicorum millia se habere asserunt de devio itinere, quo modernistae incedunt? Haec ne tantum falsa atque fallax? Hominum autem pars maxima hoc firmiter tenet tenebitque semper, sensu solum et experientia, nullo mentis ductu atque lumine, ad Dei notitiam pertingi nunquam posse. Restat ergo iterum atheismus ac religio nulla. Nec modernistae meliora sibi promittant ex asserta *symbolismi* doctrina. Nam si quaevis intellectualia, ut inquirunt, elementa nihil nisi Dei symbola sunt; ecquid symbolum non sit ipsum Dei nomen aut personalitatis divinae? quod si ita, iam de divina personalitate ambigi poterit, patetque ad pantheismum via. Eodem autem, videlicet ad purum putumque pantheismum, ducit doctrina alia de *immanentia divina*. Etenim hoc quaerimus: an eiusmodi *immanentia* Deum ab homine distinguat necne. Si distinguit, quid tum a catholica doctrina differt, aut doctrinam de externa revelatione cur reiicit? Si non distinguit, pantheismum habemus. Atqui *immanentia* haec modernistarum vult atque admittit omne conscientiae phaenomenon ab homine ut homo est profiscisci. Legitima ergo ratiocinatio inde infert unum idemque esse Deum cum homine: ex quo pantheismus. Distinctio demum, quam praedicant, inter scientiam et fidem, non aliam admittit consecutionem. Obiectum enim scientiae in cognoscibilis realitate ponunt; fidei e contra in incognoscibilis. Iamvero incognoscibile inde omnino constituitur, quod inter obiectam materiam et intellectum nulla adsit proportio. Atqui hic proportionis defectus nunquam, nec in modernistarum doctrina, auferri potest. Ergo incognoscibile credendi aequae ac philosopho incognoscibile ^{per} manebit. Ergo si qua habebitur religio, haec erit ^{ex}

realitatis incognoscibilis; quae cur etiam mundi animus esse nequeat, quem rationalistae quidam admittunt, non videmus profecto. Sed haec modo sufficiant ut abunde pateat quam multiplici itinere doctrina modernistarum ad atheismum trahat et ad religionem omnem abolendam. Equidem protestantium error primus hac via gradum iecit; sequitur modernistarum error; proxime atheismus ingreditur.

Ad penitentiorem modernismi notitiam, et ad tanti vulneris remedia aptius quaerenda, iuvat nunc, Venerabiles Fratres, causas aliquantum scrutari unde sit ortum aut nutritum malum. Proximam continentemque causam in errore mentis esse ponendam, dubitationem non habet. Remotas vero binas agnoscimus, curiositatem et superbiam. Curiositas, ni sapienter cohibeatur, sufficit per se una ad quoscumque explicandos errores. Unde Gregorius XVI decessor Noster iure scribebat: *1* *Lugendum valde est quoniam crolabantur humanae rationis deliramenta, ubi quis novis rebus studeat, atque contra Apostoli monitum nitatur plus sapere quam oporteat sapere, sibi que nimium praefidens, veritatem quaerendam autemet extra catholicam Ecclesiam, in qua absque vel levissimo erroris coeno ipsa invenitur.* Sed longe maiorem ad obcaecandum animum et in errorem inducendum cohibet efficientiam superbia: quae in modernismi doctrina quasi in domicilio collocata: ex ea undequaque alimenta concipit, omnesque induit aspectus. Superbia enim sibi audacius praefidunt, ut tamquam universorum normam se ipsi habeant ac proponant. Superbia vanissime gloriantur quasi uni sapientiam possideant, dicuntque elati atque inflati: *Non sumus sicut ceteri homines*; et ne cum ceteris compareantur, nova quaeque etsi absurdissima amplectuntur et somniant. Superbia subiectionem omnem abiiciunt contenduntque auctoritatem cum libertate componendam. Superbia sui ipsorum obliti, de aliorum reformatione unice cogitant, nullaque est apud ipsos gradus, nulla vel supremæ potestatis reverentia. Nulla profecto brevior et expeditior ad modernismum est via, quam superbia. Si qui catholicus e laicorum coetu, si quis etiam sacerdos christianæ vitæ præcepti sit immemor, quo iubemur abnegare nos ipsi si Christum sequi velimus, nec auferat superbiam de corde suo; nae is ad modernistarum errores amplectendos aptissimus est quam qui maxime! Quare, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc primum vobis officium esse oportet superbis eiusmodi hominibus obsistere, eos tenuioribus atque obscurioribus muneribus occupare, ut eo amplius deprimantur quo se tollunt altius et ut, humiliore loco positi, minus habeant ad nocendum potestatis. Praeterea tum

¹ Ep. Encycl., 'Singulari Nos,' 7 kal. Iul. 1834.

ipsi per vos tum per seminariorum moderatores, alumnos sacri cleri scrutemini diligentissime; et si quos superbo ingenio reperitis, eos fortissime a sacerdotio repellatis. Quod utinam peractum semper fuisset ea qua opus erat vigilantia et constantia!

Quod si a moralibus causis ad eas quae ab intellectu sunt veniamus, prima ac potissima occurrit ignorantia. Eminvero modernistae, quotquot sunt, qui doctores in Ecclesia esse ac videri volunt, modernam philosophiam plenis buccis extollentes aspernatique scholasticam, non aliter illam, eius fuco et fallaciis decepti sunt amplexi, quam quod alteram ignorantes prorsus, omni argumento caruerunt ad notionum confusionem tollendam et ad sophismata refellenda. Ex connubio autem falsae philosophiae cum fide illorum systema, tot tantisque erroribus abundans, ortum habuit.

Cui propagando utinam minus studii et curarum impenderent! Sed eorum tanta est alacritas, adeo indefessus labor, ut plane pigeat tantas insumi vires ad Ecclesiae perniciem, quae, si recte adhibitae, summo forent adiumento. Gemina vero ad fallendos animos utuntur arte; primum enim complanare quae obstant nituntur, tum autem quae prosint studiosissime perquirunt atque impigre patientissimeque adhibent. Tria sunt potissimum quae suis illi conatibus adversari sentiunt: scholastica philosophandi methodus Patrum auctoritas et traditio, magisterium ecclesiasticum. Contra haec acerrima illorum pugna. Idcirco philosophiam ac theologiam scholasticam derident passim atque contemnunt. Sive id ex ignoratione faciant sive ex metu, sive potius ex utraque causa, certum est studium novarum rerum cum odio scholasticae methodi coniungi semper; nullumque est indicium manifestius quod quis modernismi doctrinis favere incipiat, quam quum incipit scholasticam horrere methodum. Meminerint modernistae ac modernistarum studiosi damnationem, qua Pius IX censuit reprobendam propositionem quae diceret: *Methodus et principia, quibus antiqui doctores scholastici theologiam excoluerunt, temporum nostrorum necessitatibus scientiarumque progressui minime congruunt.* Traditionis vero vim et naturam callidissime pervertere elaborant, ut illius monumentum ac pondus elidant. Stabit tamen semper catholicis auctoritas Nicaenae Synodi II, quae damnavit eos, qui audent . . . secundum scelestos haereticos ecclesiasticas traditiones spernere et novitatem quamlibet excogitare . . . aut excogitare prave aut astute ad subvertendum quidquam ex legitimis traditionibus Ecclesiae catholicae. Stabit Synodi Constantinopolitanae IV professio: *Igitur regulas, quae sanctae catholicae et apostolicae*

¹ Syll. prop. 13.

Ecclesiae tam a sanctis famosissimis Apostolis, quam ab orthodoxorum universalibus necnon et localibus Conciliis vel etiam a quolibet deilquo Patre ac magistro Ecclesiae traditae sunt, servare ac custodire profitemur. Unde Romani Pontifices Pius IV itemque huius nominis IX in professione fidei haec quoque addi voluerunt : *Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones reliquasque eiusdem Ecclesiae observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector.* Nec secus quam de Traditione, iudicant modernistae de sanctissimis Ecclesiae Patribus. Eos temeritate summa traducunt vulgo ut omni quidem cultu dignissimos, ast in re critica et historica ignorantiae summae, quae, nisi ab aetate qua vixerunt, excusationem non habeat. Denique ipsius ecclesiastici magisterii auctoritatem toto studio minuere atque infirmare conantur, tum eius originem, naturam, iura sacrilege pervertendo, tum contra illam adversariorum calumnias libere ingeminando. Valent enim de modernistarum grege, quae moerore summo Decessor Noster scribebat : *Ut mysticam Sponsam Christi, qui lux vera est, in contemptum et invidiam vocarent tenebrarum filii consuevere in vulgus eam vecordi calumnia impetere, et, conversa rerum nominumque ratione et vi, compellare obscuritatis amicam, altricem ignorantiae, scientiarum lumini et progressui infensam.*¹ Quae cum sint ita, Venerabiles Fratres, mirum non est, si catholicos homines, qui strenue pro Ecclesia decertant, summa malevolentia et livore modernistae impetunt. Nullum est iniuriarum genus, quo illos non lacerent : sed ignorantiae passim pervicaciaeque accusant. Quod si refellentium eruditionem et vim pertimescant : efficaciam derogant coniurato silentio. Quae quidem agendi ratio cum catholicis eo plus habet invidiae, quod, eodem tempore nulloque modo adhibito, perpetuis laudibus evehunt quotquot cum ipsis consentiunt ; horum libros nova undique spirantes grandi plausu excipiunt ac suspiciunt ; quo quis audientius vetera evertit, traditionem et magisterium ecclesiasticum respuat, eo sapientiorum praedicant ; denique, quod quisque bonus horreat, si quem Ecclesia damnatione perculerit, hunc, facto agmine, non solum palam et copiosissime laudant, sed ut veritatis martyrem pene venerantur. Toto hoc, tum laudationum tum impropriorum strepitu, percussae ac turbatae iuniorum mentes, hinc ne ignorantes audiant inde ut sapientes videantur, cogente intus curiositate ac superbia, dant victas saepe manus ac modernismo se dedunt.

Sed iam ad artificia haec pertinent, quibus modernistae merces suas vendunt. Quid enim non moliantur ut assecularum numerum augeant ? In sacris Seminariis, in Univer-

¹ Motu pr. ' *Ut mysticam,*' 14 Martii, 1891.

sitatibus studiorum magisteria aucupantur, quæ sensim in pestilentiae cathedras vertunt. Doctrinas suas, etsi forte implicate, in templis ad concionem dicentes inculcant; apertius in congressibus enunciant; in socialibus institutis intrudunt atque extollunt. Libros, ephemeridas, commentaria suo vel alieno nomine edunt. Unus aliquando idemque scriptor multiplici nomine utitur, ut simulata auctorum multitudine incauti decipiantur. Brevi, actione, verbis, proelo nihil non tentant, ut eos febri quadam phreneticos diceret. Haec autem omnia quo fructu? Iuvenes magno numero deflemus, egregiae quidem illos spei, quique Ecclesiae utilitatibus optimam navarent operam a recto tramite deflexisse. Plurimos etiam dolemus, qui, quamvis non eo processerint, tamen corrupto quasi aere hausto, laxius ad modum cogitare, eloqui, scribere cosuescunt quam catholicos decet. Sunt hi de laicorum coetu, sunt etiam de sacerdotum numero; nec, quod minus fuisset expectandum, in ipsis religionum familiis desiderantur. Rem biblicam ad modernistarum leges tractant. In conscribendis historiis, specie adserendae veritatis, quidquid Ecclesiae maculam videtur aspergere, id, manifesta quadam voluptate, in lucem diligentissime ponunt. Sacras populares traditiones, apriorismo quodam ducti, delere omni ope conantur. Sacras Reliquias vetustate commendatas despectui habent. Vano scilicet desiderio feruntur ut mundus de ipsis loquatur; quod futurum non autumant si ea tantum dicant, quæ semper quæve ab omnibus sunt dicta. Interea suadent forte sibi obsequium se præstare Deo et Ecclesiae: reapse tamen offendunt gravissime, non suo tantum ipsi opere, quantum ex mente qua ducuntur, et quia perutilem operam modernistarum ausibus conferunt.

Huic tantorum errorum agmini clam aperteque invadenti Leo XIII decessor Noster fel. rec., praesertim in re biblica, occurrere fortiter dicto actuque conatus est. Sed modernistae, ut iam vidimus, non his facile terrentur armis: observantiam demissionemque animi affectantes summam, verba Pontificis Maximi in suas partes detorserunt, actus in alios quoslibet transulere. Sic malum robustius in dies factum. Quamobrem, Venerabiles Fratres, moras diutius non interponere decretum est, atque efficaciora moliri. Vos tamen oramus et obsecramus, ne in re tam gravi vigilantiam, diligentiam, fortitudinem vestram desiderari vel minimum patiamini. Quod vero a vobis petimus et expectamus, id ipsum et petimus atque et expectamus a ceteris animarum pastoribus, ab educatoribus et magistris sacrae iuventutis, imprimis autem a summis religiosarum familiarum magistris.

I. Primo igitur ad studia quod attinet, volumus probeque

mandamus ut philosophia scholastica studiorum sacrorum fundamentum ponatur. Utique, *si quid a doctoribus scholasticis vel nimia subtilitate quaesitum, vel parum considerate traditum; si quid cum exploratis posterioris aevi doctrinis minus cohaerens vel denique quoquo modo non probabile; id nullo pacto in animo est aetati nostrae ad imitandum proponi.*¹ Quod rei caput est, philosophiam scholasticam quum sequendam praescribimus, eam praecipue intelligimus, quae a sancto Thoma Aquinate est tradita; de qua quidquid a Decessore Nostro sanctitum est, id omne vigere volumus, et qua sit opus instauramus et confirmamus, stricteque ab universis servari iubemus. Episcoporum erit, sicubi in Seminariis neglecta haec fuerint, ea ut in posterum custodiantur urgere atque exigere. Eadem religiosorum Ordinum moderatoribus praecipimus. Magistros autem monemus ut rite hoc teneant, Aquinatem deserere, praesertim in re metaphysica, non sine magno detrimento esse.

Hoc ita posito philosophiae fundamento, theologicum aedificium extruatur diligentissime. Theologiae studium, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta potestis ope provehite, ut clerici e seminariis egredientes praeclara illius existimatione magnoque amore imbuantur, illudque semper pro deliciis habeant. Nam *in magna et multiplici disciplinarum copia quae menti veritatis cupidae obiicitur, neminem latet sacram Theologiam ita principem sibi locum vindicare, et vetus sapientium effatum sit, ceteris scientiis et artibus officium incumbere, ut ei inserviant ac velut ancillarum more famulentur.*² Addimus heic, eos etiam Nobis laude dignos videri, qui, incolumi reverentia erga Traditionem et Patres et ecclesiasticum magisterium, sapienti iudicio catholicisque usi normis (quod non aequè omnibus accidit) theologiam positivam, mutuato a veri nominis historia lumine, collustrare studeant. Maior profecto quam antehac positivae theologiae ratio est habenda; id tamen sic fiat, ut nihil scholastica detrimenti capiat, ique reprehendantur, utpote qui modernistarum rem gerunt, quicumque positivam sic extollunt ut scholasticam theologiam despiciere videantur.

De profanis vero disciplinis satis sit revocare quae Decessor Noster sapientissime dixit: *«In rerum naturalium consideratione strenue adlaboretis: quo in genere nostrorum temporum ingeniosa inventa et utiliter ausa, sicut iure admirantur aequales, sic posteris perpetua commendatione et laude celebrabunt.* Id tamen nullo sacrorum studiorum damno; quod idem Decessor Noster gra-

¹ Leo XIII, Enc. 'Aeterni Patris.'

² Leo XIII, Litt. ap. 'In magna.' 10 Dec. 1889.

³ Alloc. 7 Martii 1880.

vissimis hisce verbis prosequutus monuit:¹ *Quorum causam errorum, si quis diligentius investigaverit, in eo potissimum sitam esse intelliget, quod nostris hisce temporibus, quanto rerum naturalium studia vehementius fervent, tanto magis severiores altioresque disciplinae defloruerint: quaedam enim fere in oblivione hominum conticescunt; quaedam remisse leviterque tractantur, et quod indignum est, splendore pristinae dignitatis deleta, pravitate sententiarum et immanibus opinionum portentis inficiuntur. Ad hanc igitur legem naturalium disciplinarum studia in sacris seminariis temperari praecipimus.*

II. His omnibus praeceptionibus tum Nostris tum Decessoris Nostri oculos adiici oportet, quum de Seminariorum vel Universitatum catholicarum moderatoribus et magistris eligendis agendum erit. Quicumque modo quopiam modernismo imbuti fuerint, ii, nullo habito rei cuiusvis respectu, tum a regundi tum a docendi munere arceantur; eo si iam funguntur, removeantur: item qui modernismo clam aperteve favent, aut modernistas laudando eorumque culpam excusando, aut Scholasticam et Patres et Magisterium ecclesiasticum carpendo, aut ecclesiasticae potestati, in quocumque ea demum sit, obedientiam detrectando: item qui in historica re, vel archeologica, vel biblica nova student: item qui sacras negligunt disciplinas, aut profanas anteponeere videntur. Hoc in negotio, Venerabiles Fratres, praesertim in magistrorum delectu, nimia nunquam erit animadversio et constantia; ad doctorum enim exemplum plerumque componuntur discipuli. Quare, officii conscientia freti, prudenter hac in re fortiter agitote.

Pari vigilantia et severitate ii sunt cognoscendi ac deligendi, qui sacris initiari postulent. Procul, procul esto a sacro ordine novitatum amor: superbos et contumaces animos odit Deus! Theologiae ac Juris canonici laurea nullis in posterum donetur, qui statum curriculum in scholastica philosophia antea non elaboraverit. Quod si donetur, inaniter donatus esto. Quae de celebrandis Universitatibus Sacrum Consilium Episcoporum et Religiosorum negotiis praepositum clericis Italiae tum saecularibus tum regularibus praecepit anno MDCCCXCVI; ea ad nationes omnes posthac pertinere decernimus. Clerici et sacerdotes qui catholicae cuipiam Universitati vel Instituto, item catholico nomen dederint, disciplinas, de quibus magisteria in his fuerint, in civili Universitate ne ediscant. Sicubi id permissum, in posterum ut ne fiat edicimus. Episcopi, qui huiusmodi Universitatibus vel Institutis moderandis praesunt,

¹ Loc. cit.

curent diligentissime ut quae hactenus imperavimus, ea constanter serventur.

III. Episcoporum pariter officium est modernistarum scripta quaeve modernismum olent provehuntque, si in lucem edita ne legantur cavere, si nondum edita prohibere ne edantur. Item libri omnes, ephemerides, commentaria quaevis huius generis neve adolescentibus in Seminariis neve auditoribus in Universitatibus permittantur: non enim minus haec nocitura, quam quae contra mores conscripta; immo etiam magis, quod christianae vitae initia vitiant. Nec secus iudicandum de quorundam catholicorum scriptionibus, hominum ceteroqui non malae mentis, sed qui theologicae disciplinae expertes ac recentiori philosophia imbuti, hanc cum fide componere nituntur et ad fidei, ut inquiunt, utilitates transferre. Hae, quia nullo metu versantur ob auctorum nomen bonamque existimationem, plus periculi afferunt ut sensim ad modernismum quis vergat.

Generatim vero, Venerabiles Fratres, ut in re tam gravi praecipiamus, quicumque in vestra uniuscuiusque dioecesi prosunt libri ad legendum perniciosi, ii ut exulent fortiter, contendite, solemni etiam interdictione usu. Etsi enim Apostolica Sedes ad huiusmodi scripta e medio tollenda omnem operam impendat; adeo tamen iam numero crevere, ut vix notandis omnibus pares sint vires. Ex quo fit, ut serius quandoque pareatur medicina, quum per longiores moras malum invaluit. Volumus igitur ut sacrorum Antistites, omni metu abiecto, prudentia carnis deposita, malorum clamoribus posthabitis, suaviter quidem sed constanter suas quisque partes suscipiant; memores quae Leo XIII in Constitutione apostolica *Officiorum* praescribebat: *Ordinarii, etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae, libros aliaque scripta noxia in sua dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant.* Ius quidem his verbis tribuitur sed etiam officium mandatur. Nec quispiam hoc munus officii implevisse autumet, si unum alterumve librum ad Nos detulerit, dum alii bene multi dividi passim ac pervulgari sinuntur. Nihil autem vos teneat, Venerabiles Fratres, quod forte libri alicuius auctor ea sit alibi facultate donatus, quam vulgo *Imprimatur* appellant: tum quia simulata esse possit, tum quia vel negligentius data vel benignitate nimia nimiave fiducia de auctore concepta, quod postremum in Religiosorum forte ordinibus aliquando evenit. Accedit quod sicut non idem omnibus convenit cibus, ita libri qui altero in loco sint adia-phori, nocentes in altero ob rerum complexus esse queunt. Si igitur Episcopus, audita prudentum sententia, horum etiam librorum aliquem in sua dioecesi notandum censuerit, potestatem ultro facimus immo et officium mandamus. Res utique

decenter fiat, prohibitionem, si sufficiat, ad clerum unum coercedo; integro tamen bibliopolarum catholicorum officio libros ab Episcopo notatos minime venales habendi. Et quoniam de his sermo incidit, vigilent Episcopi ne, lucri cupiditate, malam librarii mercetur mercem: certe in aliquorum indicibus modernistarum libri abunde nec parva cum laude proponuntur. Hos, si obedientiam detrectent, Episcopi, monitione praemissa, bibliopolarum catholicorum titulo privare ne dubitent; item potioreque iure si episcopales audiant: qui vero pontificio titulo ornantur, eos ad Sedem Apostolicam deferant. Universis demum in memoriam revocamus, quae memorata apostolica Constitutio *Officiorum* habet, articulo XXVI: *Omnes, qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet aut ephemerides ab Ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in apostolico indulto expressa facta fuerit potestas legendi ac retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatos.*

IV. Nec tamen pravorum librorum satis est lectionem impedire ac venditionem; editionem etiam prohiberi oportet. Ideo edendi facultatem Episcopi severitate summa impertiant. Quoniam vero magno numero ea sunt ex Constitutione *Officiorum*, quae Ordinarii permissionem ut edantur postulent, nec ipse per se Episcopus praecognoscere universa potest; in quibusdam dioecesibus ad cognitionem faciendam censores ex officio sufficienti numero destinantur. Huiusmodi censorum institutum laudamus quam maxime: illudque ut ad omnes dioeceses propagetur non hortamur modo sed omnino praescribimus. In universis igitur curiis episcopalibus censores ex officio adsint, qui edenda cognoscant: his autem e gemino clero eligantur, aetate, eruditione, prudentia commendati, quique in doctrinis probandis improbandisque medio tutoque itinere eant. Ad illos scriptorum cognitio deferatur, quae ex articulis XLI et XLII memoratae Constitutionis venia ut edantur indigent. Censor sententiam scripto dabit. Ea si faverit, Episcopus, potestatem edendi faciet per verbum *Imprimatur*, cui tamen praeponetur formula *Nihil obstat*, adscripto censoris nomine. In Curia romana, non secus ac in ceteris omnibus, censores ex officio instituantur. Eos, audito prius Cardinali in Urbe Pontificis Vicario, tum vero annuente ac probante ipso Pontifice Maximo Magister sacri Palatii apostolici designabit. Huius erit ad scripta singula cognoscenda censorem destinare. Editionis facultas ab eodem Magistro dabitur nec non a Cardinali Vicario Pontificis vel Antistite eius vices gerente, praemissa a censore, prout supra diximus, approbationis formula, adiectoque ipsius censoris nomine. Extraordinariis tantum in adiunctis ac per quam raro, prudenti Episcopi arbitrio, censoris

mentio intermitteri poterit. Auctoribus censoris nomen patebit nunquam, antequam hic faventem sententiam ediderit; ne quid molestiae censori exhibeatur vel dum scripta cognoscit, vel si editionem non probarit. Censores e religiosorum familiis nunquam eligantur, nisi prius moderatoris provinciae vel, si de Urbe agatur, moderatoris generalis secreto sententia audiat: is autem de eligendi moribus, scientia de doctrinae integritate pro officii conscientia testabitur. Religiosorum moderatores de gravissimo officio monemus numquam sinendi aliquid a suis subditis typis edi, nisi prius ipsorum et Ordinarii facultas intercesserit. Postremum edicimus et declaramus, censoris titulum quo quis ornatur, nihil valere prorsus nec unquam posse afferri ad privatas eiusdem opiniones firmandas.

His universe dictis, nominatim servari diligentius praecipimus, quae articulo XLII Constitutionis *Officiorum* in haec verba edicuntur: *Viri e clero seculari prohibentur quominus, absque praevia Ordinariorum venia, diaria vel folia periodica moderanda suscipiant.* Qua si qui venia perniciose utantur, ea moniti primum, priventur. Ad sacerdotes quod attinet, qui *correspondentium* vel *collaboratorum* nomine vulgo veniunt, quoniam frequentius evenit eos in ephemeridibus vel commentariis scripta edere modernismi labe infecta; videant Episcopi ne quid hi peccent, si peccarint moneant atque a scribendo prohibeant. Idipsum religiosorum moderatores ut praestent gravissime admonemus: qui si negligentius agant, Ordinarii auctoritate Pontificis Maximi provideant. Ephemerides et commentaria, quae a catholicis scribuntur, quoad fieri possit, censorem designatum habeant. Huius officium erit folia singula vel libellos, postquam sint edita, opportune perlegere; si quid dictum periculose fuerit, id quamprimum corrigendum iniungat. Eadem porro Episcopis facultas esto, etsi censor forte faverit.

V. Congressus publicosque coetus iam supra memoravimus, utpote in quibus suas modernistae opiniones tueri palam ac propagare student. Sacerdotum conventus Episcopi in posterum haberi ne siverint, nisi rarissime. Quod si siverint, ea tantum lege sinent, ut nulla fiat rerum tractatio, quae ad Episcopos Sedemve Apostolicam pertinent; ut nihil proponatur vel postuletur, quod sacrae potestatis occupationem inferat; ut quidquid modernismum sapit, quidquid presbyterianismum vel laicismum, de eo penitus sermo conticescat. Coetibus eiusmodi, quos singulatim, scripto, aptaque tempestate permitti oportet, nullus ex alia dioecesi sacerdos intersit, nisi litteris sui Episcopi commendatus. Omnibus autem sacerdotibus animo ne excidant, quae Leo XIII gravissime commendavit. ¹ *Sancta sit apud*

¹ Litt. Enc. '*Nobilissima Gallorum*,' 10 Febr. 1884.

sacerdotes Antistitum suorum auctoritas : pro certo habeant sacerdotale munus, nisi sub magisterio Episcoporum exerceatur, neque sanctum, nec satis utile, neque onestum futurum.

VI. Sed enim, Venerabiles Fratres, quid iuverit iussa a Nobis praeceptionesque dari, si non haec rite firmiterque servantur ? Id ut feliciter pro votis cedat, visum est ad universas dioeceses proferre, quod Umbrorum Episcopi,¹ ante annos plures, pro suis prudentissime decreverunt. *Ad errores, sic illi, iam diffusos expellendos atque ad impediendum quominus ulterius divulgentur, aut adhuc extent impietatis magistri per quos perniciosi perpetuantur effectus, qui ex illa divulgatione manarunt, sacer Conventus, sancti Caroli Borromaei vestigiis inhaerens, institui in unaquaque dioecesi decernit probatorum utriusque cleri consilium, cuius sit pervigilare an et quibus artibus novi errores serpent aut disseminentur atque Episcopum de hisce docere, ut collatis consiliis remedia capiat, quibus id mali ipso suo initio extinguí possit, ne ad animarum perniciem magis magisque diffundatur, vel quod peius est in dies confirmetur et crescat.* Tale igitur Consilium, quod a vigilantia dici placet, in singulis dioecesibus institui quamprimum decernimus. Viri, qui in illud adsciscantur, eo fere modo cooptabuntur, quo supra de censoribus statuimus. Altero quoque mense statoque die cum Episcopo convenient : quae tractarint decreverint ea arcani lege custodiunt. Officii munere haec sibi demandata habeant. Modernismi indicia ac vestigia tam in libris quam in magisteriis pervestigant vigilanter ; pro cleri inventaeque incolumitate, prudenter sed prompte et efficaciter praescribant. Vocum novitatem caveant meminerintque Leonis XIII monita.* *Probari non posse in catholicorum scriptis eam dicendi rationem quae, pravae novitati studens, pietatem fidelium ridere videatur loquaturque novum christianae vitae ordinem, novas Ecclesiae praeceptiones, nova moderni animi desideria, novam socialem cleri vocationem, novam christianam humanitatem, aliaque id genus multa.* Haec in libris praelectionibusque ne patiantur. Libros ne negligant, in quibus pia cuiusque loci traditiones aut sacrae Reliquiae tractantur. Neu sinant eiusmodi questiones agitari in ephemeridibus vel in commentariis fovendae pietate destinatis, nec verbis ludibrium aut despectum sapientibus, nec stabilibus sententiis, praesertim, ut fere accidit, si quae affirmantur probabilitatis fines non excedunt vel praeiudicatis nituntur opinionibus.

De sacris Reliquiis haec teneantur. Si Episcopi, qui uni in hac re possunt, certo norint Reliquiam esse subditicam, fidelium cultu removeant. Si Reliquiae cuiuspiam auctoritates, ob civiles

¹ Act. Consess. Epp. Umbriae, Novembri 1849, Tit. ii, art. 6.

* Instruct. S. C. NN. EE. EE. 27 Ian. 1902.

forte perturbationes vel alio quovis casu interierint ; ne publice ea proponatur nisi rite ab Episcopo recognita. Praescriptionis argumentum vel fundatae praesumptionis tunc tantum valebit, si cultus antiquitate commendetur ; nimirum pro decreto anno MDCCCXCVI a sacro Consilio indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis cognoscendis edito, quo edicitur : *Reliquias antiquas conservandas esse in ea veneratione in qua hactenus fuerunt, nisi in casu particulari certa adsint argumenta eas falsas vel supposititias esse* Quum autem de piis traditionibus iudicium fuerit, illud meminisse oportet : Ecclesiam tanta in hac re uti prudentia, ut traditiones eiusmodi ne scripto narrari permittat nisi cautione multa adhibita praemissaque declaratione ab Urbano VIII sancita ; quod etsi rite fiat, non tamen facti veritatem adserit, sed, nisi humana ad credendum argumenta desint, credi modo non prohibet. Sic plane sacrum Consilium legitimis ritibus tuendis, ab hinc annis xxx, edicebat :¹ *Eiusmodi apparitiones seu revelationes neque approbatas neque damnatas ab Apostolica Sede fuisse, sed tantum permissas tamquam pie credendas fide solum humana, iuxta traditionem quam ferunt, idoneis etiam testimoniis ac monumentis confirmatam.* Hoc qui teneat, metu omni vacabit. Nam apparitionis cuiusvis religio, prout factum ipsum spectat et *relativa* dicitur, conditionem semper habet implicitam de veritate facti : prout vero *absoluta* est, semper in veritate nititur, fertur enim in personas ipsas Sanctorum qui honorantur. Similiter de Reliquiis affirmandum. Illud demum Consilio *vigilantiae* demandamus, ut ad socialia instituta itemque ad scripta quaevis de re sociali assidue ac diligenter adiciant oculos, ne quid in illis modernismi lateat, sed Romanorum Pontificum praeceptionibus respondeant.

VII. Haec quae praecepimus ne forte oblivioni dentur, volumus et mandamus ut singularum dioecesium Episcopi, anno exacto ab editione praesentium litterarum, postea vero tertio quoque anno, diligenti ac iurata enarratione referant ad Sedem Apostolicam de his quae hac Nostra Epistola decernuntur, itemque de doctrinis quae in clero videntur, praesertim autem in Seminariis ceterisque catholicis Institutis, iis non exceptis quae Ordinarii auctoritati non subsunt. Idipsum Moderatoribus generalibus ordinum religiosorum pro suis alumnis iniungimus.

Haec vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, scribenda duximus ad salutem omni credenti. Adversarii vero Ecclesiae his certe abutentur ut veterem calumniam refricent, qua sapientiae atque humanitatis progressioni infesti traducimur. His accusationibus, quas christianae religionis historia perpetuis argumentis

¹ Decr. 2 Maii 1877.

refellit, ut novi aliquid opponamus, mens est peculiare Institutum omni ope provehere, in quo iuvantibus quotquot sunt inter catholicos sapientiae fama insignes, quidquid est scientiarum, quidquid omne genus eruditionis, catholica veritate duce et magistra promoveatur. Faxit Deus ut proposita feliciter impleamus suppetitias ferentibus quicumque Ecclesiam Christi sincero amore amplectuntur. Sed de his alias. Interea vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, de quorum opera et studio vehementer confidimus, superni luminis copiam toto animo exoramus ut, in tanto animorum discrimine ex gliscentibus undequaque erroribus, quae vobis agenda sint videatis, et ad implenda quae videritis omni vi ac fortitudine incumbatis. Adsit vobis virtute sua Iesus Christus, auctor et consummator fidei nostrae; adsit prece atque auxilio Virgo immaculata, cunctarum haeresum interemptrix. Nos vero, pignus caritatis Nostrae divinique in adversis solatii, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis, cleris populisque vestris amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die VIII Septembris MCMVII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno quinto.

PIVS PP. X.

**DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL
ON ESPOUSALS AND MATRIMONY**

DECRETUM

DE SPONSALIBUS ET MATRIMONIO IUSSU ET AUCTORITATE SS. D. N.
PII PP. X A S. CONGREGATIONE CONCILII EDITUM

Ne temere inirentur clandestina coniugia, quae Dei Ecclesia iustissimis de causis semper detestata est atque prohibuit, provide cavit Tridentinum Concilium, *cap. 1, Sess. XXIV de reform. matrim. edicens*: 'Qui aliter quam praesente parochio vel alio sacerdote de ipsius parochi seu Ordinarii licentia et duobus vel tribus testibus matrimonium contrahere attentabunt, eos Sancta Synodus ad sic contrahendum omnino inhabiles reddit, et huiusmodi contractus irritos et nullos esse decernit.'

Sed cum idem Sacrum Concilium praecepisset, ut tale decretum publicaretur in singulis paroeciis, nec vim haberet nisi iis in locis ubi esset promulgatum; accidit ut plura loca, in quibus publicatio illa facta non fuit, beneficio tridentinae legis caruerint, hodieque careant, et haesitationibus atque incommodis veteris disciplinae adhuc obnoxia maneant.

Verum nec ubi viguit nova lex, sublata est omnis difficultas. Saepe namque gravis exstitit dubitatio in decernenda persona

parochi, quo praesente matrimonium sit contrahendum. Statuit quidem canonica disciplina, proprium parochum eum intelligi debere, cuius in parocia domicilium sit, aut quasi domicilium alterutrius contrahentis. Verum quia nonnunquam difficile est iudicare, certo ne constet de quasi-domicilio, haud pauca matrimonia fuerunt obiecta periculo ne nulla essent: multa quoque, sive inscitia hominum sive fraude, illegitima prorsus atque irrita deprehensa sunt.

Haec dudam deplorata, eo crebrius accidere nostra aetate videmus, quo facilius ac celerius commeatus cum gentibus, etiam disiunctissimis, perficiuntur. Quamobrem sapientibus viris ac doctissimis visum est expedire ut mutatio aliqua induceretur in iure circa formam celebrandi connubii. Complures etiam sacrorum Antistites omni ex parte terrarum, praesertim e celebrioribus civitatibus, ubi gravior appareret necessitas, supplices ad id preces Apostolicae Sedi admoverunt.

Flagitatum simul est ab Episcopis, tum Europae plerisque, tum aliarum regionum, ut incommodis occurreretur, quae ex sponsalibus, idest mutuis promissionibus futuri matrimonii privatim initis, derivantur. Docuit enim experientia satis, quae secum pericula ferant eiusmodi sponsalia: primum quidem incitamenta peccandi causamque cur inexpertae puellae decipiantur; postea dissidia ac lites inextricabiles.

His rerum adiunctis permotus SS^{ms} D. N. Pius PP. X pro ea quam gerit omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudine, cupiens ad memorata damna et pericula removenda temperatione aliqua uti, commissit S. Congregationi Concilii ut de hac re videret, et quae opportuna aestimaret, Sibi proponeret.

Voluit etiam votum audire Consilii ad ius canonicum in unum redigendum constituti, nec non E^morum Cardinalium qui pro eodem codice parando speciali commissione delecti sunt: a quibus, quemadmodum et a S. Congregatione Concilii, conventus in eum finem saepius habiti sunt. Omnium autem sententiis obtentis SS^{ms} Dominus S. Congregationi Concilii mandavit, ut decretum ederet quo leges a Se, ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione probatae, continerentur, quibus sponsalium et matrimonii disciplina in posterum regeretur, eorumque celebratio expedita, certa atque ordinata fieret.

In executione itaque Apostolici mandati S. Concilii Congregatio praesentibus litteris constituit atque decernit ea quae sequuntur.

DE SPONSALIBUS.

I. Ea tantum sponsalia habentur valida et canonicos sortiuntur effectus, quae contracta fuerint per scripturam sub-

signatam a partibus et vel a parochio, aut a loci Ordinario, vel saltem a duobus testibus.

Quod si utraque vel alterutra pars scribere nesciat, id in ipsa scriptura adnotetur; et alius testis addatur, qui cum parochio, aut loci Ordinario, vel duobus testibus, de quibus supra, scripturam subsignet.

II. Nomine parochi hic et in sequentibus articulis venit non solum qui legitime praeest paroeciae canonice erectae; sed in regionibus, ubi paroeciae canonice erectae non sunt, etiam sacerdos cui in aliquo definito territorio cura animarum legitime commissa est, et parochio aequiparatur; et in missionibus, ubi territoria necdum perfecte divisa sunt, omnis sacerdos a missionis Moderatore ad animarum curam in aliqua statione universaliter deputatus.

DE MATRIMONIO.

III. Ea tantum matrimonia valida sunt, quae contrahuntur coram parochio vel loci Ordinario vel sacerdote ab alterutro delegato, et duobus saltem testibus, iuxta tamen regulas in sequentibus articulis expressas, et salvis exceptionibus quae infra n. VII et VIII ponuntur:

IV. Parochus et loci Ordinarius valide matrimonio adstant:

§ 1.^o a die tantummodo adeptae possessionis beneficii vel initi officii, nisi publico decreto nominatim fuerint excommunicati vel ab officio suspensi;

§ 2.^o intra limites dumtaxat sui territorii: in quo matrimoniis nedum suorum subditorum, sed etiam non subditorum valide adstant;

§ 3.^o dummodo invitati ac rogati, et neque vi neque metu gravi constricti requirant excipiantque contrahentium consensum.

V. Licite autem adstant:

§ 1.^o constituto sibi legitime de libero statu contrahentium, servatis de iure servandis;

§ 2.^o constituto insuper de domicilio, vel saltem de menstrua commoratione alterutrius contrahentis in loco matrimonii;

§ 3.^o quod si deficiat, ut parochus est loci Ordinarius licite matrimonio adsint, indigent licentia parochi vel Ordinarii proprii alterutrius contrahentis, nisi gravis intercedat necessitas, quae ab ea excuset;

§ 4.^o Quoad *vagos*, extra casum necessitatis parochio ne liceat eorum matrimoniis adstare, nisi re ad Ordinarium vel ad sacerdotem ab eo delegatum delata, licentiam adstare impetraverit.

§ 5.° In quolibet autem casu pro regula habeatur, ut matrimonium coram sponsae parochio celebretur, nisi aliqua iusta causa excuset.

VI. Parochus et loci Ordinarius licentiam concedere possunt alio sacerdoti determinato ac certo, ut matrimoniis intra limites sui territorii adsistat.

Delegatus autem, ut valide et licite adsistat, servare tenetur limites mandati, et regulas pro parochio et loci Ordinario n. IV et V superius statutas.

VII. Imminente mortis periculo, ubi parochus, vel loci Ordinarius, vel sacerdos ab alterutro delegatus, haberi nequeat, ad consulendum conscientiae et (si casus ferat) legitimationi prolis, matrimonium contrahi valide ac licite potest coram quolibet sacerdote et duobus testibus.

VIII. Si contingat ut in aliqua regione parochus locive Ordinarius, aut sacerdos ab eis delegatus, coram quo matrimonium celebrari queat, haberi non possit, eaque rerum conditio a mense iam perseveret, matrimonium valide ac licite iniri potest emissio a sponsis formali consensu coram duobus testibus.

IX. § 1.° Celebrato matrimonio, parochus, vel qui eius vices gerit, statim describat in libro matrimonium nomina coniugum ac testium, locum et diem celebrati matrimonii, atque alia, iuxta modum in libris ritualibus vel a proprio Ordinario praescriptum; idque licet alius sacerdos vel a se vel ab Ordinario delegatus matrimonio adstiterit.

§ 2.° Praeterea parochus in libro quoque baptizatorum adnotet, coniugem tali die in sua parochia matrimonium contraxisse. Quod si coniux alibi baptizatus fuerit, matrimonii parochus notitiam in initio contractus ad parochum baptismi sive per se, sive per curiam episcopalem transmittat, ut matrimonium in baptismi librum referatur.

§ 3.° Quoties matrimonium ad normam n. VII aut VIII contrahitur, sacerdos in priori casu, testes in altero, tenentur in solidum cum contrahentibus curare, ut initum coniugium in praescriptis libris quam primum adnotetur.

X. Parochi qui heic hactenus praescripta violaverint, ab Ordinariis pro modo et gravitate culpae puniantur. Et insuper si alicuius matrimonio adstiterint contra praescriptum § 2^o et 3^o num. V, emolumenta *stolae* sua ne faciant, sed proprio contrahentium parochio remittant.

XI. § 1.° Statutis superius legibus tenentur omnes in catholica Ecclesia baptizati et ad eam ex haeresi aut schismate conversi (licet sive hi, sive illi ab eadem postea defecerint), quoties inter sponsalia vel matrimonium ineant.

§ 2.º Vigent quoque pro eisdem de quibus supra catholicis, si cum acatholicis sive baptizatis, sive non baptizatis, etiam post obtentam dispensationem ab impedimento mixtae religionis vel disparitatis cultus, sponsalia vel matrimonium contrahunt; nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum.

§ 3.º Acatholici sive baptizati sive non baptizati, si inter se contrahunt, nullibi ligantur ad catholicam sponsalium vel matrimonii formam servandam.

Praesens decretum legitime publicatum et promulgatum habeatur per eius transmissionem ad locorum Ordinarios; et quae in eo disposita sunt ubique vim legis habere incipiant a die solemni Paschae Resurrectionis D. N. I. C. proximi anni 1908.

Interim vero omnes locorum Ordinarii curent hoc decretum quamprimum in vulgus edi, et in singulis suarum dioecesium parochialibus ecclesiis explicari, ut ab omnibus rite cognoscatur.

Praesentibus valituris de mandato speciali SS. D. N. Pii PP. X, contrariis quibuslibet etiam peculiari mentione dignis minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae die 2^a mensis Augusti anni 1907.

✠ VINCENTIUS Card. Episc. Praenest., *Praefectus*.

C. DE LAI, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE BLACK BOOK OF LIMERICK: with Introduction and Notes. Edited by Rev. James MacCaffrey, D.Ph., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dublin: Gill & Son, 1907, cxx. and 187 pp.

By the publication of the *Black Book* a valuable collection of original documents is made accessible for the first time to the general student of Irish ecclesiastical history. The original collection, which is a transcript of documents found by the compiler in the archives of the diocese of Limerick, dates from about the year 1362. Some additions were made in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and an appendix was added by the Protestant Bishop, Adams, about 1621. The documents composing the first collection take up the bulk of the MS., and belong to various dates from between 1192 and 1194 down to 1362, the greater number dating from 1222 to 1300. The compilation being preserved in the Limerick diocesan archives passed naturally at the Reformation into the hands of the Protestant Bishop, but during the Confederate War (1641-52), on the capitulation of Limerick Castle, was recovered by the Irish soldiers. From that time nothing is known of its history till, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was given by a Protestant gentleman to Dr. Young, the then Catholic Bishop of Limerick. Later it was lent by Bishop Butler to Dr. Renehan of Maynooth, on whose death it passed to the College library, where it still remains. Its value as a source has long been recognized. It occupies, indeed, according to the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, a foremost place among existing diocesan records. Its publication at last is due to the enlightened generosity of the Maynooth Union, which has undertaken the financial responsibility; and if we have had to wait a long time for an editor, it may be said without flattery that it has been worth while to wait for one like Dr. MacCaffrey.

It would be sufficient testimony to the high character of the editorial work to mention that it was accepted as a *Doktorarbeit* by the historial department of the Faculty of Philosophy in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. Perhaps in no other branch of scholarship is the German degree standard more exacting than in history. But—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*—leaving aside the finer points of critical scholarship, on which only an expert is entitled to pronounce an opinion, the general reader

and the average student of history can see from a study of the introduction and a glance at the notes how thoroughly Dr. MacCaffrey has done his work. He begins in the usual way with an account of the MS.—its history, description, divisions and date. Next comes a chapter on 'Dating and Titles,' explaining the system of dating employed in the documents and how those dates are to be translated into our present system, with some useful remarks on titles then in use. This is followed by a 'General Summary of the Contents of the MS.,' and we are then introduced in a series of chapters to a number of more or less general topics which the documents serve to illustrate. For example, in connexion with the subject of 'Irish Episcopal Elections in the Middle Ages,' we are treated to an illuminative article which enables us to understand an important element in the religious and political history of the period, not merely in regard to Ireland, but incidentally also in regard to other European countries. Similarly the chapters on 'The Diocese and the Bishop of Limerick' and on 'The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Irish Church' throw a good deal of light on the general relations of Ireland and England at that period, while the chapter on 'The Bishop of Limerick and the Roman Curia' furnishes interesting information on the methods of papal government, and especially of papal taxation at that time. Finally—to give only one more example—in connexion with the Cathedral Chapter of St. Mary's, Limerick (chap. viii.), we learn a good deal about the introduction of Cathedral Chapters into Ireland (at a comparatively late date), and about their constitution, rights, duties and privileges. On all these and on the other topics handled in the Introduction, Dr. MacCaffrey writes as a master, and there seems to be no point of general interest for the history of the period, and on which the *Black Book* can be made to throw any light, that is not fully treated. There is no order or sequence of time or of subject-matter in the original compilation; the documents are thrown together haphazard, and present a bewildering muddle to the reader who would approach them without a guide. But with the aid of Dr. MacCaffrey's introduction and notes, and of the index which is also his work, it will be easy for the student to find his way through the collection and to lay his hand on any document he may want. And he will be duly grateful, let us hope, to the editor who has spared no pains to straighten and smooth the path for him.

The publishers have done their work well and produced a very handsome volume. There are, perhaps, more misprints than are inevitable in such a work, but none that I have noticed will occasion any difficulty for the reader.

P. J. T.



THE SHRINE OF ST. COLUMBANUS AT BOBBIO

I GLADLY avail myself of the opportunity which the publication of this first list of contributors towards the restoration of the Sanctuary of St. Columbanus at Bobbio furnishes to sincerely thank the Prelates, priests, and religious communities who have subscribed, with such lavish generosity, to this pious and patriotic object. A glance at the list suffices to show that those who have contributed have done so with no sparing hand. Were their number in proportion to their generosity, we would be enabled to do something substantial for the neglected shrine and sanctuary of one of the greatest among our country's Saints.

I trust, however, I shall soon be enabled to publish a further list, when attention is directed anew to the object, which, from various causes, may have been temporarily lost sight of. Some, I know, as a matter of fact, have intended to subscribe, but have let the matter slip from their memory. Many others, similarly disposed, may have failed from a similar cause. Had I made the appeal general, I have no doubt that large help would have been received from the laity; but I felt that the object is one which should be more appropriately confined to the clergy and religious.

As matters stand, we have only £760 on hands. Even to provide a decent altar and shrine in any way worthy of our great Irish Saint £1,000 would be required. Were even this

done, it would be something substantial; and we might confidently leave to the piety of other men and other times the completion of the work.

✠ MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE.

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH,

9th October, 1907.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

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Rev. W. Fitzgerald, P.P., Mungret, Co. Limerick	1	0	0
Very Rev. Dean Monaghan, P.P., Cloghan, King's Co.	1	0	0
Rev. F. M'Carthy, P.P., Causeway, Co. Kerry	0	10	0
Very Rev. Canon Wigmore, P.P., Mallow	2	0	0
Rev. Thomas Walsh, P.P., Turlough, Castlebar	2	0	0
Very Rev. Canon Sweeney, P.P., Killybegs, Co. Donegal	1	0	0
Rev. J. M'Nulty, C.C., Killybegs, Co. Donegal	0	10	0
Rev. John Boyle, St. Columba's, Killybegs	0	10	0
Very Rev. Canon O'Mahony, P.P., Crookestown, Co. Cork	1	0	0
Very Rev. Canon M'Mahon, P.P., Nenagh	1	0	0
Very Rev. J. Canon Ryan, D.D., P.P., Dolphin's Barn, Dublin	1	0	0
Rev. A. Clancy, P.P., Killimee, Co. Clare	0	5	0
Rev. Edward Brennan, P.P., Mountrath, Queen's Co.	1	0	0
Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, P.P., V.G., Maryboro'	1	0	0
Right Rev. Mgr. M'Gurk, P.P., Maghera, Co. Derry	1	0	0
Rev. J. Kelly, P.P., Ballyfin	1	0	0
Right Rev. Mgr. M'Kenna, P.P., Dromore	1	0	0
Very Rev. M. Browne, S.J., College of Sacred Heart, Limerick	1	0	0
Rev. John Tohill, P.P., Cushendall, Co. Antrim	1	1	0
Rev. Patrick Cooke, P.P., Nobber, Co. Meath	1	0	0
Rev. D. O'Rorke, Adm., Kill, Co. Kildare	1	0	0
Rev. Thomas Gilsonan, P.P., St. Michael's, Enfield	0	10	0
Rev. Joseph Kelly, C.C., Mullingar	0	10	0
Rev. James O'Leary, C.C., Kinsale	1	0	0
Convent of St. Louis, Carrickmacross	0	5	0
Convent of St. Louis, Bundoran	0	10	0
Convent of Mercy, Naas, Co. Kildare	2	0	0
Convent of Poor Clares, Ballyjamesduff, Cavan	1	0	0
Rev. T. C. Connolly, C.C., Manorhamilton	0	10	0
Right Rev. Mgr. Kelly, P.P., V.G., Athlone	1	0	0
Rev. Michael M'Carthy, C.C., Castleinney, Templemore	0	10	0
Rev. D. M'Kee, C.C., Haddington Road, Dublin	0	10	0
Rev. F. Wall, C.C., Haddington Road, Dublin	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Rev. P. O'Halloran, c.c., Corofin, Co. Clare	0	5	0
Very Rev. P. Murray, c.ss.r., Belfast	1	0	0
Rev. M. D. Conroy, P.P., Spiddal	0	10	0
Rev. Mother, St. Joseph's Convent, Tallow	0	10	0
Rev. E. Timlan, c.c., Castlecomer	1	17	0
Rev. P. A. O'Reilly, P.P., Killala	1	0	0
Rev. Thomas Magner, c.c., Cathedral, Cork	1	0	0
Rev. Thomas A. Mockler, St. John's College, Waterford	1	0	0
Rev. Patrick Murphy, c.c., Aglish, Co. Waterford ..	0	10	0
Rev. J. M'Namara, c.c., Toomevara	0	10	0
Rev. Daniel Dinneen, D.D., c.c., Youghal	1	0	0
Rev. Michael M'Grath, c.c., Kilmacthomas, Waterford	1	0	0
Rev. P. Hurley, c.c., Rockchapel, Abbeyfeale	0	10	0
Very Rev. Canon O'Hea, P.P., Ballybrack, Dublin ..	2	0	0
Rev. Ed. J. Kelly, Dalton-on-Furness, England ..	0	10	6
Rev. John A. Murtagh, Radcliff, Manchester	1	0	0
Rev. Ed. Carroll, St. Mary-Crea, Kent	1	0	0
Rev. C. Comey, c.c., Cootehill	0	10	0
Rev. Jos. A. Canon Burke, Bolton, England	1	0	0
Rev. Ml. O'Neill, P.P., Culdaff	1	0	0
Very Rev. Canon Kelly, P.P., v.F., Ballyshannon ..	1	0	0
Rev. Thomas Hogan, P.P., Cullenswood, Dublin ..	1	0	0
Rev. Ml. Kennedy, c.c., Athlone	1	0	0
Very Rev. T. O'Ryan, O.M.I., London	2	2	0
Rev. John O'Reilly, P.P., Killeshandra	1	0	0
Rev. A. O'Rourke, St. Mary's, Manchester	1	1	0
Rev. Innocent Ryan, The College, Thurles	0	10	6
Rev. John Finan, c.c., Kiltewan	0	5	0
Rev. J. O'Dwyer, St. Joseph's Home, Enfield, N. ..	0	10	0
Rev. Henry Lube, c.c., Haddington Road, Dublin ..	1	0	0
Rev. E. M'Gerrity, Ryhope, Sunderland	1	0	0
Rev. James Langan, c.c., Ballingarry	0	10	0
Rev. Thomas Godfrey, c.c., Templemore	0	10	6
Rev. Thomas M'Gowan, c.c., St. Brigid's, Belfast ..	1	0	0
Very Rev. John J. Canon M'Cartan, P.P., Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone	1	0	0
Rev. Joseph P. O'Neill, c.c., Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone	0	10	0
Rev. Hugh Teggart, c.c., Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone	0	10	0
Laity of Donaghmore Parish	8	3	7
Rev. J. M'Kinley, B.A., Adm., St. Patrick's, Belfast	0	10	0
Very Rev. P. Canon Ryan, P.P., Galbally	1	0	0
A few Priests from the Archdiocese of Cashel, per Rev. M. Bannon, Adm., Thurles	6	0	0

ST. LUCIUS

I.—A SHORT AND GENERAL REVIEW OF THE EARLY INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO RÆTIA PRIMA

THE nation of the Ræti, which had been gradually formed out of various tribal elements, lived, in the second century before Christ, in the Alps, within a district reaching from the Gotthard to the source of the Drave. Celts and Italici may be regarded as their chief constituents. Among the ancients Polybius was the first to mention their name. Rætian forms of local names are found throughout Switzerland. Everybody knows that a relationship between Rætians and Etruscans has more than once been advanced as a theory; the question is, however, still unsolved. The wild and warlike Alpine Rætians, according to Strabo, used to raid the neighbouring country, and thus excited the anger of the Romans. In any case that mountainous district formed so important a link between the Teutonic and Italian parts of the Roman Empire, that the Emperor Augustus found it necessary to conquer it, a task which was successfully accomplished by his stepsons in 15 B.C. Rætia became a Roman province, and was divided into Rætia Prima and Rætia Secunda, the latter containing Vindelicia also. The partial Italian origin of the Rætians may account for the faithfulness with which the needy inhabitants of the mountains, after their conquest, adhered to the Romans, as well as for their quick and thorough Romanization. The Rætian cohorts formed a valuable addition to the Roman legions. Repeated attacks by the Germans upon Rætia proved, soon after, how necessary and convenient a possession that country was for Italy. It remained Roman, even after Germany and Helvetia had been abandoned by the Romans. The political boundary between Rætia and Switzerland, fixed by the Romans, seems to have run from the Gotthard over the Marsh (on the Lake of Zürich) and thence to Pfin, in the Canton of Thurgau, up to the Lake of Constance.

As a meeting-point of various passes and high roads which, long before Christ, established communication between the transalpine North and Italy, *via Rætia*, the town of Coire was of high commercial and strategic importance; it is therefore very likely that the Romans, immediately after their victory over the inhabitants of that country, established there a secure military post. At the same time this place was chosen as the centre and seat of administration—hence the name *Curia*—for the surrounding valleys, and formed later on, in the third and fourth centuries, the most important barrier against the Germans. A governor appointed by the Emperor, and residing in Augsburg, was the administrator of the Rætian province, until, under Constantine, Eastern Switzerland was made subject to the vicariate of Northern Italy as *Rætia prima*. This connexion with Italy lasted from Graubünden (Grisons) beyond the destruction of the western Roman Empire. Theoderic, king of the Eastern Goths, took Upper Alemannia under his protection, after the defeat of the Alemanni near Zülpich, until Rætia became subject to the Merovingians between 536 and 539.

All this was of decisive importance for the advance of Christianity in these parts. For, first of all, early and intimate connexion with the South brought it about that a knowledge of the primitive Christian doctrine soon penetrated into Rætia. All writers who have studied the question are agreed on this point. It is said that St. Barnabas had already preached the Gospel at Milan, a town which was the terminus of the passes leading, *via Como*, from the Julier, Septimer, or Splügen. We know that the Church at Milan was flourishing as early as the second century, and that it influenced the neighbouring district far and wide. It is likewise certain that in the first century of our era, Christianity was preached on either side of the Po. According to modern investigations, the martyrs Saints Gervasius and Protasius, whose tombs were discovered by St. Ambrose, suffered death if not under Nero, yet at least in the second century. Eichhorn's opinion seems very plausible. He believes that some confessors of Christianity

may have sought a place of refuge in the Rætian Alps from the persecution of Nero and Domitian, a course of action which had been previously adopted by the fugitive Etruscans. According to the history of the martyrdom of SS. Faustinus and Jovita, Italicus, Count of Rætia, had (in 118 A.D.) to exercise all his energy in order to stop the propagation of Christianity. In Upper Italy and Vindelicia several martyrs suffered under Diocletian and Maximian, so that it is not at all likely that Rætia alone would have remained cut off, like an island, from the Christian faith which surrounded it. Indeed, in the dim twilight of tradition and history, persons appear who lived and died for Christ within the diocese of the present hereditary electoral archbishopric. These features are outlined with various degrees of distinctness. We mention Evantus, Hermes, Fidelis and Gaudentius, the latter being possibly the person who prevented the Ræti from joining the heretical rival emperor, Eugenius.

It is therefore not unlikely that, from the second century, Christians were living in the Swiss portion of Rætia. Ecclesiastical organization, however, could not develop at the same rate of speed, for the physical features of the country, as well as its exposed political position, were against it. The history of the Bishops of Coire for which there is documentary evidence, places the beginning of that organization not earlier than the time of Asimo; in his name Bishop Abundantius of Como, in 452, signed the Acts of the Provincial Synod of Milan, that city being the metropolitan see to which Rætia belonged. Everything points to the fact that the foundation of the see of Coire dates back beyond the fifth century, and the preaching of the faith must have begun still earlier. For unless there was a bishop at Coire before 407, it would have been impossible to found a bishopric in the turbulent days of the first half of the fifth century.

St. Lucius is venerated by the Church of Coire as its apostle, and it is his existence and the veneration he received which make it appear very probable that the Church of Coire had its Bishop before the migration of the

nations.¹ We are disposed, therefore, to adopt the opinion, which considers it a characteristic feature, that 'after the migration of nations bishoprics were first erected again in those towns in which a bishopric had previously existed in Roman times.'

II.—LUCIUS, THE APOSTLE OF RÆTIA

The oldest historical monument of this name is the 'Abbey of St. Lucius' (Lucien-Abtei) at Coire. It was built near—though not actually over—some Roman foundations, within which, in 1851, a fine and well-preserved mosaic was discovered. On the tombstone of Bishop St. Valentinian, which was found in the monastery of St. Lucius, was written the date of the death of this holy bishop, whose life had been devoted to the welfare of his diocese. According to tradition he founded the Monastery of St. Lucius, where he was buried at his request. It was possibly the attraction exercised by the sacred body of Lucius which gave the first impulse to St. Fridolin to come to Coire and to found there the Church of St. Hilary, not far from the Monastery of St. Lucius. In the same way in which St. Valentine, a worthy companion of St. Severinus, consoled the Ræti in troubled times, so, in days not less melancholy, did Valentinian become a blessing to his people, till death overtook him in 548. Hence it is clear that the monastery was founded, at the latest, in the first half of the sixth century. Graubünden had, about that time, become Frankish. Lucius therefore was evidently, even at that time, regarded by the people of Coire as their chief apostle, and the usual opinion may be quite correct which refers the origin of the local names 'Luciensteig' (the path of St. Lucius) and 'Lucienlöchlein' (the little cave of St. Lucius) to those days. These names presuppose local traditions, which, indeed, still exist. Over the Luciensteig

¹ The relics of St. Lucius are preserved and venerated in the Cathedral of Coire. Some years ago a fragment was detached from these relics and presented to the late Marquess of Bute, by whom it was conveyed to the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, D.D., O.S.B., Catholic Bishop of Newport, in whose possession it remains.

the Saint journeyed to the district of Coire, and lived in a cave at the Mitenberg (also called Curhalde), about twenty minutes' walk from the present seminary. A rather stony and steep path leads up to it. The grotto is formed by an overhanging rock. Where the latter forms a kind of niche above the cave St. Lucius is said to have preached towards the valley which lies open here from Coire to Reichenau, and to have been miraculously heard at that distance. By the side of the cave there is now a chapel, where 'the spring of St. Lucius' still flows, and the waters are believed to be effectual as a cure for blindness. Five or six steps onwards to the left marks, as if made by the cut of a sword, are seen on the rock, and by them some impressions of fingers appear. Tradition says that here the Saint grasped the rock, when the pagans suddenly attacked him with murderous intent; their swords struck the rock to the right and left of him, but without injury to himself. The Saint is said also to have been cast down from the summit of a castle called Marsiöl, without being hurt.

Another legend related locally about St. Lucius is found, first in Thomas Lyrer's narrative of the fifteenth century. He says:—

Long ago, about A.D. 80, there was sent one Lucius, a native king of Scotland, dwelling at the Art, and in the mountains, and he built his cell and church at a place which still bears his name. And when he was building, a bear killed his ox. Thereupon he harnessed the bear instead of the ox, and the bear had to do the carting as the ox had done before. And many other miracles, which are now forgotten, were wrought by the good St. Lucius. And at the same Art there were Christian people who were then converted by St. Lucius.

Ulrich Campell relates a similar story from popular tradition, with the addition that the people of Trimmis acquired their goîtres as a punishment for an injury done to the Saint.

However, we have a more important document of the old tradition about the Apostle of Rætia. In the library of St. Gall a list of books of the ninth century exists, which contains a *Vita S. Lucii confessoris*. This codex is still

preserved, and is marked No. 567. We have here, therefore, the source from which Notker compiled his Martyrology. Possibly a *Vita S. Lucii* was brought to St. Gall from Graubünden before that time by St. Otmar. The value of this manuscript in the *Collectaneus* No. 567 is the greater, as it was written with reference to the celebration of the feast of St. Lucius at Coire, as one may easily see from the beginning of the document. The following are the main features of the narrative.

St. Paul the Apostle resided in Rome for two years, without being able to do much for the souls of the perverse Jews and Greeks. He therefore turned away from them, and sent his disciple Timotheus to Gaul. The latter came to Bordoel (Burdigala?), a town by the sea, and was encouraged by some Gallic king to cross over to that part of Britain where King Lucius was reigning. The consequence was that King Lucius was converted, and resolved to leave his country. The royal apostle travelled through Gaul to Augusta Vindelica, whose inhabitants were still pagan. One of them, Campester, a patrician, accepted the teaching of the Gospel, and his example was followed by many of the other citizens. But when Lucius heard that Rætia was still, to a great extent, adhering to paganism, he could not resist the inclination to go there, and he set out for the district of Coire. By seven days' prayer and fasting he prepared himself for the preaching of the Gospel, and, on the eighth day, he began to preach Christ crucified. At that time he was told that, in a certain wood called the 'Forest of Mars,' young bisons were being kept and worshipped as gods. Lucius went there and converted most of the pagans; but some became enraged, threw him into a pit, and were about to stone him. The converted pagans, however, who had been accompanying the Saint, perceiving this evil intention, joined together in order to kill the heathen. While the two parties were fighting, the Saint came forth unhurt out of the pit, preached still more powerfully, and made peace. And as if through divine intervention, the wild animals about which the whole affray

had taken place, gently approached the Saint and licked his feet, so that he began to praise the Lord and to admonish the astonished pagans to be baptized. They, on their part, gave glory to God, because He had led them to a knowledge of the truth. In the meantime the miracle became known in the town itself, and the Christians who had remained behind came to meet the holy man, chanting and carrying torches and thuribles with incense.

Here the story of the narrative ends, and he now turns to the moral and exhortative aspect of the subject, and is altogether silent about the rest of the Saint's life.

Local names, traditional folklore, the written legend—the latter going back beyond the year 1000—and the fact of the existence of the Monastery of St. Lucius in the sixth century, are not the only testimonies cited by the Church of Coire on behalf of her apostle; she is able also to prove that she possessed his mortal remains before the year 821. In 821 Bishop Victor complained, in his letter to Louis the Pious, that not even the most sacred body of the holy confessor and apostle Lucius, had remained safe from the wicked robbers Roderick and Herloin.

The evidence collected so far certainly entitles us to maintain the existence of a Rætian apostle, Lucius, whose identity with the British King, Lucius, should not be altogether rejected. Until now it was generally believed that this identification had been caused by St. Bede's remarks on this subject. The passage about King Lucius in the *Sermo in Natali SS. Virginum XI milium*, which was possibly written before 850, cannot with certainty be ascribed to Bede, so that we cannot admit the assertion that parts of the legend of Coire were certainly borrowed from Bede. He, however, gives a list of Emperors, and the author of the *Sermo* as one of the Popes, among whom Pope Marcellinus (who is not mentioned at all by Bede) is represented as intimately connected with the narrative. But even if the *Sermo* should have been borrowed from Bede, that fact would not be sufficient to prove that the Lucius legend of Coire is derived from the same Anglo-Saxon source.

This legend is quite independent in another respect, viz., with regard to the fact that the author ascribes the conversion of St. Lucius to a disciple of the Apostles, St. Timothy. This circumstance has constantly been maintained by legendary testimony. Bartholomæus Tridentinus, in the thirteenth century, bases his work entirely on the narrative of the oldest *Vita*, and he was followed by Petrus de Natalibus, in the fourteenth century. In answer to a question put by Vadian of St. Gall, the parish priest of the Cathedral of Coire, Comander, informed him about a statement found in an old book of parchment, that Timothy converted Lucius. All these narratives represent Lucius merely as a confessor, not as a martyr, although occasionally he suffered ill-treatment. The *Calendarium* of Zürich of the tenth century contains on the date of the 3rd December : *In Curia depositio Lucii conf.* The codex of St. Gall, No. 566 (of the monastic library), has the following words on the 3rd December, in the *Calendarium* used at St. Gall in the ninth century : *Lucii confessoris*. The *Calendarium* of the oldest 'book of the seasons' of Coire has on the same day : *Lucii regis et conf.*

The fact that the above-mentioned Timothy is called 'a disciple of St. Paul,' induced the learned Notker, almost of necessity, to doubt the British descent of Lucius of Coire ; for he knew Bede's passage about King Lucius of Britain, who was an adherent of the Christian religion under Pope Eleutherius and the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (161-193), and, on the other hand, he did not find either of the two Lucii in Ado's work, which he used as a basis for his Martyrology. His doubt is indicated by the way in which he writes in the Martyrology. He also omitted, in his narrative, to give St. Timothy the title of 'disciple of the Apostles,' although he must have been fully aware of the fact that this title is given in the legend, since the latter already existed at that time at St. Gall ; he therefore calls St. Timothy by a general and indefinite term, *virum sanctum*. His doubt, however, is not sufficiently warranted.

It is not necessary to assume that the disciple of St. Paul,

Timothy, was the one from Asia Minor ; but, as Usher, Moncuæs, and others have supposed, he may have been the Roman Timothy who was so intimately connected with the house of the Senator Pudens—that Pudens who gave hospitality to the Apostles Peter and Paul, whose mother was St. Priscilla, famous on account of her cemetery, and whose daughters, Pudentiana and Praxedes, noble-minded virgins, acquired immortal merit in connexion with the young Christian community at Rome. The results of archæological research are altogether favourable to this old Roman tradition. Already under Pope Symmachus (498-514), there existed among the titular churches of Rome that of St. Praxedes (Praxidæ), an ancient basilica on the *Clivus Suburbanus* of the Esquiline, and the *Titulus Pudentis*, called also the Basilica of St. Pudentiana, or of Pastor, between the Limina and Esquiline, the oldest titular church of Rome, once held by the Swiss Cardinal Schinner. Here we find mosaics (Christ between SS. Peter and Paul, and the two sisters Praxedes and Pudentiana) whose pure style reminds us of the better periods of Roman art, which may belong to the fourth, or even to the third century.

According to the *Vita S. Pudentianæ*, which is given by the Bollandists on the 19th of May, Pudens, the son of Punicus and Priscilla, was converted by St. Paul. His parents married him to Savinilla, by whom he had two daughters, Pudentiana and Praxedes. Close relations existed between that family and Novatus, of whose *Thermæ*, his heiress, Praxedes, obtained consecration as a church by Pope Pius I. And, after Praxedes had died, at an early age, Pastor, the brother of Pope Pius I, sent a narrative, viz., the above-mentioned *Vita*, to the priest, Timothy a friend or near relative of the senator's family, whose place of residence, however, is not mentioned. Here also Pastor calls this Timothy a 'disciple of St. Paul.' This alleged discovery of Pastor cannot be genuine ; it must, however, be fairly ancient. Ado seems to make use of this account in his Martyrology on the 19th of May, for he calls the wife of the Senator Pudens (the mother of Pudentiana and Praxedes) Sabinella.

The relation between Novatus and Timothy is more definitely mentioned in the so-called *Martyrologium Parvum* of Ado, which was compiled, according to De Rossi, by an unknown author at the end of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth century at Rome, from various narratives and lists varying in historical value. Here we find on the 20th June : *Romæ Novati fratris Timothei presbyteri qui ab apostolis eruditi sunt.*

Besides, the *Thermæ* of Novatus, situated near the palace of Pudens, are sometimes called after Novatus, sometimes after Timothy. Justin Martyr, according to a not improbable account, had a house near the *Thermæ* of Timothy. It must be mentioned, however, that Mazochius here defends a different reading of the text.

The relations of Novatus and Timothy to the Senator Pudens are definitely stated in the new Roman Martyrology, which speaks of them as if they were two sons.

Just as the family of the senator whose *sella curulis*, according to tradition became the *Cathedra Petri*, receives here two sons in addition, so also is another wife assigned, viz., Claudia. It is in this sense that the passage in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to St. Timothy (iv. 21) is interpreted : *Eubulus and Pudens and Linus and Claudia and all the brethren salute thee.* This Claudia is considered to be the wife of the senator, because, according to the poet Martial, who came to Rome under Nero and returned 95 B.C. to his Celtiberian native town Bilbilis, the rich and noble Roman Pudens married a beautiful British lady named Claudia.

If, as is supposed by Usher, Moncæus and Lingard, the Pudens of Martial, and the one mentioned in the Epistle of St. Paul are the same person, it appears most natural to assume that he had two wives, the first of whom was Claudia, by whom he had the sons Novatus and Timothy (the latter possibly being called so through friendship with the Lycaonian Timothy). Claudia may have died soon, whereupon he married Savinilla, who bore him the two daughters mentioned above. In the *Vita S. Pudencianæ* also, Novatus and Timothy are presupposed to be the older child.

ren. If our theory is right, they must have attained to a great age, since they lived until the time of Pope Pius I and St. Justin Martyr, who died 166. According to a letter (considered to be spurious) from Pope Pius I to Justus or Verus, Bishop of Vienne, a certain Timothy (and Marcus), who had been instructed by the Apostles, died during his Pontificate.

The chief reason why we have dwelt in so detailed a manner upon the family of the Senator Pudens, lies in the fact that in this way we obtain some hint as to the first attempts at preaching the Gospel in Great Britain. If Claudia was the wife of Pudens, and of British descent, she must have desired that the doctrine of salvation should be preached in her native island. Besides this, it is maintained by De Rossi that Lucina, the noble benefactress of the Christians, was no less a person than Pomponia Græcina, who, according to Tacitus, was devoted to the 'new superstition' and whose husband was Plautius, who conquered Britain. He also indicates that Lucina was sprung from the race of the Corneliæ Æmilii or Cæciliæ, of whom the Corneliæ were a side branch. *Vicus Corneliæ* was another name of the *Vicus Patricius*, where Pudens lived.

On the strength of indications like these, it will not be rash to think it possible that the priest Timothy, who was so closely connected with these distinguished circles of early Christian Rome, may have been active for some time, in Britain, and these family relations, in turn, shed a most significant light upon the fact that the British prince who was baptized by him received the name Lucius. Neither was this name unknown in those circles at Rome. For instance, Lucius was the name of the Christian who, immediately before Justin Martyr, reproached Rusticus for his injustice. Tertullian made an allusion to a distinguished Christian of the same name. Pope Lucius was buried in the cemetery of Callistus, the property of the Cæcilians.

Of course the conversion and baptism of the British King Lucius, through the presbyter Timothy, would have to be assigned to the time when the prince was very young, and

the request addressed to Pope Eleutherius must have taken place after the death of Timothy. Furthermore, the relations that existed between Lucius and Timothy, and through Timothy between Lucius and the two brothers Pius and Pastor—of Aquileian descent—makes it clear why later on Lucius should have chosen Rætia for his missionary enterprise. Neither must we omit the fact that the excellent Martyrology of Hieronymus of Metz (Autun), preserved at Berne, commemorates, on the 21st May, the feast of a holy Deacon Timothy in Britain, who is to be numbered among the oldest saints of this island and of whom otherwise nothing is known except the name. But the very name is here significant, as we are trying to prove that a certain Timothy from Rome, a disciple of the Apostles, preached in Britain during the first half of the second century.

Besides this, it should be remembered that Bede is not consistent as to the date at which Lucius made his request for missionaries. Sometimes he puts it after the death of Commodus, sometimes in the year 156, during the reign of Verus and his brother Aurelius, under the pontificate of Eleutherius, and in the *Epitome* the date given is 167, while Nennius prefers the year 164, and calls the Pope Eucharistus (Evaristus).

According to this view the oldest *Vita S. Lucii* and Bede's account would not exclude each other, nor would the one part have been borrowed from the other (this was done for the first time by Notker), but they complete each other like the two halves of a broken ring, and what appears at first sight to be a contradiction is harmoniously solved on accurate investigation.

It is believed that the source has been discovered from which Bede takes his statement about Lucius of Britain. Father Henschen, S.J., published two very ancient lists of Popes in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which deals with April. The first and more ancient catalogue contains 18 Popes, from Peter to Urban (c. 353); the second comes down to 530, and is unanimously assigned to the sixth century. In the second list, although not in the first

one, the following remark is added to the name of Eleutherius : *Hic accepit epistolam a Lucio Britanniae rege ut Christianus efficeretur per eius mandatum.* In the ninth century Anastasius embodied this remark in his *Vita Pontificum*. It is assumed that Bede, also, took his information from this second list ; the fact that he did not attain to perfect accuracy in the matter of chronology is quite easy to understand, since even now we do not know all the fundamental data.

In any case it is certain that the above-mentioned list of Popes, belonging to the sixth century, is at present the oldest source of information about the Christian King Lucius ; and as it was a Roman source, some authors have gone so far as to maintain that it was simply 'a Roman fiction,' urging that Gildas is silent about it, and that its non-British origin betrays itself through the fact that Lucius is called *Britanniarum rex*. These authors add that this fable must have been invented, after the arrival of the Roman missionary Augustine, in order to make the British more favourable to Rome.

We, on the other hand, believe, that a historian goes beyond the limits of what is lawful, if he has recourse, unnecessarily, to hypothetical statements, especially if they are supported only by very weak reasoning. Gregory the Great and the men who surrounded him, as well as the missionaries sent to England, are of so high and venerable a character, that they should not be rashly accused of concocting fables.

If we wish for an explanation of the manner in which the remark about King Lucius found its way into the sixth-century list, we shall find far more plausible reasons in the traditions of Rætia. Can anything be more reasonable than to look for information to that country, in which there was a fully established episcopal see, where a monastery dedicated to St. Lucius was in existence, where his holy body rested, where a whole nation with its history vouched for the tradition, where constant intercourse with Italy and Rome was going on, where, even now, monuments valuable for the art-history of the sixth and seventh centuries are

met with? And although the oldest legend does not actually say anything about Pope Eleutherius, nevertheless it should be borne in mind that many more things are not mentioned, which we should like to know, concerning King Lucius. Moreover, the fact that it was Eleutherius to whom the king sent his request may easily have been arrived at by the Roman chronicler.

III.—ON THE IDENTITY OF LUCIUS OF BRITAIN AND LUCIUS OF RÆTIA

The traditions of Wales follow the legend which attributes the introduction of Christianity there to Joseph of Arimathea. They also give a detailed account of the kings who were converted to the Christian faith, founded churches and endowed them with lands and privileges. Especially King Lless, or Lleirwg (Lucius), is said to have founded the first church in Llandaff, A.D. 180, and to have placed there the first bishop.

Bede and Nennius, whatever their sources of information may have been, adopted the accounts of Lucius in their works, and, later on, the unreliable Geoffrey of Monmouth enriched them with several additions. He says that the Pope sent two men of zealous faith, whose names were Faganus and Duvian (other authorities write Faganus and Digamus) or some such names. Lucius, after many meritorious deeds, died at Gloucester, where he was buried. For a long time Bede remained the chief source of information for the Anglo-Saxon historians, and he was copied by most of the later ones, e.g., by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle begun in Alfred's time, by Ethelweard who died after 974, and by Henry of Huntingdon, about the middle of the twelfth century. None of them mention the names of the missionaries. The first to mention them is Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died 1154, and the *Book of Llandaff*, which likewise originated in the twelfth century; but they do not agree, since the *Book of Llandaff* calls them Elvan and Medwin. The present *Proprium* of Coire, following Geoffrey, calls them Damianus and Fugatius, names already given by Petrus de Natalibus in the fourteenth century. The

Proprium, like Geoffrey, calls the father of Lucius, 'Coilus.' On the other hand, in a Bull of Indulgences granted by Bishop John of Coire (who died March 25, 1386), it is said that Lucius, King of *Anglia, Equitania, and Britania*, received the Gospel from St. Timothy, and that the latter was a disciple of St. Paul. We see, therefore, that at that period Geoffrey's writings had not yet gained influence, and it was not a very safe proceeding, about 1646, to borrow from him (by the way, he also embellished the legend of St. Ursula with traditions) the first part of the legend of St. Lucius, for the purpose of inserting it into the *Proprium Sanctorum* in Coire, and to call him 'Martyr' in opposition to the oldest accounts. His death is stated to have occurred about 182.

If we suppose that Timothy, the son of Pudens, was born in the year 60, he would have been able to baptize the young Lucius in Britain in the year 120. Later on, when of age, Lucius took a deep interest in the conversion of his subjects, and asked that missionaries should be sent from Rome. The date of his death falls between the years 182 and 201.

The facts that the British accounts know nothing of a missionary journey of their Lucius, and that the often ill-informed Geoffrey makes him live and die in Britain, are not, at least at the present time, sufficient to disprove the identity of Lucius of Coire with Lucius of Britain. Firstly, concerning his tomb, we refer the reader to the quotations from Beatus. And secondly, is it not conceivable that the Counts Roderick and Herloin should have sold bones of saints to be sent to England, for large sums of money, so that only a portion of the relics was restored to Coire? We may add that we have another reason for believing in a connexion existing between Lucius and Rætia, viz., the fact that Roman soldiers were stationed there.

If we could see our way to accept, as genuine, a certain document which we shall mention presently, there could no longer be any doubt about the identity of Lucius of Ræti and Lucius of Britain.

It is recorded that during Elizabeth's reign, a Latin inscription, on stone, was discovered in some old English

church and copied. A copy of this inscription, so the record continues, made on parchment, was issued and attested on the 9th of December, 1845, by the University of London, and taken to Coire, August, 1852, by Count Peter Salis-Soglio. This document is preserved in the cathedral of that town. Looking more closely at it, however, we find that it is a copy not of an inscription, but of a fragment of William Darell's *History of Dover Castle*. According to this there reigned in Britain about the first century of the Christian era a prince Arviragus, who was succeeded by his son Marius, and Marius again by his son Coilus. Coilus was deprived of his independence by the Romans, but his son Lucius compensated for this by gaining the liberty of the children of God. 'Lucius, the first Christian King, reigned in the year 156.' In 161 he built a church in Dover Castle, and had three priests stationed there. Having no children, he was obliged to accede to the wishes of the people and hand over his kingdom to the Emperor Severus. The text does not say clearly whether Lucius retained the government of his kingdom till his death, or whether he abdicated during his life-time and then left the country. The passage runs as follows: 'Hic [Lucius] tanta pietate princeps, cujus cogitationes ad amplificandam Christi gloriam erant positae, quod sine prole discesserat, Severum Rom. imperatorem, universo populo sic jubente, successorem designavit.' The *Schematismus* of Coire for 1863 translates these words as follows: 'This prince, who was endowed with great piety, left his kingdom to spread the honour of God.' However, the word *discesserat* may refer to death, and his 'thoughts concerning the propagation of the glory of Christ' may have been directed merely towards Britain. In any case, it is surprising that the learned commentator on Nennius and Bede, does not mention the inscription in the *Monumenta Hist. Britanniae* at all, although it must have been known to him, if it existed. William Darell did not omit to depict the coats-of-arms of King Marius and King Lucius, and even of the Emperor Severus (193-211)!

In the meantime we cannot accept this 'document' as trustworthy. The author of the *Schematismus* believes that the church where the slab with the inscription was

ST. LUCIUS

discovered was that of Dover; the document itself says nothing on this point.

IV.—ST. EMERITA, ST. VALENTINE, AND ANTONIUS LERINENSIS

Closely connected with the veneration of St. Lucius at Coire is that of his sister Emerita, who is said to have imitated the zeal of her royal brother, and to have gone to the same country. She was finally tortured and burnt by the rude pagan inhabitants at Trimmis, near Coire.

A short time ago an attempt was made to get rid of this saint, by pointing out another Emerita, who is said to have suffered at Trimontium in Scotland, the two being confused together in consequence of the similarity of the names of the places of their martyrdom. 'A certain Emerita suffered at a place of similar name in Scotland; the name was mistaken for Trimmis near Coire. Hence the two became confused together.'

We have tried to find mention of this Scottish Emerita of Trimontium in some reliable account, but, so far, without success. She is not mentioned in any Martyrology, and we believe that Usher, an authority in these matters, is right in maintaining that Philippus Ferrari, who mentions her in his list, was misled by Dempster, a most untrustworthy person in matters concerning Scotland.

The village of Trimmis near Coire, with which the legend and the veneration of Emerita and Lucius are connected, was called *Trimuna* in the year 958, and once in a document belonging to the same century *Trimons*. The Catholic parish church there is dedicated to St. Carpophorus, whose feast is kept on the 7th of August while the Protestants use a chapel dedicated to St. Emerita. This chapel seems to have been dependent at one time on the church of St. Carpophorus, or it may have been attached to the Castle. The *Capella S. Carpofoři, in Trimune vico* was presented, in 948, by King Otto I to the mother church of Coire. There is no such early testimony extant with regard to the chapel of St. Emerita, nor is it mentioned in the oldest legend of St. Lucius. The feast of St. Emerita is placed on the 4th December in a necrology of Coire,

belonging to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and to the same period belongs the statement that the *Dedicatio Ecclesiae S. Carposori in vico Trimanis* falls on the 19th October.

In the meantime it seems that we are safe in retaining St. Emerita as a local saint of Coire. It is possible that she, together with her brother Lucius, who may have been a British chieftain, laboured in the neighbourhood of Coire for the propagation of the Christian faith after the middle of the second century, faithfully and courageously submitting at last to a cruel martyrdom.

Lastly, we may add a few words on SS. Valentine and Antony. The assertion that St. Valentine devoted his life to missionary work among the inhabitants of the Alps (as bishop of the district), during the troubled first two decades of the fifth century, is supported by the fact that, in those mountainous districts, he is still gratefully remembered by the inhabitants. In the diocese of Coire, alone, eleven churches were dedicated to him. He was also mentioned as one of the patron saints in the old document dealing with the dedication of the parish church of Schwiz. In the list of relics of the Minster of Lucerne, of the year 1460, some relics of St. Valentine are mentioned.

A little later St. Antony flourished in the district called Valtellin, where he settled near the tomb of the holy martyr Felix, probably not without influencing the inhabitants of the northern parts of the country. His life was ended in the monastery of Lerins, and was chronicled by Ennodius.¹

Since writing the above I have had occasion to review a small pamphlet by Professor Adolph Harnack, in the *English Historical Review*, in which Dr. Harnack makes it appear that all the accounts of Lucius were derived from the *Liber Pontificalis*, but that the entry in that work was possibly due to the mistake of a transcriber, who converted the word *Britis*, which related to a town in Edessa, into the word *Britannis*, which is the curious form taken by this proper noun in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW.

¹ Vide 'Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz vor St. Gallus,' by Alois Lütolf.

INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE IN DEFINING DOGMATIC FACTS—WITH A SKETCH OF THE CONTROVERSY

THIS controversy, having its origin in the condemnation of five propositions taken from the work *Augustinus* of Jansen, was carried on with great vigour during the pontificate of nine Popes¹ and the reign of Louis XIV—from the middle of the seventeenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The opponents of the orthodox view—that the Pope is infallible in his decisions concerning dogmatic facts—seeking to limit the subject-matter of infallibility to doctrine pure and simple, laboured, by every art of argumentation and vast erudition, both historical and theological, to maintain against the laws of Church and State the validity of the famous distinction as regards this great prerogative.

The so-called 'Gallican Liberties'—long registered as State laws, renewed by Louis XIV, and defended by Bousset, in 1682—encouraged the sectarists in their audacious obstinacy. Their methods of attack and defence were adopted by Protestants; and their controversial literature furnishes a magazine of oft-exploded arguments for anti-Catholics. 'All this arose,' says St. Alphonsus,² 'because the distinction of law and fact (*juris et facti*) was put forth to elude the just condemnation of the five propositions of Jansen.' To understand fully the different phases of the controversy we must enter into details concerning Jansenism.³

In the middle of the seventeenth century this erroneous system sprang up in France, and had reference to free-will, the merits of good works, and the benefits of Redemption. The errors were published in a work, *Augustinus*, by Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, in Holland, in which

¹ A.D. 1653-1705.

² *History of Heresies*.

³ Taken from Bergier for the most part.

he pretended to set forth the doctrine of St. Augustine on these points. Jansen was born at Ackoy, near Leerdam, in Holland, in 1585. He pursued his philosophical studies at Utrecht, and his theological studies at Louvain and Paris. In the last place he met John Verger, Abbot of St. Cyran, who conducted him to Bayonne, where he remained twelve years as principal of a college. There he conceived the work *Augustinus*. By his friend's advice he composed it with the object of reviving the doctrine of Baius,¹ which he had learned from a professor of Louvain, who had imbibed the sentiments of Luther and Calvin.

On his return to Louvain, Jansen filled the chair of theology, and afterwards that of Sacred Scripture. The See of Ypres becoming vacant, he was nominated thereto by the King of Spain in 1635, but he did not long enjoy it, for he died of the pestilence in 1638. For twenty years he had laboured at his work, and gave it the last touches before his death. To his chaplain, Reginald Lamee, he left the duty of publishing it; and though we find various protestations of submission to the Holy See, the author could not be ignorant that the doctrine he sought to establish had been already condemned. 'Fromond, a professor of Louvain,' says Alban Butler² 'polished his style and put the work in the press; Verger strenuously upheld its principles, and was imprisoned for ten years in the castle at Vincennes.'

As soon as *Augustinus* appeared at Louvain in 1640, Urban VIII³ (the same who had to do with Galileo) condemned it in his Bull *In Eminente*, and forbade the reading of it on account of its renewing 'Baianism.' The famous faculty of the Sorbonne condemned some propositions extracted from the book by Cornet, but Dr. Louis de Saint Amour and sixteen others appealed to Parliament against their decision. The French prelates terrorised by the

¹ 'Déjà frappé d'anathème.'—Bergier.

² *Lives of the Saints*.

³ Nine Popes were involved in the controversy: 1623-1644, Urban VIII; 1644-1655, Innocent X; 1655-1667, Alexander VII; 1667-1669, Clement IX; 1669-1676, Clement X; 1676-1689, Innocent XI; 1689-1691, Alexander VIII; 1691-1700, Innocent XII; 1700-1721, Clement XI.

arrogance of the appellants referred the matter to the Holy See. Innocent X, with five cardinals and thirteen theologians, held thirty-six conferences within two years, His Holiness presiding in person over the last ten, and in May, 1653, the judgment of Rome appeared in the Bull *Cum Occasione*. Five propositions taken from Jansen's book were severely censured : that God refuses the just sufficient grace to fulfil His commands ; that it is impossible for fallen nature to resist internal grace ; that merit or demerit requires merely freedom from constraint ; that to hold the human will may use or reject preventing grace is heresy ; that it is erroneous to say Christ shed His blood for all men. The first was branded as rash, impious, blasphemous, worthy of anathema, and heretical ; the second and third were noted as heretical ; and to the fourth were affixed the epithets rash, scandalous, impious, blasphemous, contumelious, derogatory to the Divine goodness, and heretical.

The head and front of Jansen's offending lies in the second proposition, of which the others were but corollaries. 'Grace and concupiscence,' according to him, 'are only pleasurable¹ emotions, and whichever predominates determines one to vice or virtue.' This delectation (*delectatio victrix*) is inevitable in its approach, invincible when it comes ! Jansen founded this error on a well-known maxim of St. Augustine, 'Quod amplius delectat id nos operemur necesse est.' It is indistinguishable from downright predestination. 'The five principal tenets of Jansen,' says Palmer,² 'amount in fact to the doctrine of Calvin.' 'From Calvin,' writes Buckle,³ 'he borrowed the doctrine of necessity.'

Dr. Arnould and others who had embraced the opinions of Jansen, and had written high-sounding eulogies on his book before its condemnation, denied that the propositions were in the book *Augustinus*, and from a partisan spirit and love of notoriety sought out a line of defence, by subjecting

¹ 'Fondé sur un sens abusif donné au mot, "délectation," et sur un axiome de St. Augustine, pris de travers.'—Bergier.

² *History of the Church*.

³ *History of Civilization*.

the prerogative of the Pope to a limitation, which would altogether nullify the doctrine of Infallibility.

The propositions [they affirmed] are not in the book; nor are they condemned in the sense of Jansen, but in a sense erroneously assigned to him. That the propositions are heretical in the sense the Pope wished to condemn them, we do not deny; but Jansen never asserted them in that sense; and we believe the Sovereign Pontiff may be deceived as to the sense of an author, or err in attributing errors to an author.

From these two objections, that the propositions were not those of Jansen, and were not condemned in the sense of Jansen, sprang the famous distinction¹ between dogma and dogmatic fact as regards infallibility. They recognized the obligation to submit to the Papal Bull as to the doctrine condemned, but they did not consider themselves bound to acquiesce in the question of fact, that is to say, to believe the propositions were in the book, and that the author held them in the sense attributed to him.

In 1654 the French prelates issued a decision that the five propositions were really and truly in the book of Jansen, and that they were condemned in the true and natural sense of the author. In 1656, Alexander VII, in a Bull expedited in October, renewed the condemnation of the propositions, and expressly stated that Jansen held them in their heretical sense, which was the natural and obvious sense of the words. About the same year the faculty of Paris condemned an assertion of Dr. Arnauld's that as regards the question of fact in the Apostolic constitution, it was sufficient to keep a religious silence,² and this new subtlety confirmed his followers in holding the limitation of infallibility to law and doctrine, while outside those limits the Pope was liable to be deceived by human testimony as to questions of fact, and that in point of fact both Urban VII and Alexander VII erred in condemning Jansen.

To combat the artfulness of Dr. Arnauld, to take away every subterfuge, and close every avenue by which they

¹ Dr. Arnauld invented it : *du droit et du fait*—law and fact.

² Dr. Arnauld's *silence respectueux* or *obsequiosum silentium*.

might escape the just condemnation of the heresiarch's adherents, every candidate for ordination should sign a formula which embodied the decision of the French prelates of 1654. A dispute arose, many affirming that they could only be obliged to sign the formula by the Pope, and accordingly, in 1665, the Bishops addressed themselves to Rome to quell the quarrel. Alexander VII approved of the formulary as to the manner of receiving and subscribing to the condemnation of Jansen. In the same year, Louis XIV issued a royal ordinance—registered in parliament as a state law—ordering the signature of the formula without equivocation, under grievous penalties. The formula embodied a solemn oath: 'Sic ita juro; sic me Deus adjuvet et sancta Evangelia.'

'The Bull of Alexander,' says St. Alphonsus, 'put the Jansenists in a quandary.' Some asserted it would be perjury to subscribe to it; others affirmed that the formula might be signed with a mental reservation: that it was enough for the person subscribing to it to have the intention of following the doctrine of St. Augustine—which they alleged was that of Jansen—and as to the dogmatic fact, to keep a reverent silence. In the teeth, therefore, of the papal decree and the royal ordinance, four Bishops, MM. Pavillon, Choart de Buzenval, Caulet and Arnauld (of Alet, Pamiers, Angers, and Beauvais) held this opinion, and issued pastorals in which they still maintained this distinction of law and fact; and by which they encouraged the refractory ecclesiastics to insubordination to the Pope and sedition against the king. Under Clement IX terms of accommodation were proposed between the recalcitrant Bishops and the Holy See, according to which they were allowed to renew their signature to the ordinance, their first signature being deemed insufficient; but they were required to sign it, 'purely, sincerely, and without any limitation.' Thus peace was re-established. The Abbé Bergier states¹ that 'they assented, signed, and broke their faith; Clement

¹ 'On ferma les yeux sur cette infidelite et c'est ce qu'on nomma la paix de Clement IX.'

winked at the delinquency, and this is the so-called "Peace of Clement IX."'

In 1702 appeared the famous Case of Conscience, which raised again the point about the 'religious silence.' A pamphlet¹ was published in which it was stated that a sacramental absolution was refused to a clergyman, who, although he condemned the proposition in the heretical sense indicated by the various Bulls and in the Briefs of Innocent XII to the Bishops of Flanders, still as to the question of fact, i.e., attributing them to Jansen, believed a respectful silence sufficed. The question was referred to the Sorbonne Faculty, and forty doctors signed a decision that the sentiment of the ecclesiastic was neither singular nor novel, that it had never been condemned by the Pope, and that, therefore, he should not have been denied absolution.

Now, in 1692, the Bishops of Flanders added a clause to the formula to remove every means of deception; and in his Briefs of 1695 and 1697, Innocent XII provided against every subterfuge, therefore this decision of the Sorbonne doctors only justified a prevaricator, a dissembler, or a perjurer. If this man were truly persuaded that the Pope and the Church could be deceived in supposing that Jansen truly taught such doctrine in his book, how could he seriously sign a sworn attestation that he condemned the propositions in the sense that all the previous Bulls and Briefs had condemned them, i.e., the sense of the author.

This incident rekindled the smouldering fires of controversy, and to suppress the diffusion further of secret unbelief and open bitterness, Cardinal Noailles exacted and obtained a retraction from the Sorbonne Faculty which branded the decision as rash and scandalous, and calculated to renew the doctrine of Jansen. The controversy still continued until after many Briefs were issued; Clement XI, in 1705, expedited the Bull *Vineam Domini*² condemning the Case of Conscience with various notes, and declaring

¹ *History of Heresies*.—St. Alphonsus Liguori.

² This Bull removed all illusion as to the just and legitimate condemnation of Jansen, and could not be eluded by the sectarists.

explicitly that under the circumstances a religious silence was not sufficient to render that full and entire obedience to the Church which she had a right to expect and exact. 'Fallacis hujus doctrinae pallio non deponitur error sed absconditur; vulnus tegitur non curetur; Ecclesia obsequio silentio illuditur non paretur.'

The Jansenists now alleged that the propositions had a double sense: the one true, natural, and proper; the other false, putative, and wrongly attributed; and that in the latter sense, but not in the former, they were heretical. This evasion was only returning to the subterfuge of Dr. Arnould. The Bull *Vineam Domini* gave those subtle and sophistical disputants their quietus.¹ The devices of their nimble intellects were exhausted in trying to baffle condemnation; and we find that the next great Jansenist, Quesnell, was openly and avowedly heretical. In his book, *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, where he craftily insinuates all the errors of Jansen,² he proves by his clear contempt for the censures of the Church that the sectaries were all along only dissembling their unbelief, and that in spite of their protestations they were only seeking to impose upon the simple, and infuse the poison of Jansenism into the mystical body, the Church of Christ.

Before refuting this error, it must be admitted that many who, during the course of the controversy, sought to impose this limitation on the papal prerogative suffered severely, not so much for the doctrinal error as for stirring up civil discord and public discontent, and for their seditious conduct in refusing to obey the royal ordinance of Louis XIV. It is striking that while Louis threw the weight of his influence in favour of Gallicanism, and embodied the four great Gallican maxims in the State laws of 1682, which tended to make the Church a vassal of the State, still he endeavoured to suppress Jansenism. It is stated that he believed that the civil war called the Fronde³ was due to the insubordinate spirit of Jansenism. 'The inquisitive,

¹ Over two hundred years ago, i.e., in 1705.

² Alban Butler.

³ 'La Fronde étoit venue du Jansenisme,' 'Jansenisme étoit l'horreur du roi.'—*Mém. de Brienne*.

insubordinate, democratic, and revolutionary spirit,' says Buckle, 'disappeared with its fall, appeared with its rise.'

This, then, is a sketch of the lively controversy concerning the extent and limitations of the subject-matter of infallibility. From the controversy we gather that a dogmatic fact is any fact appertaining to dogma, the apprehending, for instance, the true sense of an author. The distinction invented by Dr. Arnault and his associates was merely an equivocation devised to deceive the simple-minded. The orthodox teaching is that the Pope can give infallible decisions in regard to such facts, that he can, for example, unerringly declare the sense of an author; that he can infallibly declare whether or not an author held certain opinions; and to such decisions we owe not merely the negative duty of religious silence, but full and unqualified assent.

'The sense of an author,' in the formulary of Alexander VII, means the natural and obvious signification conveyed by the words to every reader, and when, therefore, the Church condemns a proposition she does so in its literal meaning. It is very clear, therefore, that the Jansenistic distinction is quite groundless, that it is neither just nor logical.

It is hard [says Salmon²] to see the justice of the distinction or how it is rational to give up infallibility in one case and assert it in the other. If this limitation exists how can any heretic be condemned? The falsity of his doctrines may be declared infallibly, but whether he had taught them will admit of controversy.

To say, then, that the Pope could be deceived by patent facts, or cannot declare infallibly the true meaning of a book, is only a sophistical subterfuge, by the aid of which every heretic could brave the anathemas or disregard the condemnation of Rome.

The office of condemning or recommending books is an essential part of the government of the Church, so that she may preserve the faithful from error and falsehood. But

¹ It was evolved at Bayonne and propagated by the bayonet.

² Dr. Salmon on Infallibility.

if this limitation be a valid one, if this distinction be allowed as just and admissible, then in vain would the Church condemn books, and attempt to expurgate the poison from her literature; in vain would the Church try to eliminate error and falsehood, for her children could remain contumacious under every censure, if they could lawfully say 'the Pope misunderstands the sense of the words, and wrongfully attributes them to those authors.'

The foundation and the spread of the Church are great Divine facts; all the doctrines of our religion are bound up with facts. To be able to say what books are Canonical Scripture and what books are not—these are questions of fact, and if the Church is not able to speak infallibly, if the Pope's jurisdiction does not reign infallibly over this circle of truths, on what does the foundation of our faith rest? If the contention of the Jansenists were once admitted it would dissolve the whole fabric of the Church, and leave us for our guides only a doubtful collection of Scripture books and the fitful star of private judgment.

Now I will go on in fairness to say [says Newman¹] what I think is the great trial to Reason when confronted with the august prerogative of the Catholic Church. That authority has the prerogative of an indirect jurisdiction on subject-matters which lie beyond its own proper limits, and it most reasonably has such jurisdiction.² It could not act in its own province unless it could act out of it. It could not properly defend religious truth without acting as we act as a nation in claiming as our own not only the land on which we live but what are called British Waters. The Catholic Church claims to censure books, silence authors, and forbid discussions.

The province of dogmatic facts is, therefore, so to speak, the British Waters of the infallible jurisdiction over which it must necessarily and essentially reign, otherwise the infallible faculty would be ineffective, vain, and futile.

This controversy, lasting half a century, did untold

¹ *Apologia pro Vita Sua*.

² The controversy regarded moral as well as dogmatic facts, which constitute the indirect subject-matter of infallibility as being *virtually* revealed, so intimately are they connected with revealed religion.

harm to the Church. The rebellious doctors of Louvain and Sorbonne brought into the full light of publicity deep questions about grace, free-will, and predestination. Their metaphysical vapourings mystified the minds of the public, excited doubts, spread secret infidelity, and prepared the way for the reign of Atheism. To vilify popes and bishops, and weaken their authority, they ransacked Church history for everything of a dubious complexion. To establish their system they abused the sacred sciences. Their sceptical turn of mind made straight the way for such literary 'pyrrhonism' as we find in Voltaire and Gibbon. Their errors about the economy of the Redemption made a smooth path for the German sceptics of the type of Baur and Ewald, and the Frenchman Rénan, in modern times. And the pseudo-Reformers borrowed from their works.¹

It does not require to be a very profound theologian to recognize the justice of the condemnation of Jansenism, for it is not philosophical, not consoling, not agreeable to the feelings or dignity of man—'It makes God a tyrant, man a machine,'—yet, by artful changes of front in its defence, and by pandering to the prejudices of Gallicans, who were at one with them in their joint efforts to depress the Papacy, the Jansenists held their ground in spite of twenty condemnations; and when their last defence was taken from them, they openly contemned the censure of the Church. Moshier² admires the strong stand they made against popes and king, but he reluctantly admits that they used captious explanations, subtle distinctions, and the same sophisms and invectives which they attributed to their enemies. The root idea of the system was a distortion of a maxim of St. Augustine; the controversy concerned the book which professed to expound his doctrine, and all through the ages they have taken refuge under that much abused but imperishable name.

The Jansenists still maintain that the errors are not

¹ The anonymous Jansenistic book, *The Primacy of Peter and Paul* (1705), bracketted these two apostles as in every way equal, seeking to reduce the real Primate to the ranks in the Apostolic College, and thereby depress the Papacy. *Vide* Conybeare and Howson, and Farrar.

² *History of the Popes.*

in the book of Jansen. In 1827, Cappucini, the Papal Legate, endeavoured to reconcile Van Santen, Jansenistic Archbishop of Utrecht; but the reply of the latter to his appeal ended the matter: 'I cannot,' said he, 'sign a formulary, which asserts that the condemned propositions are in Jansen's book, because, having read the book, I know the propositions are not there.'

Like every other body of sectarists, when once the flimsy fabric of sophistry on which they based their system was dissolved, they faded away from the scene of history, and this dispute, like many others, has for us only a doubtful and distant interest. Its details have now to be sought out of the musty, dusty tomes; and its rightful place is in the Limbo of those long-forgotten controversies whose fitful existence was due to artfulness, passion, or prejudice.

JOHN NEARY, C.C.

DATES OF THE CONTROVERSY

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| (1) Jansen lived, 1585-1638. | (12) Bishops add a clause to the formulary, 1692—Briefs of Innocent XII, 1694-1696. |
| (2) Posthumous work <i>Augustinus</i> , 1640. | (13) Famous <i>Cas de Conscience</i> , 1702. |
| (3) Urban VIII condemns it, 1642. | (14) Cardinal Noailles compels the Sorbonne Faculty to retract, 1703. |
| (4) Innocent X condemns 'Five propositions' — Bull, <i>Cum occasione</i> , 1653. | (15) The Bull <i>Vincam Domini</i> , 1705. |
| (5) Dr. Arnauld evolves the famous distinction, 1653. | (16) The controversy lasted, 1653-1705. |
| (6) French bishops adopt ordination formula, 1654. | (17) Quesnel was condemned as a heretic, 1713—Bull <i>Unigenitus</i> . |
| (7) Alexander condemns Arnauld's clientèle, 1656. | Vide—(1) The Abbé Bergier sur <i>Fait Domatique, Infalibistés, et Jansenisme</i> ; (2) St. Alphonsus, <i>History of Heresies</i> ; (3) Dr. Salmon on <i>Infalibility</i> ; (3) Newman, <i>Apologetica</i> ; (4) Buckle, chap. on 'French Intellect in 17th Century.' |
| (8) Sorbonne Faculty condemns 'Religious Silence,' 1656. | |
| (9) Alexander and Louis enforce the formula, 1665. | |
| (10) Four French bishops evade ordination oath, 1665. | |
| (11) Four prelates reconciled—Peace of Clement, 1667. | |

THE DECREE 'LAMENTABILI SANE EXITU' AND MODERNISM—II.

IN the last number of this journal I gave a brief explanation of the first section of propositions condemned in the Decree *Lamentabili sane Exitu*. I purpose in the present article to continue the explanation; and on account of the affinity of the subjects of inspiration and revelation I will deal in one article with the propositions relating to these subjects condemned by the recent decree. But first I will premise a few observations on the nature of revelation and inspiration.

Revelation, etymologically considered, as theologians observe, signifies the removal or withdrawal of the veil which conceals something from view. Then it signifies the manifestation of something previously hidden from view or but obscurely perceived; and it can apply to intellectual or merely sense manifestation. One man can reveal something to another, when the revelation is called human; and if the revelation be made by God, it is called divine. God reveals Himself and His works to us by the natural light of human reason, and then His revelation is called natural; and according to Christian teaching He reveals Himself also to us in a supernatural way, which is revelation properly so called, when He communicates to us a truth or a body of truths, not by the natural reasoning, activity and industry of our own reason, but by the direct attestation of His own divine word. God may speak to us immediately, as Christ spoke to the Apostles; or His revelation may reach us only through the testimony of others.

It is not too difficult to form some conception—a very imperfect one it will often be, perhaps,—of the psychological process of the reception of immediate divine revelation, by comparison with the genesis of our natural mental operations. The human mind at its origin is a *tabula*

rasa, but not an entirely passive *tabula*. External objects make an impression on the senses; images are made in the imagination; species intelligibles are formed; and then the way is prepared for mental judgments, for assenting to or dissenting from propositions, for intellectual knowledge. Now if we examine a particular case of divine revelation, say the revelation made by our Lord¹: 'The bread that I will give you is My flesh for the life of the world. . . . Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you;' we shall see that the reception of this particular revelation follows the analogy of learning from an ordinary human teacher. Teachers cannot infuse images, nor species intelligibles, nor intellectual assent; they can bring objects or analogies before their pupils to enable them to form an idea of the subject of their lesson, and arguments to prove the truth of their statements; but the actual formation of imaginative representations and of species intelligibles and the mental assent to the propositions of the master are produced by the pupils themselves. Our Lord's hearers already knew the meaning of the words, 'flesh,' 'blood,' 'eat' and 'drink'; their imaginations were already stored with images of these substances and actions; some disbelieved His words, while others, under the influence of divine grace, believed on the authority of the divine testimony of the Master; but the perception of the meaning of the words, the formation of images and species intelligibles, the final belief of the faithful disciples were acts produced by the disciples themselves under the influence of grace. There can be other forms of revelation besides this revelation which took the form of a discourse to a general multitude. As revelation is a manifestation of truth it can take any form in which truth can be manifested. It can take the form of 'infused knowledge,' where God Himself infuses the species intelligibles, and where, perhaps, the recipient's mind assents to the revealed propositions, vitally no doubt, but yet rather as an instru-

¹ John vi. 52, 54.

mental than as a secondary principal cause. Such would have been the revelations made to the prophets and Apostles favoured with the divine charismata ; but even in relation to these the infusion of species was of a secondary importance and not a necessary feature of all charismatic revelations, their distinguishing characteristic being special divine elevation and illumination of the intellect. Revelation can be made to a person in sleep, or in his conscious hours. I would refer for information on all these points to St. Thomas,¹ who treats the question under the title of Prophetic Knowledge ; but I have said enough as an introduction to the explanation of the condemned propositions.

Inspiration is quite different from revelation and can be found apart from revelation strictly so called. Inspiration is a divine movement, which can be given in order to believe, or to speak, or to act, to write a book, etc. If we speak of inspiration in reference to belief, it is a divine movement of the intellect unto the acceptance of revealed truth, where the mind acts, not as secondary principal cause, but as an instrument in the hands of God ; and it differs from the revelation for the perception of which it may be given, because revelation, considered in the recipient, is the actual perception of the truth divinely revealed. The other forms of inspiration can be easily understood from a description of inspiration to write a book, which is the form of inspiration I am about to describe, and about which those serious erroneous views have been propounded and advocated which are condemned in the Decree *Lamentabili sane Exitu*.

In these recent years there has been a controversy whether, in estimating and describing the divine influence in the writing of sacred books, we should start from the idea of 'divine authorship' and work back to the idea of 'divine inspiration,' or start from 'divine inspiration' with the hope of reaching to the idea of 'divine authorship.' The controversy—I say it with all respect to the learned combatants—seems to me rather meaningless. It

¹ 2.2. qq. 171-173.

is like a controversy as to whether we should start from the idea of 'builder of a house' to get to the idea of 'a person who employed masons and carpenters and slaters to construct a house,' or whether we should start from the latter idea to get to the former. If we consider the sacred books *in fieri* we say that they are divine because they were written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. What is this inspiration? Inspiration is the movement by which the Holy Ghost moved the sacred writers to write, as a principal cause moves his instrument when using it. We come here to the difficult question of determining the spheres of principal and instrumental causality when there is question of God and His creatures. An instrument has some capacity of its own independently of the influence of the principal cause; otherwise it would not be employed at all. If a sharp blade were to fall on us, even accidentally, it might cut us severely; and in this it would act, not as an instrumental cause, but as a principal cause. But that a blade not merely cuts but cuts in a special manner, that a brush not merely daubs a canvas but produces such a glorious figure on it, this is due to the controlling movement of the principal cause whose *ideae exemplares* are, as it were, conveyed to his instrument, thus, in a manner, inverting the order of our cognitional processes where the species are received into the thinker from external objects. The principal cause therefore moves his instrument; and according to a universal rule of language, followed in the schools and in general usage, the work done with or through an instrument is ascribed not to the instrument but to the principal cause. Hence the principal who inspires another as his instrument to write a book is 'the author' of the book; and if a person can be called 'the author' of a book written by another he must be to this other in the relation of principal to instrumental cause, or in the relation of 'inspirer' to inspired writer. If we consider inspired Scripture *in fieri* we say that it was written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and if we consider it *in facto esse* we may say that God is its author.

It is necessary yet, before proceeding to comment on

the condemned propositions, to notice briefly some of the remaining questions raised about inspiration: its relation to revelation; what God actually does when inspiring a writer; the relation of inspiration to different literary forms; and the inerrancy of Scripture consequent on its inspiration.

1. Revelation and inspiration, as I have said, are quite different, and one can be had without the other. God might have made a revelation to the world and not have inspired anyone to write this revelation but trusted to tradition for its transmission from generation to generation. On the other hand the writing of an inspired book does not necessarily suppose that a revelation had been made to the inspired writer himself; he could be inspired to write a revelation made immediately to another. It does not necessarily pre-suppose a revelation at all; for God could inspire a person to write a book on natural theology, or philosophy, or secular history, and parts of even the New Testament have been written from natural knowledge under divine inspiration; but the divine inspiration to write carries with it an equivalent revelation in the measure in which God moved the writer to write on natural theology, philosophy, etc., for in that measure we have the authority of the divine testimony for the truth of the contents of the book.

2. Approval of a book after its publication is not inspiration, it does not make God the author of the book. Neither does concomitant assistance, perhaps of a negative kind, which consists in preserving the writer from error, satisfy the Catholic ideal of inspiration. God is throughout the principal cause and the inspired writer is the instrument. Evidently there can be differences in inspiration according to the varying degrees in which the human instruments are familiar with the subjects to be committed to writing. If the person destined for inspiration is already perfectly familiar with the truths to be written under the influence of inspiration, if he has the material for a book prepared, much less will remain for the instrument and for the principal cause than if the whole matter had to be

studied and arranged. God would take His human instrument in hand, knowing well his natural literary capacity and inclination; He would move his intellect to decide on the writing and the form of writing of the whole or a part of the material prepared, and He would move his will to proceed to the execution of the work. God would do more if more had to be done by the human agent to write his book; but God does not infuse species intelligibles or knowledge as is done in the case of infused knowledge; He acts with and through His living instrument so that all the acts are produced vitally by the agent acting in the hands of God. And if verbal inspiration be admitted we are not to suppose that God communicated the words to the inspired writer as a teacher reads dictation to a class which has no part in the selection of the words, but that the words, like the matter of the book, are selected by the human agent, using his own natural literary talent and following his own particular literary line, but moved by God as an instrument is moved by a principal cause.

3. The sacred writings then with all their parts, as they stood in the original text, have God for their author, and are infallibly immune from error in all their parts in the sense in which they were written under divine inspiration. The truth, however, of the written word differs according to the various kinds of composition. We may distinguish for example, human history, natural history, historical fiction, myths, parables, poetry, ideal or imaginary discourses, etc. Human history and natural history are pre-eminently a record of facts, inferences, opinions and hypotheses; historical fiction and parables are not understood to be records of facts but a didactic composition to serve as vehicles for conveying other truths in an agreeable manner; myths suppose some real event, as, for example, the creation of the world or the formation of man, but they do not give the true history of the event to which they are referred; poetry is allowed a latitude not conceded to prose; and the best writers, such as Livy, Milton, etc., avail themselves of the medium of ideal or

imaginary speeches to express the views of the characters whom they are describing. Now, so far as these different kinds of composition may be found in the Sacred Writings the different kind of truth peculiar to each is not taken away by inspiration. In history we expect real truth. But a historian may make quotations from other authorities, and in doing so he may guarantee merely the accuracy of his quotation or affirm the truth of the statement quoted; both forms of quotation are found in Scripture; the truth affirmed in the one case is that the statement is found in another author, and in the other case the objective truth of the quotation is affirmed. Similarly in reference to the words of Jacob to his father, 'I am Esau thy first-born,'¹ inspiration does not imply that God approved the words themselves, but that they were spoken by Jacob. And instances are quoted of statements made by the Apostolic writers, in the Inspired Books, about their own feelings, desires, affections, etc., where the truth affirmed by virtue of inspiration is, that the Apostolic writers had those feelings and affections, not that they were the affections of God.² We have in a similar way to examine, in reference to parables, poetical writings and imaginary discourses, what truth exactly is attested by virtue of divine inspiration. But, again, the Sacred Writings with all their parts, as they existed in the original text, were written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and they are absolutely free from error in the sense and in the measure in which God moved the inspired writer to commit them to writing.

So far there is not very much difficulty, but the following questions have been much debated in modern times: Are there myths in the Inspired Writings? Have the inspired writers explicitly quoted false historical statements, not merely in the form of narration, but as the vehicle for conveying divine truths? Have they made implicit quotations for the same didactic purpose? Some of our modern Catholic exegetes are prepared to admit the presence of myths and of erroneous historical state-

¹ Gen. vii. 19.

² Cf. Pesch, S.J., *De Inspiratione Sacras Scripturas*, pp. 444, ff.

ments for didactic purposes in the Sacred Writings, and they maintain that this can be held consistently with inspiration. God, they say, is the principal author of the Scriptures; He moves the intellect and will of the writers to conceive and execute His work; He inspires the form and words; the only truth which He attests in myths and erroneous historical statements is their didactic truth, their aptitude to serve as the vehicle for expressing divine doctrines; and consequently the Scriptures in their entirety are the Word of God, and they are absolutely immune from error in the sense and measure in which they are attested by divine inspiration. To others this view is unacceptable. Some appear to argue against it as if it were *a priori* impossible, as if it were inconsistent with the divine dignity to use myths and erroneous historical statements, like some false Isidorian Decretals, as vehicles for teaching divine doctrines. Others argue against it, not that they consider the use of myths and false historical statements to be absolutely inassociable with divine inspiration, in the manner explained, but because they consider that the passages about which the controversy has arisen must be explained in a different manner, that their actual historicity and truth is in some way attested by divine inspiration.

I have gone at some length into the question of inspiration in order to come to the exposition of the controversy just referred to; because in presenting an exposition of the condemned propositions it is necessary to distinguish and separate the theory of Father Lagrange, whatever one may think of its intrinsic merits, from the views enunciated in the condemned propositions. I will now proceed to offer a brief explanation of the condemned propositions which treat of revelation and inspiration.

I.

I will consider the propositions from the eighth to the nineteenth from the point of view of inspiration and make a short commentary on each.

Prop. 9.—Nimiam simplicitatem aut ignorantiam praeferunt qui Deum credunt vere esse Scripturae Sacrae auctorem. I need not delay at this proposition, because it is opposed to the explicit teaching of the Councils of Trent and the Vatican. The Vatican Council says¹: 'Eos vero ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet . . . quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem.' And again: 'Si quis Sacrae Scripturae libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit, anathema sit.' It is not to be wondered at, however, that this doctrine is unacceptable to men who have accepted the principles, or principle, of the theory of immanence. Some of them take up an agnostic position, intellectually, in respect to the existence of a personal Being distinct from the world. And those who are not agnostics deny the divine authorship of Scripture, properly understood, on the ground that it would make God responsible for the errors and contradictions which they believe to exist in the Scripture; and also because, revelation being immanent, inspiration is not to be referred to an external Being, but is an impulse from the divine spirit within the writer to find a religious expression for the facts of the life of religion.

Prop. 10.—Inspiratio librorum Veteris Testamenti in eo consistit quod scriptores israelitae religiosas doctrinas sub peculiari quodam aspectu, gentibus parum noto aut ignoto, tradiderunt. The proposition speaks only of the inspiration of the books of the Old Testament; but the principle applies also to the New Testament. Revelation, according to the Immanent Apologists, is a perception of a relation to God, a consciousness of right and wrong. Every one has some degree of inspiration, some power of formulating a religious expression or theory of the immanent revelation. These religious theories or dogmas are indifferent to intellectual truth; they are true with the truth of goodness, they help to stimulate and foster the growth of the religious life.

¹ *Scas.* III. c. 2.

As the inner life develops and varies and is subject to the law of survival by natural selection, so the religious dogmas are selected and survive or disappear in the struggle for existence according as they continue to be useful to the religious life or begin to hamper and impede its expansion. Now the inspiration of the books of the Old Testament, immanent writers say, consists in this that Jewish inspired writers delivered their religious doctrines under an aspect unknown to the Gentiles. The Gentiles appealed to the intellect, while the Jewish writers, it is contended, attended only to the practical truth of their formulæ. The Gentiles still adhered to the worn out formulæ of polytheism, while the Jewish writers adopted the theory of monotheism, as more effective for the development of the religious life in an organized unified community. But the Jewish writers were indifferent to the intellectual truth of monotheism. It was judged by its practical truth, by its services to religious development. It was not revealed by an external God to the human mind, nor were the sacred writers moved by an external God to commit to writing their sacred doctrines; it was inspired by the divine within them, which stimulated them to find an appropriate practical expression for its increasingly evolved forms. It is needless to observe that this theory is opposed to the teaching of the Councils; that it is incompatible with divine inspiration or divine authorship of the Sacred Scriptures.

Props. 11 and 12.—The eleventh proposition states that inspiration does not give absolute immunity from error to each and every part of Scripture; but we have seen that every part of Scripture is immune from error in the sense in which God inspired the sacred writers to write the different parts.

The twelfth proposition states that an exegete, to apply himself usefully to biblical studies, must set aside all his preconceived notions about the supernatural origin of Sacred Scripture, and interpret it as he would interpret any human document. But it is evident that a person can apply himself with advantage to his biblical studies

though he does not set aside his belief in the supernatural origin of Scripture. A person may not absolutely revoke his belief in its supernatural origin, nor admit a real doubt about. But a person may work at Scripture, as at theology, with a *dubium methodicum*; he may work at it as if he disbelieved for the moment its supernatural origin or considered it doubtful.

Prop. 13.—Parabolas evangelicas ipsimet Evangelistae ac christiani secundae et tertiae generationis artificiose digesserunt, atque ita rationem dederunt exigui fructus praedicationis Christi apud judaeos. The religious life, the divine immanent life, modernist writers tell us, reached the final term of its evolution in Jesus Christ. He was in that sense, and in that sense only, a God-Man, a divine person. Yet His life appeared to have been a failure. Hence the zeal of the sacred writers in devising theories, irrespective of their intellectual truth, which were thought to be practically true, which were considered useful for protecting the reputation of Jesus and for maintaining the fidelity of His followers notwithstanding the shock of His insuccess and of His ignominious death. They employed the parables for this purpose. The Abbé Loisy distinguishes three different stages in the redaction of the parables.¹ At first the parables had no obscurity and no special didactic significance; they were, perhaps, descriptions of some real historical event. Next we see the disciples busy at reading a mysterious significance into them with a view to explain the insuccess of Jesus in His preaching to the Jews. And, finally, they were used to express the reprobation of the Jews which had been foretold and the final definitive rupture between Christianity and Judaism. In all this there is not the slightest recognition of divine inspiration or of divine authorship. The parables according to this view are but theories invented by the Evangelists and Christians, devoid of historic and of didactic intellectual truth, and having only practical truth, in the sense that they are serviceable for rallying Christians to Christ, for stimulating them to live as if Christ were really and

¹ *Etudes évangéliques*, p. 76.

historically what the practical teaching of the Evangelists and the later Church represented Him to be.

Props. 14-18.—The Evangelists, we are told (14), have related not so much what was true, as what, though false, they believed to be useful to their readers. In other words they were solicitous, not about intellectual truth, but about practical truth. Divine revelation did not close with the death of the Apostles, we are told (15), but the Gospels continued to receive additions and corrections down to the completion of the canon, and there remains in them only a slight and uncertain vestige of the doctrine of Christ. This is in accordance with the theory that the life of religion is subject to the ordinary law of variation by natural selection, and that with the successive developments of the religious life there is a corresponding succession of dogmas, the antiquated being eliminated and succeeded by new practical and fruitful dogmas. The remaining propositions in this section deal with the Gospel of St. John. His narrations are not historical, we are told, his discourses are but theological meditations; he exaggerates miracles; he claims to be a witness of Christ but he is only a witness of Christian life, or of the life of Christ in the Church at the end of the first century. It is the same strain in all these propositions: that the fourth Gospel is not historical; that John was indifferent to the intellectual truth of his narrative; that the whole aim of his ideal or imaginary discourses was practical truth, to lead Christians to live as if Christ were God, as if He had arisen from the dead, etc.

Prop. 19.—*Heterodoxi exegetae fidelius expresserunt sensum verum Scripturarum quam exegetae Catholici.* This proposition might have been condemned for the injury it does to Catholic exegetes. Then the *heterodoxi exegetes* might be rationalists, or agnostics, or atheists. And even if there be question of believing Protestants we deny that, speaking generally of Scripture, they express the true sense of Scripture more faithfully than Catholic exegetes.

II.

The propositions dealing with revelation can be easily understood from our previous articles in this journal, and they do not require a lengthened explanation.

Prop. 20.—Revelatio nihil aliud esse potuit quam acquisita ab homine suae ad Deum relationis conscientia. This is how Loisy defines supernatural revelation. It is the same as consciousness of right and wrong, the preference of one line of action to another, etc.

Prop. 21.—Revelatio, objectum fidei Catholicae constituens, non fuit cum Apostolis completa. Revelation is sometimes taken by immanent writers to be the internal consciousness of right and wrong. Then the word 'right' gets a very extensive signification; it is taken to express civic duty in the widest sense, in the domain of the true, the good and the beautiful. Faith, corresponding to this conception of revelation, is the correspondence of the whole person, heart, will and affections, to the divine revelation within; and this revelation and faith are subject to continuous evolution. Sometimes again revelation is taken to mean the dogmas of religion, and faith is the acceptance of these dogmas, not in an intellectual but in a practical sense; and as we have seen these dogmas are understood to be only practically true, and that in relation to the present time, to be always liable to disappear, as useless, in the struggle for existence and to be succeeded by dogmatic formulæ more congenial to religious life in the altered conditions of science and civilization.

Prop. 22.—Dogmata quae Ecclesia perhibet tamquam revelata non sunt veritates e coelo delapsae, sed sunt interpretatio quaedam factorum religiosorum quam humana mens laborioso conatu sibi comparavit. The dogmas of religion have not, they say, been revealed by God to the human mind. If we refer them to the human *mind*, they represent the result of a philosophical study of religion, but they need not be accepted by religious men in this sense intellectually. When we refer them to our religious *feeling*, still they are the result and fruit of human effort, and they must be accepted, not as intellectually true, but as practical guides of life.

Props. 23, 24.—There can be opposition, we read, between the facts narrated in Scripture and the dogmas that are deduced from them, and a critic can reject as intellectually false what the Church believes to be most certain ; because, immanent writers would say, the Church believes them to be true only in a practical sense. Again an exegete, it is said, should not be condemned for laying down premisses from which it would follow that dogmatic truths are historically false or doubtful, provided that he does not directly deny these dogmas. This is a favourite device of immanent writers, to assail the foundations of Christianity while artfully avoiding a formal and explicit denial of any defined dogma.

Prop. 25—Assensus fidei ultimo innititur in congerie probabilitatum. If there is question of the motive of the assent of faith, it is the authority of God who revealed the truth to be believed ; and if there be question of the previous judgment of credibility, a probability of the existence of God and of the fact and truth of divine revelation is not sufficient.

Prop. 26.—Dogmata fidei retinenda sunt tantummodo juxta sensum practicum, idest tanquam norma preceptiva agendi, non vero tanquam norma credendi. This proposition requires no special explanation. It expresses the fundamental principle of Modernism or Immanence, according to which we may disregard the intellectual truth of the dogmas of faith, it being only necessary to believe them practically, by living as if they were really true.

It is obvious that the theory of Immanence differs radically from the theory of Father Lagrange ; for Father Lagrange advocates divine inspiration and divine authorship, while immanent writers admit neither inspiration nor authorship from a God, as they say, external to the writer. Finally we must insist that we value, no less than immanent writers, the practical value of Scripture and the Creeds ; but we believe them to be practically useful because we believe them first to be intellectually true.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

[To be continued.]

LORD ACTON'S LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY ¹

NO literary man in England occupied such a peculiar position during his own lifetime as did the late Lord Acton. Though he had published very little except an occasional article in some of the reviews, he was regarded by a large circle of admirers as a prodigy of ability, learning, and research. His gifts as a historian were beyond the powers of language to express, and as a lecturer and writer he was supposed to have no equal. His only fault, according to his friends, was his excessive shyness which prevented him from bestowing on the multitude the treasures which he dealt out so lavishly when surrounded by his friends.

Now, however, that Acton is gone, his admirers feel themselves at liberty to disregard his humility and his shrinking from publicity, and a general rush seems to have been made to secure the honour of being the first to open up to the gaze of an astonished world the inexhaustible treasures of the master's genius. In their eagerness it never seemed to have dawned upon his associates that the multitude, either through ignorance or inability to comprehend, might not value Acton in print by the same standard as his friends valued him in conversation or in the lecture room; and that instead of conferring a benefit upon mankind by the publication of his works they were destroying the reputation which their exaggerated praise had fictitiously created.

The present volume contains the Inaugural Lecture delivered by Lord Acton at Cambridge in 1905, as well as the course given by him in his capacity as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University from 1899 till 1901. The lectures are printed from the

¹ *Lectures on Modern History.* By the Late Baron Acton. Edited, with an Introduction, by John Neville Figgis, M.A., and Reginald Vere Laurence, M.A. Macmillan & Co., London, 1906.

manuscript prepared by the late professor who, unfortunately, was not spared to undertake the work of correction for the press. This is all the more to be regretted as most people outside the charmed circle of his acquaintances will be inclined to judge Acton's historical powers by the course of lectures now given to the public.

The editors are distinguished scholars, themselves not unknown in the department of historical research, and one of them, at least, a student under Acton at Cambridge. From men such as these people might reasonably expect first-class editorial work. They were experts, conversant to some extent with the subject, and anxious to present Acton in the best light. And yet the result of their labours is singularly disappointing. If, indeed, praising the author, whose book he undertakes to publish, were the sole duty of an editor, the editorial work as exhibited in the introduction to the present volume could hardly be improved upon, but if anything additional be required, the editors have failed to do their duty.

They assure us that Acton is to be rightfully regarded as 'a scholar amongst scholars' (page x.); that 'the present lectures will be a fitting memorial of Acton's greatness in the realms of his unchallenged pre-eminence' (page ix.); that to him 'history was a goddess not a play-thing' (page x.), 'the master of political wisdom, not a pursuit but a passion, not a mere instrument but a holy calling, not Clio so much as Rhadamanthus, the avenger of innocent blood' (page xv.). The denial that Acton was a historian indicates, according to his editors, a 'limited intellectual horizon' (page x.). They quote with approval a writer in the *Athenæum* who says of Acton :—

No glorified encyclopædia, no aggregate of unrelated facts confronted the enquirer who interrogated Lord Acton, but a soul in whom spoke, as it seemed, the wisdom of the ages, and from whose depths there issued the very oracles of history, shining with the light that comes of absolutely single love of truth penetrating even the gloom of the future by an illuminative knowledge of the past. To be with Acton was like being with the cultivated mind of Europe incarnate in its finest characteristics.

The editors assure us that Acton's 'criticisms of those who seemed to mistake rhetoric for knowledge were sometimes drastic and exercised a salutary influence' (page xiv.). It may be so, but if an enemy of Acton were to question his influence in this direction, he would find inexhaustible material in the editors' introduction and in the lectures themselves to strengthen his contention. The editors seem to have forgotten that according to Acton himself (page 28), 'praise is the shipwreck of historians,' though in that, as in the other respect, they were as true to him as he had been to himself.

In the first place, it might reasonably have been expected that the editors would have corrected the manifest literary and grammatical errors which confront the reader in every chapter, if not in every single page of the work. Even though they believed that Acton's utterances had been inspired they might have brought them into conformity with the rules of English prose without incurring the risk of serious desecration. Here are a few examples :—

(1) I desire to speak to you of that which I may reasonably call the Unity of Modern History, as an easy approach to questions *necessary* to be met on the threshold by anyone occupying my place (page 1).

(2) The election of Charles, in 1519, was a defiance of the balance of power, a *thing* [?] not to the taste of the Middle Ages, but becoming familiar in those days (page 47).

(3) The general purpose was to set up Plato in the place of Aristotle, discredited as an accomplice of the *obscurest* schoolmen (page 80).

(4) Founded on the ancient lines, the Spanish Inquisition was modified in the interest of the Crown, and became an important attribute of *absolution* (page 112).

(5) State absolutism was unlimited over all who chose to keep their home within the precincts (page 127).

(6) All the liberties, they said, that had come down from Clovis and more if possible [?] (page 166).

(7) The Edict of Restitution gave up the immediate purposes of the empire for those of the Church, and above all Protestant forces to unite in resistance to it (page 187).

(8) In 1643, when Richelieu was dead a *chance* of peace began (page 193).

(9) Our topic is, how absolute monarchy, which just then succeeded so brilliantly over the channel was attempted in England under conditions of no apparent danger, failed and failed at a great cost (page 205).

(10) . . . the lengthening shadow of the Spanish succession falls upon the scene, and occupies the last years *both* of William, of Leopold, and of Lewis (page 248).

(11) The independence of Spain, the unity of the Spanish Empire, *were* too grand a thing to be an item in the dowry of a bride.

These sentences taken at random are sufficient to indicate the utter want of care or skill displayed in the merely literary portion of the editorial work. But in addition to this the editors have incorporated into the text what must have been put down in Acton's MS. as marginal notes or catchwords to refresh the memory, and which as they stand are either unintelligible or convey a wrong meaning to the reader; they have never given a single reference to the authorities cited by Acton for his dogmatic utterances about the most debateable and most debated questions; they have allowed him, without note or comment, as we shall see, to contradict himself in different portions of the same volume; and finally, even obvious blunders have received no attention at their hands. These are serious charges which we hope to substantiate in our criticism of the course of lectures.

Passing from the mere editorial work to the lectures themselves, we cannot help admiring the courage displayed by Lord Acton in attempting to cover the whole period of modern history from the Renaissance to the Revolution in nineteen lectures. No man, however gifted, could have successfully accomplished such a task, whilst few who had any regard for their reputation as historians, would have displayed such a singular want of judgment as to have undertaken it. As a result of such a course most important portions of the history are either passed over in silence or but lightly touched upon. The summary judgments of the lecturer are substituted for the arguments upon which the student should develop his own opinions; vague generalities are given in place of facts; events

separated in some cases by centuries are joined together as if contemporaneous ; dates, names, and places are suppressed ; references to sources or literature are not forthcoming ; and as a result these lectures may have fallen pleasantly upon the ears of the Cambridge graduates, and as published may not be devoid of a certain literary charm, but they are not history.

They remind us at once of the eloquent and artificially balanced periods of Macaulay for whom Acton had such a reverence, and upon whose style he seems to have modelled his own. Indeed the lecturer does not conceal his admiration for Macaulay (pages 228, 231), and in reality, in spite of all the high sounding phrases about the necessity of research, Macaulay's history was the text upon which he seems to have mainly relied in his lecture on the English Revolution, just as Burke was his guide for the account of the American Revolution, and Paul Sarpi for the imaginary and discreditable narrative of the work of the Council of Trent. The man who relied for his history upon three such authors as Macaulay, Sarpi and Burke may have done excellent literary work, but he is not a model whom we should like to recommend to earnest students of history.

Before discussing particular points in the lectures it may be well to point out that not a single reference is given to the sources from which the lecturer professed to have drawn his information. Acton's dictum was supposed to be a sufficient motive of credibility. This might have been pardonable had Acton devoted his inaugural lecture to a general criticism of the sources and literature of his subject, but when we turned to the inaugural lecture we discovered that it was a rambling discourse on the study of history ; and though it is the only lecture which from its nature required no references, it is the only one in which the authorities are cited, and cited in such a way as to impress the readers with Acton's marvellous learning. The lecture itself occupies twenty-eight pages, the notes appended to it, devoted exclusively to quotations from different authors, occupy twenty-four pages, and the

number of books cited is well over 500. Thus, for example, in support of the proposition (page 21), 'It is they (men of science) who hold the secret of the mysterious property of the mind by which error ministers to truth, and truth slowly but irrevocably prevails,' we find cited no less than twenty-eight authors, English French and German! After such a display who will deny that Acton was a learned man?

Reading carefully through the lectures one could not help being struck by the abundance of superlatives, of unconditional general statements, and of cocksureness all of which qualities are so much out of harmony with the judicial characteristics of history. Thus we are assured by Acton that Julius II was 'the most famous pontiff who had appeared for centuries' (page 38); that 'Ferdinand of Aragon was the most politic and capable of European monarchs' (page 39); that 'Charles V was superior to all that Europe had beheld since Charlemagne' (page 50); that 'Lorenzo Valla was the strongest of the Humanists' (page 77); that 'the author of the *Imitation* was the greatest religious writer that ever lived' (page 83); that 'the overthrow of Richelieu's opponents by the men whom Erasmus called buffoons, was the most decisive demonstration of the powers of the press' (page 86); that 'Bucer was the ablest of the German reformers next to Luther' (page 99); that 'Luther's translation of the Bible was the work of the greatest master of German' (page 103); that the *Institute* of Calvin 'is the finest work of the Reformation' (page 131); that 'Sadolet was reputed to be the best Latinest of his age' (page 132); that 'Spain at the death of Philip II was the greatest empire in history' (page 170); 'that no such conflict has ever since occurred in Europe as that between Paul V and the Republic of Venice' (page 174); 'that Spain (in the time of Richelieu) was inseparably united to the Church and the declared enemy to the rest of Christendom' (page 178); that 'Ferdinand V reached a degree of power that Charles V never enjoyed' (page 187); that 'Moltke in one pitched battle, succeeding where Gustavus, Turenne, Frederic, even Napoleon failed,

overthrew forever the military power of Austria' (page 181); that 'Louis XIV was by far the ablest man who was born in modern times on the steps of a throne' (page 234); that 'Mazarin was the ablest and most successful of ministers' (page 235); that 'Malplaquet was the greatest battle fought in modern Europe before Napoleon' (page 261); that Peter the Great of 'Russia was one of the greatest men that have influenced the course of Christian history' (page 282); that Maria Theresa 'was much the best woman that has ever reigned' (page 291); that Catharine of Russia 'was one of the ablest and most successful rulers in modern times' (page 285); 'that Frederick the Great of Prussia was the most consummate practical genius that in modern times has inherited a throne' (page 290); that though 'William III, Louis XIV, Peter of Russia had been great, none had left on the world such an impression of his genius as did Frederick' (page 300); and that the War of American Independence 'was the greatest revolution that had ever broken out among civilized men.' Those are only a few of Acton's oracular utterances. They may, indeed, have impressed his friends, and his students in the Cambridge halls, but we doubt very much if they are calculated to raise his reputation as a professor of history

Like his patron, Macaulay, Lord Acton paid evidently more attention to grace of dictum than to research. For example, at page 121 we are informed that on account of the introduction of the Index, 'freedom of speech and sincerity of history were abolished for many years,' and yet on the same page, and for the same time, Lord Acton assures us that 'Baronius of the Oratory began the greatest history of the Church ever written' (page 121) Luther is declared 'to have been the one who did more than any single man to make modern history the development of revolution' (page 105), while in almost the next lecture Philip II is accused 'of having turned the Reformation into a revolution.' Constantinople fell, according to Acton, because the offers of help from the Western powers 'were conditional on the acceptance of the Florentine

decree' (page 34), while a few lines further down it is stated that 'the powers that held back were not restrained by dogmatic arguments only.' Louis XIV is pointed out (page 234) as 'by far the ablest man who was born in modern times on the steps of a throne,' while Frederick the great is characterized 'as the most consummate practical genius that in modern times has inherited a throne' (page 290). Surely the editors might easily have corrected such evident contradictions. Lord Acton might be excused even though his views of men and things changed between every single lecture, but on the publication of his work this disagreement with himself looks damaging.

Again in his anxiety to say striking things, Lord Acton was not always careful of his facts. Here are a few examples of statements any one of which could never have been made by the careful historian :—

(1) The Portuguese were the *first Europeans* to understand that the ocean is not a limit, but the universal waterway that unites mankind (page 52).

(2) What had been one hundred years before [Julius II] a *neglected provincial town* [Rome], became the centre of European civilization by the action of the Popes, and *principally* of *one ambitious Pope* (page 82).

(3) But it was Father Petavius who *first* described the *evolution of dogma*, and cast every system into the melting-pot of History.

(4) It [tyrannicide] *began* to be taught in the twelfth century (page 117).

(5) In the days when *celibacy was imposed under Gregory VII* (page 90).

(6) *Within a week of the first treaty of partitions*, Sir William Temple concluded the *Triple Alliance*.

(7) He [Pitt] armed *one hundred and forty-eight* ships of the line and fifty frigates with which he swept the Atlantic (page 295).

The limits of the present article do not permit us to treble these quotations as we might or to refute them at length. We can only set them down here 'as memorials of Acton in the realms of his unchallenged greatness.'

The period covered by Acton was interesting from the

point of view of religion, and knowing Acton's opinions from his letters we might be prepared to expect that he devotes a great deal of his attention to the religious struggle of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, most people will believe that he has devoted far too much attention to this branch of his subject, and that he has attributed much to the religious influences which should rightly have been laid at other doors. We did not expect that Acton as a Professor of Modern History at Cambridge should proclaim himself an apologist of the Catholic Church, or that he should paint all the bright side and say nothing of the shade. But we might well expect, even from a Catholic Lord, fair play. And we may at once say plainly that though we have followed the courses of history in the Reformation period by a Protestant divine, as well as those given by Jewish and Atheist professors, we have never heard or read a presentation of the history of the Reformation that from the position of lecturer and from his method of narrative was likely to prove more damaging to the Catholic Church than that given by Acton in the opening lectures of his course.

To come to particular instances, we find exhibited here, as we found in his letters, an inexplicable mania for accusing the Church, the Popes, the councils and the ecclesiastics generally of murder. Here are a few examples :—

(1) It [the Council of Trent] was to be an assembly from which they [the Protestants] were to be excluded, and their interests were to be debated and decided by men whose function it now avowedly was to take their lives (page 118).

(2) The Counter-Reformation touched high-water mark with the massacre of St. Bartholomew (page 122).

(3) The recovery [against Protestantism] was accomplished by violence, and was due to the advent of men who did not shrink from blood in place of the gracious idealists for whom Luther and Calvin were too strong (page 115).

(4) To arrest the Counter-Reformation policy and the ruin which it foretended to the Church in France, Guise fell upon a congregation of Protestants and mingled their blood with their sacrifices [?] This is the massacre of Vassy, which finished the wars of religion.

(5) Roman experts regard it as a distinctive mark of the new tribunal that it allowed culprits who could not be caught and punished in the proper way, to be killed without ceremony by anybody who met them. This practice was not unprecedented, but it had fallen into disuse during the profane Renaissance and its revival was a fortuitous event, for it prompted the frequent murders and massacres which stain the Counter-Reformation with crimes committed for the love of God (page 113).

(6) There were, of course, many in France who thought it possible to be a good Christian without being a professional murderer (page 163).

(7) As the clergy were subject to a power which had encouraged extermination . . . (page 164).

(8) It had taken thirty years of incessant bloodshed to extinguish the Counter-Reformation (page 194).

(9) The precedent of 1572 established the right of murder (page 198).

This list is far from exhaustive, but it is sufficient to give our readers an idea of Acton's qualities as a historian of the Reformation. We have only to add that according to the best modern historians of France (e.g., Lavissee, *Histoire de France VI.*) it is nowadays freely admitted that religion had little if anything to do with the massacre of St. Bartholomew or the affair of Vassy, but Acton knew better, and was resolved to give his Protestant audience at Cambridge the benefit of his knowledge.

We cannot follow Lord Acton at length through the Reformation period, but we shall content ourselves with giving a few extracts of the kind of stuff he gished up for his hearers :—

(1) Vasconellos, Bishop of Lamego, afterwards Archbishop of Lisbon, advised that he [Magellan] should be murdered (page 65).

(a) In 1505, Emmanuel of Portugal, inspired by the language of recent canonists addressed him [Julius II], 'Receive at last the entire globe thou who art our God' (page 81).

(3) A particular prayer repeated during forty days remitted one-seventh of the punishment, and on the fortieth the dead man would appear to his benefactor to thank him. All the benefits available to a pilgrim visiting Rome could be enjoyed at a distance by the purchase of an indulgence from the friars sent round to sell them (page 91).

(4) A Council which compelled the Emperor to burn a divine alive after giving him a safe conduct was in no good odour just then with Luther (page 100).

(5) The most eminent men of the Italian clergy were steering for Wittenberg, and taking Rome with them (page 110).

(6) Under the name of probabilism the majority [of the Jesuits] adopted a theory of morals that made salvation easy partly as confessors of the great, that they might retain their penitents; partly as subject to superiors, that they might not scruple to obey in dubious cases; and partly as defenders of the irrevocable past, that they might be lenient judges (page 117).

(7) A more persuasive means of expressing [?] opposition was money. When a divine appeared at Trent the legates or Visconti, the agent of the Cardinal-nephew, decided whether he was to receive payment for his prospective services. Even the Cardinal of Lorraine, the head of the Gallican party, and one of the first men in Europe, gave way for a considerable sum. *Father Paul, in a very famous work*, describes the Council [Trent] as a scene of intrigue in which the good intentions of virtuous prelates were thwarted by the artifices of Rome (page 119).

(8) [Clement VII] He did not turn a deaf ear. For several years he continued to suggest that Henry should marry Anne Boleyn, and renounce the quest of a divorce (page 140).

In conclusion we may add that we have perused this first volume of Acton's Lectures with the greatest pain. They are unworthy of any man claiming to be a historian, they are doubly unworthy of a Catholic professor, and they have been edited by men, who either did not understand or who neglected the first principles of editorial work.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

GENERAL NOTES

THE SHRINE OF ST. COLUMBANUS

THE list of subscriptions for the restoration of the Shrine of St. Columbanus at Bobbio, which is published in the opening pages of this number, shows the widespread interest that is taken in the project and the generosity of the response that has been made to the appeal of His Eminence Cardinal Logue. It is pleasant to see that the clergy of practically the whole Irish race scattered over the world are represented in this list, and it is hoped that many more will contribute to the pious and patriotic object for which it has been opened.

It may appear strange to many that so considerable a sum of money should be sent out of the country at the present time ; but in the interests of faith and piety such considerations will not have much weight. It has to be borne in mind that when the Church in Italy was rich and prosperous the Italian people erected over the tomb of our glorious saint and countryman a splendid basilica which it took nearly two centuries to build. That grand church, in Neogothic-Lombard style, was richly decorated with paintings and sculpture. The carved wood of its choir, resembling in many of its features a page of one of our old illuminated books, must of itself have cost a vast amount of labour and expense. Its wrought-iron gates and screens, its clusters of precious marbles, its reliquaries, its choir-books, its noble atrium with seven arches covered with an artistic network of tiles, to say nothing of its great nave, its aisles and side chapels, its lofty columns and broad vaulted roof testify to the honour in which the great saint was held in those ages of faith.

In the erection of that noble church Ireland had no part. Bobbio itself was too poor to erect it. It may be truly said that all Italy contributed to the work. Fourteen Benedictine monasteries imposed on themselves an annual tax for upwards of a hundred years to raise this church over the relics of Columbanus. They were the monasteries of St. Justina of Padua, St. Paul at Rome, St. Benedict of Mantua, St. Salvatore of Pavia, the Badia of Florence, San Georgio Maggiore of Venice, San Nicolo del Lido, St. Pietro di Perugia, S. Eufermia at Brescia, San Nazario di Verona, S. Maria di Praglia, S. Brocolo di Bologna, and San Pietro di Modena.¹

¹ See *Vita di Au Columbano Abbate*, by Antonio Gianelli, Bishop of Bobbio.

This certainly did not show indifference or neglect of the great patriarch-monk on the part of Catholic Italy. But, unfortunately, the spirit of faith is not to-day what it then was. The Benedictine monasteries have been plundered and for the most part suppressed. The monastery of Bobbio itself was sacked by the French in 1802, and the Church of St. Columbanus rifled of many of its treasures. The diocese of Bobbio is poor, yet it manages to keep the basilica in fairly decent condition. The relics of the saint are kept in the chapel of the crypt beneath the high altar of the church. It is a fine spacious chapel, much older than the church itself, and showing much more signs of decay. High up at either side one sees emerging from the walls pieces of masonry which indicate that something unusual is there. These are the *loculi* in which the remains of twenty-seven saints, successors of Columbanus, are preserved. Amongst these we find the names, registered in the archives, of Comgall and Cumian, and though many others bear Frankish, Teutonic, or Roman names, there is no doubt that several of them were Irishmen. For instance, in the charter by which Columbanus placed his monastery of Bobbio under the protection of the Holy See we find the signature, amongst others, 'Ego Domitialis, Humilis Diaconus, Scotto et Monachus.'

But the chief altar in the crypt contains the remains of St. Columbanus himself; and it must be said that this altar is altogether unworthy of the saint. Whatever it may have been originally, and there seems no doubt that it was once in keeping with the church itself, it is now a poor, tottering structure, composed of decayed wood and stucco, paltry and unstable. The first object of the subscription is to replace this altar, and erect one worthy of our great apostle. Then it will be necessary to secure and decorate the *loculi* of the other saints, who were our countrymen: and finally other sections of the chapel and shrine of the crypt will need some restoration and repairs. This, in order to be decently carried out, will require a much larger sum than has been yet obtained. The appeal now made by His Eminence will probably reach the hearts of many who will not grudge a trifle to such a pious and praiseworthy national purpose.

THE 'IRISH EDUCATIONAL REVIEW'

I HAVE had the pleasure of welcoming into existence during the past dozen years or more a large number of new periodicals and reviews. Some of them were weak from the beginning, and some have already succumbed in the struggle for existence.

A few have survived the ills to which infancy is heir, and are beginning to give the world the benefit of their sturdy lungs. If the charm of infancy is leaving them new graces and qualities are rapidly filling its place. They have, indeed, only one thing to fear; but in this climate it is a serious danger. I mean the *decline*. If they succeed in escaping that I may hope to have them still for a long time with me.

The most recent venture in the periodical press is the *Irish Educational Review*, which has a very fair complexion, and promises well. We are concerned so much in this country with educational questions that there ought to be a fairly prosperous future before this new organ. At all events it opens well. Its first notes are good. It deals with questions that need close attention and deals with them in a popular and attractive style.

The first article is written by the Bishop of Limerick, a man of penetrating vision, who sees things clearly and expresses them well. It is very fortunate that such a view of the case is put forward by somebody who can speak with authority. For my own part, I do my best to keep the I. E. RECORD clear of politics; but it is very well, in my opinion, that the political logic of our University grievance should be driven home where it is likely to be most effective. The writing of this article is not the smallest of the services the Bishop of Limerick has rendered in the discussion of the University question.

The survey of the Education of Girls under the Intermediate Act, by Dr. Isabella Mulvany, is admirable, as far as it goes. I only wish it could have gone a good deal farther, and given us an idea of the failure or success of this education to fit the girls it reaches for the work of life. Any education which does not do that is of doubtful value. To fit girls for the University is not much of an advantage, I fear, if the University-educated girls find no rational outlet for their acquirements, and fall back into the common ways of life, when the University honours have been won. It may be that there is an outlet for such acquirements. It may be that there is a much wider outlet than we think; and it may be that the education given helps in any sphere of life to raise the general standard of intelligence and culture. All that may be true; but it is a question on which some authentic information would be very valuable, and would perhaps do away with the impression pretty widely entertained that in the majority of cases such education only helps to make those who get it dissatisfied with their lot, and unfitted for their work when they return, as so many of them do, to the ordinary duties of their sex.

One of the most curious anomalies in this country of ano-

malies is to find the President of a college from which religion is officially excluded entering a plea in this review for the recognition of religion in our Primary schools. The position of the writer, however, detracts but little from the force of his argument. As to the necessity of an educated democracy all are agreed; and whatever may be the defects of educational boards controlling systems of education, and selected specially *ad hoc*, I think they fulfil their purpose better than if they were liable to be interfered with at every turn by a minister and the busy-bodies who set him in motion.

Mgr. O'Riordan discusses some aspects of Primary education, and amongst other antagonists rolls over 'Sacerdos D.D.' and his 'adjectival boulders.' I should have liked to see him grapple more fully with the argument of this particular 'Sacerdos,' whoever he may be. The argument is based on a fallacy which could be easily exploded, and leave its author much in the position of a man who was meddling with the mechanism of a complicated but dangerous machine, and was himself blown up.

Very valuable notes are contributed by the Editor, Father Andrew Murphy, of Limerick, who is to be congratulated on the great success of his first number.

THE 'UNIVERS'

FOR many years the *Univers* has been recognized as the leading Catholic organ in France. It is the newspaper which circulates most widely amongst the French clergy, and devotes most attention to the ecclesiastical affairs of France and of the world. Founded by Louis Veuillot, it made its mark because of the man who spoke through it. On the death of that great journalist, some twenty-five years ago, his brother Eugène took up the management of the paper, and a very clear, able, and incisive writer he was. Eugène died at an advanced age, leaving the great journal to his two sons, Pierre and François. The death of Pierre in the course of last year leaves François Veuillot now the sole director of the great organ hitherto edited and managed by the members of his family.

A short time ago I had the honour of receiving a letter from M. François Veuillot, telling me that he was well aware of the necessity, in these days of journalistic competition, of giving a new impetus and extension to the work of the *Univers*, and asking me to bring this interesting project of his under the notice of the Irish clergy. I now gladly comply with his request. He says:—

'Les événements qui se passent dans notre pays et au sujet

desquels les Catholiques d'Irlande ont fait des manifestations qui ont vraiment touché les Catholiques français nous engageant à donner à *L'Univers* une valeur encore plus forte et une plus vaste extension. Il est nécessaire de faire de ce journal une arme très parfaite et, pour nos prêtres et nos Catholiques militants, un organe de haute information et de science religieuse très-sure et très-substantielle. Nous poursuivons ce but avec l'appui du Souverain Pontife et de l'Episcopat.'

As a result of this new enterprise we may expect to find the *Univers* greatly improved and extended, and far more valuable as an organ of Catholic life and opinion than it has been for some time.

It will be remembered that when the late Pope Leo XIII directed the French Catholics to cease all opposition to the Republican form of government, M. Eugène Veuillot was one of the first to support the Papal policy. Several of his colleagues, however, seceded from the newspaper, and founded an organ of their own, *La Vérité Française*, in which they continued to support the old monarchist policy of the *Univers*. At their head was M. Auguste Roussel, one of the ablest and most respected journalists in France; and amongst them was an old and faithful friend of Ireland, M. Nemours Godré. Now these gentlemen have abandoned their monarchist organ and returned to the fold of the *Univers*. This will undoubtedly be a source of strength to the great Catholic journal: but much more than that will be needed; and it is with sincere pleasure we see that M. François Veuillot has realized the necessities of the time and resolved to rise to the occasion.

The journal is sure to be patronized by many Irish priests, if, besides valuable articles on doctrinal and polemical subjects, it gives authentic and interesting news, first of all regarding the Church in France, and then as far as possible regarding Rome and other countries. At all events it may be taken for granted that the *Univers* is and will be the most authentic exponent in the Press of Catholic interests in France, and that with its new staff of writers and correspondents, at home and abroad, it will be worthy of the cause it defends, thoroughly efficient and up to date, and by far the most suitable organ of French opinion for the clergy to patronize. Those who have proved themselves in times of trial and stress staunch and faithful supporters of the Church, and loyal defenders of its interests, deserve support in their turn, and I have no doubt that M. Veuillot and his colleagues will get it from the Irish clergy whenever the opportunity offers.

THE 'SCHELL MONUMENT' IN GERMANY

DURING the course of last century many errors and heresies were rife in the German Universities. Josephism ruled in Freiburg, Hermesianism at Bonn, Febronianism at Vienna, Guntherism at Breslau, Froschammerism and Old Catholicism at Munich, Rationalism at Tübingen. On the whole Würzburg escaped more safely than the others, and in the middle of the century its Faculty of Theology held two of the ablest and most learned men in Germany, Hergenroether and Hettinger. Hergenroether became a Cardinal, and went to reside in Rome. Hettinger remained and helped to carry out considerable reforms in the University, and in his own Faculty. He had his heart set upon getting established a chair of Apologetics, and finally succeeded; but did not succeed in getting it filled as he desired. The professor appointed by the liberal Government of Bavaria was Dr. Hermann Schell, a brilliant but unsteady genius, who managed to keep the University and the Faculty in trouble during the remainder of his life. When Hettinger, then an old man, heard of Schell's appointment, he regretted almost the erection of the chair, and sadly remarked, 'Es wird Abend werden!' the German of *Advesperascit*.

Schell had studied in Würzburg in his young days, and had spent some years in Rome. From an early stage in his career he became very intimate with the apostate Brentano, a priest who had left the Church, got married, and settled in Vienna. He was, however, a man of great force and charm of character, and won the hearts of his students by his sympathy and kindness. He was, moreover, very liberal in his views. Four volumes of his on Dogmatic Theology (*Katholische Dogmatik*) were put on the Index, and two other works, *Die Göttliche Wahrheit des Christentums* and *Katholicismus als Princip der Fortschritte* ('Catholicism as the Principle of Progress').

In the latter work he praised Protestantism highly, and made little of Catholicism, except in so far as it was liberal and progressive. French Catholicism for him was decadent, and German Catholicism not much better, unless it was illuminated by the University. In a pamphlet entitled *Alte und Neue Glaube* he defended his doctrines with acrimony. Several of his students informed their Bishop before their ordination that they no longer believed in the eternity of punishment, and were with difficulty got to sign a qualified admission of it.

When all his works were condemned by the Holy See, Dr. Schell quietly submitted, and made no further noise, till his death, a short time ago.

Schell was a man who, apart from his doctrines, was universally liked and admired. He had magnetism in his character, and exercised a great charm on all who came under his influence. Last summer a committee was formed to erect a monument to his memory; but attractive though his personality was it was believed that many persons supported the project from admiration of the doctrines rather than of the man. This was the view of Dr. Ernest Commer, who had been at one time an intimate friend of Schell's, and is now a distinguished member of the Faculty of Theology in Vienna. Commer wrote an article denouncing the project as a reproach of the Holy See. Dr. Commer was denounced as a narrow-minded bigot and treacherous friend by several members of the Committee, on which, by the way, there were two Bishops. But they reckoned without Pope Pius X, who wrote a warm letter of approval to Dr. Commer. The Bishops now quietly dropped out of the Committee, and several of its members proceeded to explain that it was the man they intended to honour, not the doctrines.

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY

THE Conference of the Irish Catholic Truth Society this year was a great success, and the address of Sir William Butler gave it a peculiar interest. The meetings were on the whole well attended; but many people remarked the almost complete absence of the working-man element, even from the opening session in the evening. This is certainly unfortunate. One of the fine things noticed about Catholic meetings of the kind in Germany and Belgium is the presence at them of representatives of all classes and of all grades of the Catholic Christian family. No doubt the hall has to be paid for, and this necessitates an entrance charge which is probably too high for those representatives of the working-class who might otherwise wish to attend. It is surely better to reduce the entrance charge for a certain class of people than to leave a number of empty seats in front of the orator.

As for the work of the Catholic Truth Society, there is no doubt that, within its very circumscribed limits, it has been carried on successfully; and if it had done nothing but establish the annual Conference it would have rendered no small service to the Catholic public. But it has disseminated an enormous number of useful booklets throughout the country. It has brought into thousands of homes cheap and wholesome literature,

which is sure sooner or later to produce fruitful results. This is a holy and patriotic task for which it deserves the thanks of the entire Catholic body.

But, then, it must be said that there is a vast field still outside its influence, which it was expected in due time to reach. So far it has not reached it, and it looks as if it did not thoroughly realize what was expected of it in that direction.

What awakened enthusiasm about the Society in the beginning was the hope that it would do something effective to stem the tide of abomination that comes in to us from beyond the Channel, and help to supply its place with something wholesome as well as attractive. Now the houses to which our booklets are taken from the boxes at the church doors are certainly not those which were tainted to any great degree by this corruption. The trade in foreign stuff of the most pernicious kind goes on apace, and little or nothing is done to counteract it.

What, for instance, is done to counteract the sixpenny novelettes and the shilling sensational stories, cleverly written, which reek with calumnies about Jesuits, priests, bishops, Popes and Catholics of every degree? What is done to reach the young man who is beginning to regale himself on Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe*, on Renan's *Autobiography*, on Herbert Spencer's *Philosophy*, on Huxley's *Lay Sermons*, on Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, on the popular *Essays* of W. H. Mallock, on *The New Religion* of Mr. R. J. Campbell, on the Socialist works of Karl Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Bernstein, Belfort Bax, Schaeffle, Sydney Webb, and Ramsay Macdonald? All these are now to be found in free libraries all over the country. What organized effort is made to supply the antidote? Is it to be supposed that it is done through the boxes in the churches, by the pamphlets of Miss Grace Christmas and the *Santa Croce of Ireland*?

Then there is over a million of our countrymen who are outside the Church. Will they come to the boxes at our church doors to buy our penny pamphlets? And yet they were surely in the minds of those who started a Catholic Truth Society in Ireland.

What progress again has been made in providing for the wishes of the vast numbers of men, women, and children, who are interested in the Irish language and its revival? Here is a field that it is folly to neglect, and which, if not neglected, has certainly, from whatsoever cause, been only very poorly tilled. And yet there is hardly any other that gives promise of a better harvest.

Now, I should be the last to blame the managing committee

of the Catholic Truth Society, of which I have the honour to be a member, for all this. They have worked under great difficulties and have had great success in the branch of work to which they have applied themselves ; but the country has not supported them as it should, and I hope will. Nothing of importance can be done without capital, and the capital of the Society has been never such as to enable it to do its work fully. And yet I cannot help feeling that the capital could be got if it were sought for in the proper way. It is impossible that mistakes should not occur, but I am confident that all will come right in due time. There is one thing, however, that seems plain. In order to win the confidence and support of the public, the managers must come out of their hiding places ; they must dare to show their face where it can be seen ; they must show that they have no limited or paltry conception of their duties, and that they are determined to fulfil them with efficiency, cordiality, and despatch. They must show confidence in their supporters and not believe that they are going to be left in the lurch by the country if they adopt an enterprising policy in a good cause.

Look at the German Catholics, how scientifically, methodically and spiritedly they work ! They have, first of all, the 'Goerres-Gesellschaft,' which labours for the intellectual classes. Then they have, amongst other societies for the diffusion of Catholic literature, the 'Borromaeus Verein,' with upwards of 2,700 branch libraries all over the country, and 137,000 members ; availing themselves, moreover, of the missionary congregations for the spread of their books, periodicals, almanacs, etc. They have the 'Augustinus-Verein' for the expansion of the Catholic press. This was not enough, however, and in 1905 they established at Treves their 'Colportage-Verein,' which has now upwards of 200 agents purveying good books in different centres.

These organizations do not compete with the Catholic publishing or bookselling trade. They take a good book wherever they can find it, and push it where it is most needed. This, far from proving injurious either to authors or the trade, has proved most advantageous to both. How the pushing of a good book by the Catholic Truth Society can prove injurious to the trade, provided it is purchased from the trade, is more than I can make out. Yet there are people who think that the trade would be ruined if good books were taken from it, and pushed with an organized effort through the country. We, the members of the Catholic Truth Society, have nothing to do with trade unless in so far as it is necessary for our propaganda ; but we have

very much to do with the diffusion of Catholic truth ; and whether the book that expounds true doctrine happens to bear the Society's stamp or not is a matter of very secondary importance.

For my part, I look with far more confidence to good results in this department of the Society's work from the pushing of books secured from the trade than from those bearing the Society's stamp. For besides the consideration that at the present rate of progress it will take the Society upwards of fifty years to have any useful or effective supply of books of their own of the more expensive kind, the class of people whom we desire to reach very often object to be taken under the protection of any society, and prefer to get their information through the usual channels. The whole thing is to have a skilful agent who knows how to display the book and get it bought and read.

It may be taken for granted, therefore, that if any seriously organized effort is to be made to cope with the daily increasing evils of bad literature, no longer confined, I am sorry to say, to importations from England, or to the productions of non-Catholics at home, some new departure is urgent. If the faith of our people is to be protected against the attacks of infidels and atheists ; if licence is not to have a free rein, and reviling to go unchecked ; if we are to do nothing but talk and hold annual meetings, and denounce the evil, we shall certainly have fallen far short of our mission and far behind our more zealous brethren in other lands. If the Catholic Truth Society will insist on shutting itself off in a back street where the priests and laymen who come up for a few days from the country have the greatest difficulty in finding their offices ; if they fail to show some adequate conception of the magnitude of the task before them ; and if the liability for the payment of one pound in case the Society is wound up terrifies them to such a degree as to frighten all spirit of enterprise out of them, then they will be left to wither and fade in their back streets ; but if they come out boldly and get into touch with the people who need their help and if they show that they realize the variety and the urgency of the responsibilities they have undertaken, the country will stand by them and give them whatever assistance is required.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MIXED MARRIAGES AND CLANDESTINITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly allow me to call your attention to what seems to be a wrong translation and interpretation of a section of the decree *Ne temere*, in the October number of the I. E. RECORD. I refer to the following statements in the article on Clandestinity, 'Notes and Queries,' page 382 :—

'This law, together with the limitations laid down by the decree, affects . . . also marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics, unless in its wisdom the Holy See sees fit to make exceptions for any particular place or region. . . . It will be seen from this that a great change has been brought about in this country in reference to mixed marriages. Hitherto such marriages were valid even though they were not celebrated in the presence of the parish priest, but after next Easter the presence of the parish priest will be necessary for their validity.'

The words of the decree are : 'Vigent quoque pro eisdem de quibus supra catholicis si cum acatholicis . . . matrimonium contrahunt ; nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum.' Now, *sit statutum* does not refer to the future, and the last part of the passage is not correctly translated by 'unless the Holy See *sees fit to make* exceptions for any particular place or region.' The true meaning of the phrase seems to be : 'unless a decree to a different effect *has been made* by the Holy See for some particular place or region.' And such a decree has been made for Ireland. Lehmkuhl says : 'Quoad matrimonia mixta, regiones, pro quibus *dispensatum* est, sunt ; I. Hibernia—Pius VI, 3 Maji, 1785. . . .' And other theologians speaking of this concession say that it is not merely a declaration made after considering the facts of the case, such as was made in the case of Holland, but that it is a dispensation or a *vera derogatio* from the law of the Council of Trent. Therefore, we may safely say : 'Aliter a S. Sede est statutum pro Hibernia,' and that in Ireland mixed marriages, as heretofore, will not be invalid from the mere fact that they are not contracted before the parish priest. The decree of Pius VI, it would seem, is to be found in P. Perrone (*De Matrim.*, lib. 2, sect. 1, cap. 6, art. 4), and its publication in the I. E. RECORD would be of interest at present.—Respectfully yours,

C. J.

I beg to thank my correspondent for his timely letter, which gives me an opportunity of explaining the reasons for my opinion that in Ireland clandestine mixed marriages in the future will be invalid.

I. The first question for discussion in this connexion is whether the clause 'nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum,' points to past or to future concessions of the Holy See. It is necessary to remember that the new legislation, not only radically changes the general law of the Church on the celebration of marriage, but also contains a clause abolishing opposing customs or privileges: 'Contrariis quibusbet etiam peculiari mentione dignis minime obstantibus.' Unless the decree *Ne temere* clearly states that a particular custom or privilege is not abrogated, it must be considered as abolished by this abrogating clause. Does, then, the phrase, 'nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum,' imply that the old state of affairs in Ireland in regard to the celebration of mixed marriages remains unchanged? Or does it rather refer to exemptions which the Holy See may think it right to grant in the future to any particular place or nation?

The whole text referring to mixed marriages is the following: 'Vigent quoque [statutae superius leges] pro iisdem de quibus supra Catholicis, si cum a Catholicis sive baptizatis sive non baptizatis, etiam post obtentam dispensationem ab impedimento mixtæ religionis vel disparitatis cultus, sponsalia vel matrimonium contrahunt; nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum.' The Latin construction indicted by the words: '*Vigent . . . contrahunt . . . sit statutum*' implies merely that the exemption must be granted prior to the celebration of marriage. If there were question of a concession granted before the enactment of the new law, it is not '*sit statutum*,' but some such phrase as '*jam statutum est*' that would be employed. I cannot, therefore, regard 'unless a decree to a different effect *has been made* by the Holy See for some particular place or region' as a satisfactory translation of 'nisi pro aliquo particulari loco

aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum'; for '*has been made*' substitute '*should be made*' or '*be made*' and you have a correct version.

In confirmation of this opinion the proposal of the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Council might be quoted. His scheme, which was finally adopted with apparently only verbal changes, was as follows: '*Leges superius statutae valent generatim etiam pro matrimoniis mixtis, quae a parte Catholica cum acatholica contrahuntur sive cum dispensatione ab impedimento disparitatis cultus aut mixtae religionis, sive non; nisi aliter pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione a legitima auctoritate fuerit cautum.*' The terminology shows clearly what the Secretary's proposal meant, and the emendations made were not sufficient substantially to change the sense of the proposed text as I have been assured by some very competent classical authorities.

Again, what would be the meaning of an old exemption when transferred to the new law? Would clandestine mixed *sponsalia* be valid or invalid? There was no decree granting any exemption in regard to *sponsalia*, because no such exemption was needed; any exemptions which existed referred solely to the celebration of marriages. If, then, clandestine mixed marriages are valid by reason of an old concession, are clandestine mixed *sponsalia* valid too? Again, mixed marriages of the past under some important aspects differ from mixed marriages of the future, since the marriage of a Catholic with a pervert used to be a mixed marriage, though it is not regarded as mixed in the sense of the decree *Ne temere*, as is clear from the text: '*Statutis superius legibus tenentur omnes in Catholica ecclesia baptizati et ad eam ex haeresi aut schismate conversi (licet sive hi, sive illi ab eadem postea defecerint), quoties inter se sponsalia vel matrimonium ineant.*' Difficulties and changes of this kind give a strong presumption that, having made a radical change in the law of clandestinity, the Holy See abolished old exemptions with the intention of granting new concessions which would fit in with the recent legislation.

II. If, however, it were true that the phrase ' nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum ' referred to past exemptions, a further question would arise as to whether any exemption, within the meaning of the text, was ever made for Ireland. From the time of Elizabeth the law of clandestinity was in force in the province of Armagh (except Meath), and in the province of Tuam (except Galway). In 1775, the decree *Tametsi* was published for the province of Cashel; and in 1827 for the province of Dublin, and the dioceses of Meath and Galway. In 1795, Pius VI¹ decreed that clandestine mixed marriages, contracted or to be contracted, were to be held as valid in Ireland, except there happened to be some diriment impediment apart from clandestinity. That rescript applied only to the dioceses in which the decree *Tametsi* had been promulgated before 1795; a similar reply of the Holy Office, sent to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1887, made the same teaching clear for all the dioceses of Ireland. Though many theologians consider the declaration of Pius to have been a dispensation or derogation from the Tridentine law, others, not unreasonably, regard it as a mere authentic declaration which gave no new exemption or privilege. Since Pius VI stated that marriages already contracted were to be regarded as valid, they conclude that the decision of Pius was equivalent to a declaration that the law of Trent was not promulgated in Ireland for Protestants marrying *inter se* or marrying Catholics. And in confirmation of this opinion they point to the similar reply of 1887 which affected clandestine mixed marriages celebrated in dioceses in which Protestants had their own organization, their own churches, and their own ministers of religion when the decree *Tametsi* was promulgated.

If the decrees of Pius VI and Leo XIII turned out to

¹ ' Però il papa Pio VI, con rescritto della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, dato il 19 Marzo del 1795 decretava: "*Matrimonia mixta in Hibernia contracta et contrahenda non servata forma C. T. in iis locis in quibus sive Concilium Tridentinum, sive etiam eius decretum, Sess. xxiv., c. 1, de Ref. matri., forsitan fuit promulgatum, alio non concurrente canonico impedimento, quamvis illicita, habenda tamen esse ut valida, idque significandum Archiepiscopis et Episcopis.*" —Giobbio, *Lezioni di Diplomatia Ecclesiastica*, vol. iii., n. 346.

be a mere declaration that the law of clandestinity was not promulgated in Ireland for Protestants marrying *inter se* or marrying Catholics, then the further question would arise whether such a declaration would be sufficient to verify the phrase, 'nisi pro aliquo particulari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit *statutum*.' A decree granting a true dispensation would certainly verify the phrase; but a mere declaration that made no change in the pre-existing state of affairs, is an entirely different act, and many naturally would be disposed to think that it could not be taken as coming under the exemption mentioned by the decree *Ne temere*.

For the present it is sufficient to indicate these difficult questions, relative to Ireland, which would arise, if it were decided that the conditional clause of the decree referred to past concessions. In the meanwhile, I wish it clearly to be understood that the opinion to which I have given expression has no authority beyond that which the arguments produced in its favour merit. These arguments seem to prove that until a decision to the contrary be given by the Holy See it is not safe to look on clandestine mixed marriages in Ireland as valid once the new legislation comes into force. It is more than likely that a decision, one way or the other, will be given before next Easter when the new decree will begin to bind.

QUASI-DOMICILE

In the last number of the I. E. RECORD I discussed a very practical question concerning the legislation of the decree *Ne temere* on the constituents of a quasi-domicile in regard to marriage. In future a parish priest can *validly* assist at Catholic marriages which are celebrated within the limits of his parish, whether the contracting parties are his subjects or not; but he can *lawfully* assist at the marriage only of subjects, unless he obtains the permission of the *proprius parochus* of the parties, from which, however, grave necessity excuses. Now, who are his subjects according to the new law? Of course *vagi* are his subjects whilst they remain in his parish; so also

are all Catholics who have a domicile in his parish; and so, too, are Catholics who have resided in the parish during the previous month, residence during a month being recognized by the decree as sufficient to constitute a quasi-domicile. As for those who, having an intention of remaining for six months, and having taken up actual residence, have not yet spent a month in the parish, I maintained that they are not subjects of the parish priest of the place *in ordine ad matrimonium*. The accuracy of this view of the case has been made *certain* by the opinion of the Consultor of the Sacred Congregation, whose proposal was adopted. Discussing the meaning of his proposal he expressly states that it abolishes the old idea of a quasi-domicile. His words are the following: 'Quaerat forte quis; actum ergo erit de quasi-domicilio? Non est hic locus disputandi utrum illud in aliis juris provinciis servare expediat: at *evidens est* in reformatione, quam proponimus, quasi-domicilium rem esse supervacaneam prorsus.'¹

THE USE OF MARGARINE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Does paragraph I, page 10, *Appendix Synodi Plenariae Maynutianae*, A.D. MDCCCC, mean that we in Ireland can use 'Margarina per modum cibi et condimenti,' on the three black fast days? What is meant by 'Margarina'?—Respectfully yours,

P.P.

The decree to which my correspondent refers is the following:—

Huic Supremae Congregationi S. R. et U. Inquisitionis propositum fuit enodandum sequens dubium:

An liceat uti margarina per modum cibi aut condimenti illis diebus, quibus usus carnum aut adipis ex carne illicitus est, licito manente usu butyri?

Porro in Congregatione Generali ab Em̃is et Rm̃is D.D. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita . . . EE. et RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Affirmative; facto verbo cum SSmo.

Die 7 ejusdem mensis (Sept., 1899) SSms resolutionem confirmavit.

¹ Cf. Acta S. Sedis, 15th Sept., 1907, p. 537.

From the phrase *licito manente usu butyri*, it is clear that the concession does not apply to black fast days, since the use of butter is not allowed on these days.

Margarine, known also as oleo-margarine and butterine, is made from the finest ox-fat, which is passed through an elaborate and highly scientific process of purification. It is then mixed with a varying proportion of real butter, flavoured by washing with milk, and marketed in a beautifully uniform condition. It is extremely difficult to distinguish it when well made from real butter, the main difference between the two being that in butter there is a relatively large percentage of soluble and volatile fatty acids, but in margarine these are practically absent. Margarine was first manufactured in 1870, in France, by its inventor Mège-Mouriès.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

FORMULA OF OATH FOR AN INCARDINATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am frequently called upon to administer an oath to students who are to be incorporated to a new diocese, in order to comply with the requirements of recent ecclesiastical legislation on this point; but I have failed to find a satisfactory formula in the canonical works at my disposal. Will you kindly suggest a formula for that purpose? I am sure many superiors of ecclesiastical colleges will be grateful to you for it.

M. N.

Writing in the pages of this journal¹ a few months ago about incardination of laymen to a new diocese we had the opportunity of explaining the oath which, according to the decree of the Congregation of the Council, 24th November, 1906, is required on such an occasion; and, moreover, we noticed that some diversity of opinion

¹ Cf. I. E. RECORD, April, 1907, p. 398.

exists amongst experts as to the lawfulness of the administration of an oath by private persons ; for there seems to be a rather general impression that by the civil law of this country it would be a criminal offence if a private and unauthorized person or an ecclesiastical superior administered an oath even though its administration be required by ecclesiastical legislation. But common as this impression is, it seems to have no real foundation in the English law. In fact, it is contended that the well-known Unlawful Oaths Acts, which forbid the administration of certain and well-defined classes of oaths, do not concern matters under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that the celebrated prohibitive statute of William IV, which we quoted elsewhere, does not regard the administration of an oath by ecclesiastical superiors for purely ecclesiastical and spiritual purposes ; so that no restriction is imposed, on that account, by the law of England upon the free exercise of ecclesiastical administration and jurisdiction.

We have now been assured of the correctness of the legal aspect of this question by some eminent persons on whom we confidently rely, and who, no doubt, took the best means within their reach to have its accuracy certified by some highly competent authority. But whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the merits of this question in general, there seems to be no room for doubt that the administering of an oath by ecclesiastical superiors is not forbidden in the particular case that such an oath be required in order to complete an incardination to a foreign diocese, as is often the case with students who are to be ordained for foreign missions. The last sentence of William's Statute seems to give countenance to this view. It is certain, however, that although such a prohibitive law may exist in theory, in practice it has never been enforced, and ecclesiastical superiors have always administered oaths on public and private occasions without the slightest apprehension of transgressing any law ; and there is, therefore, no reason for discontinuing such a practice, and for the omission of an oath in order to complete an incardination.

On the other hand we are at one with our correspondent that it is extremely hard to secure a satisfactory formula for that purpose. Both old and recent works dealing with this subject do not usually assign any formula of oath, and if some of them are found in the well known collection of formulæ, they are rather antiquated, or defective in many points, and certainly do not answer the requirements of the present ecclesiastical legislation. For those reasons, therefore, we gladly comply with our correspondent's request, and suggest a formula for the oath to be taken on the occasion of an incardination to a new diocese, embodying the conditions demanded by the new law.

Be it remembered, however, that this oath widely differs from that which is used by those who are ordained *titulo missionis*, the formula of which is officially set forth in a decree dealing with this subject and issued by Propaganda the 27th of April, 1871.¹ The first oath, in fact, is to be taken only by those who are going to relinquish their native diocese in order to be incorporated to a new one, and make the incardinating bishop competent to confer on them sacred orders without the necessity for the candidates to acquire, in the new locality, the domicile prescribed by Innocent XII in the Bull *Speculatores*; while the second is intended for all those who are ordained *titulo missionis*, it being quite immaterial whether they remain in their native place or are incorporated to a new diocese. The former oath and the consequent incardination do not impose more strict obligations than those already in existence for the other subjects of the diocesan superior, so that an incardinated subject may, after his incardination, leave the diocese and join a religious order or congregation; whereas the latter has the nature of a special contract; thus obliging clerics ordained *titulo missionis* to remain in their own diocese and not to abandon it, either for the purpose of joining a religious order or of being incorporated in a new diocese,² without the permission of the Holy See. The decree of Propaganda,

¹ Cf. Collect. S. Congr. de Prop. Fide, vol. ii., p. 47.

² Smith, vol. i. no. 589.

already mentioned, states : 'Eis qui hoc titulo (missionis) sunt ordinati, vi praestiti iuramenti interdicitur in religionem ingredi absque venia S. Sedis.'¹ Here is the formula :—

FORMULA IURAMENTI AB IIS PRAESTANDI QUI NOVAE DIOECESI INCARDINANTUR.

Ego N. N. dioecesis N. spondeo et iuro me Ill^mum et Rev^mum D. N. N. antistitem dioecesis N. post meam in eius dioecesim adscriptionem ut superiorem meum ecclesiasticum agniturum et retenturum, ipsique atque eius in officio successoribus omnimodam obedientiam et reverentiam praestiturum.

Promitto pariter et iuro me per totum vitae cursum sub eius iurisdictione permansurum, meamque operam sub eius directione in dioecesis servitio pro viribus impensurum.

Item voveo et iuro me praefatas libere susceptas, pleneque intellectas obligationes in posterum rite servaturum. Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei Evangelia.

WHETHER IRISH PARISHES OCCUPIED BY APOSTOLIC PROTONOTARIES ARE RESERVED TO THE HOLY SEE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the *Motu Proprio*, 'De Protonotariis,' etc., issued in February, 1905, we find the following : 'Beneficia illorum qui tali titulo et honore (i.e. Protonotarii ad instar) fruuntur, tamquam persona privata, non poterunt nisi ab Apostolica Sede conferri.' And a similar statement is made regarding Titular Protonotaries. Does this apply to Irish parishes which have been occupied by Monsignors of the above classes ? Is the appointment of their successors reserved to the Holy See ?

SACERDOS.

It is a certain canonical doctrine that ecclesiastical benefices held by Apostolic Protonotaries are reserved to the Holy See, and when they fall vacant the appointment to those benefices must be made by the Pope. This theory, however, is true only in the case that benefices have been occupied by Apostolic Protonotaries who were raised to that dignity as private persons and not *ratione officii*,

¹ Cf. Decr. S. Congr. de Prop. Fide, 27 April, 1871 ; February, 1873, ad 5.

for instance, as Vicars-General or Capitular. This appears from the Const. of Benedict XII, *Ad regimen*,¹ from the first of the rules of the Apostolic Chancery, rules chiefly regarding reserved benefices, compiled by order of John XXII, and subsequently perfected by several Popes, and especially by Nicholas V.

The same canonical disposition has been recently confirmed by Pius X in the *Motu Proprio, Inter Multiplices*, and it has always been held and taught by old and modern canonists.² Dr. P. Piacenza, for instance, himself a Participant Apostolic Protonotary in Curia, one of the best authorities in this matter, who has been connected with the Congregation of Rites for a long span of years, commenting on the above mentioned *Motu Proprio*, writes:—

Ex Regulis Cancellariae Apostolicae I et IV beneficia eorum qui de familia sunt Romani Pontificis uti Protonotarii, etc., reservata manent Summo Pontifici. Ideo, beneficia illius qui honore Protonotariatus gaudet personaliter, non vero quia alicui Capitulo adscriptus, eo ipso affecta dicuntur et dum vacant nonnisi ab Apostolica Sede conferri possunt.³

Now the question arises, whether this law of reservation to the Holy See of benefices held by Protonotaries applies to the parochial benefices, and especially to the Irish parishes occupied, sometimes, by prelates of that class. The solution of this question depends on the other, whether the reservation under notice applies to all benefices without distinction, and whether Irish parishes answer the conditions required for such a reservation? First of all, it is not quite evident whether any law of reservation in general, and the rules of the Apostolic Chancery in particular, are in force at present in Ireland. Canonists commonly hold that these rules and reservations may fall into desuetude, totally or otherwise, according to different circumstances and places; so that, they tell us, reservations of that sort do not exist at present in France

¹ *Inter. Extrav. Com.*, lib. iii., tit. ii., c. xiii.

² Cf. Riganti, *ad Reg. Canc.*, vol. i., sec. iv., n. 43; Ferraris, *V. Beneficium*, art. viii., n. 48 sqq.; Bouix, *De Curia Romana*, Par. iv., c. vi.; Pius VII, *Const. Innumeri*.

³ Cf. *Ephemerides Liturg.*, Aug., 1906, p. 468.

and Portugal, that they have been partially derogated in Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, etc., and somewhat modified in some other countries by Concordats. We should not be surprised, therefore, if those reservations, if ever in existence, fell into desuetude in this country, their use being discontinued totally or partially on account of the adverse circumstances under which the Irish Church has laboured for centuries.

But even though the laws and rules of reservation of benefices to the Holy See were in full observance in Ireland, and even in the case that the contrary custom has been abrogated by the Decree *Inter Multiplices*, by the final words *contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus*, it is still not quite clear whether parochial benefices are affected by the reservation under notice. Riganti,¹ the best commentator on the rules of the Apostolic Chancery, tells us that parochial churches are not included in all dispositions and rules regarding reservation of benefices, unless they are expressly mentioned. Now, if we look at the *Motu Proprio* of 1905, when laying down the rule that benefices occupied by Protonotaries are reserved to the Apostolic See, we find that only the word *benefices* occurs, but there is no specification or special mention about parochial churches.

Again, supposing that those reservations, being in existence in Ireland, apply to parishes under the general denomination of benefices, it has yet to be proved that they apply to the Irish parishes or that parishes in Ireland are that sort of benefices which fall under a law of reservation. It is a well known principle in this connexion that only benefices, in the proper and strict sense of the word, can be reserved, any kind of reservation being an odious restriction, and, therefore, of strict interpretation. 'Reservatio,' writes D'Annibale,² 'est collationis beneficii vacantis R. P. advocatio. Beneficii, nempe, propria et

¹ Riganti writes: 'Ecclesiae Parochiales non comprehenduntur sub dispositionibus et Regulis reservatoriis beneficiorum nisi de illis expresse mentio fiat.' T. 4, p. 152, n. 11 sqq.

² D'Annibale, iii., n. 33; Gonzales, *ad Reg. Canc.*, vii.; Riganti, *ad Reg.*, viii., sec. 1, n. 7.

stricta significatione, quia versamur in odiosis.' Now it is a common opinion here in Ireland that Irish parishes are not benefices, or at least are not benefices in the strict sense of the word. If that be so, it seems to follow that they cannot be affected by any law of papal reservation, since a reservation of that kind only regards benefices in the strict canonical sense. True, that some are not willing to share that view about the nature of the Irish parishes; but the difference of opinion in this respect would only tend to show that it is doubtful whether Irish parishes are strict benefices or otherwise; but it does not alter the conclusion about their exemption from reservation; for it would be against the rules of interpretation to apply to doubtfully canonical benefices what has been established for certainly strict ones.

Papal reservations are dispositions against the general law and limitations of the powers of the local diocesan superiors; hence they are to be strictly interpreted in order to make them as little prejudicial as possible to the episcopal rights. In doubtful cases, therefore, the decision must always be against reservation and in favour of the jurisdiction of the Ordinaries. Sebastianelli says ¹:—

Omittere tandem non possumus animadversionem reservationes, cuiuscunque generis sint, esse odiosas et strictam pati interpretationem; proinde quam minus Ordinariorum potestati detrudere debent; et in dubiis semper standum est pro ordinaria potestate.

PERMISSION OF THE HOLY SEE TO BUILD CONVENTS OF MENDICANT ORDERS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the canonical works I have consulted it is not clearly stated whether it is necessary to get permission from the Holy See in order to build new houses for communities belonging to a Mendicant Order. Will you kindly say what is the law of the Church on this particular point?

ANCEPS.

It has long been a matter of controversy whether the

¹ Cf. Sebastianelli, *Prælect. Juris. Can.*, i. p. 219; 1st edit.

Pope's permission is necessary in order to construct new houses for the use of communities belonging to some of the Mendicant Orders, especially because it was not clear enough whether the Council of Trent¹ requiring for that purpose only the bishop's consent, abrogated the disposition of Boniface VIII,² which states that the leave of the Holy See must be sought and got before erecting new monasteries for Mendicant Orders. Benedict XIV,³ recognizing the uncertainty of the written law on this matter, says that, at least, such a papal permission is, in the present discipline of the Church, required in virtue of the general custom prevailing in all parts of the Catholic world. However, this question seems to have been authoritatively settled, a few years ago, by Propaganda in a decree issued the 7th September, 1901, where we read :—

Quamobrem duxit S. C. per praesentes litteras in memoriam Ordinariorum locorum a se dependentium revocare sententiam quam ut communem hodie, et cui favet passim rerum indicatorum auctoritas, tradit Const. SSmi. D. N. Leonis XIII *Romanos Pontifices*, nempe non licere regularibus tam intra quam extra Italiam nova monasteria, aut conventus, aut collegia fundare sola Episcopi venia, sed indultam quoque a S. Sede facultatem requiri.⁴

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

CUSTODY AND VENERATION OF RELICS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some years ago our Convent procured a number of relics which were brought here from Rome by a Bishop. The wooden case containing them has now become so moth-eaten and dust-begrimed that it seems advisable to transfer the relics into a new casket. There is a seal attached to the cover or lid of the old case, and a glass panel on the other side.

¹ Sess. XV., c. 3.

² Cap. 'Cum eo,' tit. 6, lib. v. in vi.

³ *De Syn. Dioc.*, lib. 9, c. 1, n. 9.

⁴ Cf. Collect. S. C. de Prop. Fide, vol. ii., p. 422; Veermersh, i., p. 67; Monacelli, *Form.*, P. i., tit. 6, form 19; Appeltern, *Prælect. Jur. Reg.*, p. 587, not. 3.

As I understand that the relics may not be tampered with without proper authorization I shall be grateful for advice as to what is to be done and what formalities are to be observed in transferring the relics to a new case. Possibly, too, it might be safer without meddling with the seal, to put the entire old case into the new and larger one, having first cleaned away all the accumulated dust? An answer will oblige in an early number of the I. E. RECORD.—Yours,

MONIALIS.

The question suggests the propriety of offering a few remarks on relics in general, the scope of which will embrace the following points, (1) the nature of relics; (2) their approval and custody; (3) their exposition; and (4) their veneration.

(1^o) By *relics* properly so called are meant the bodies of canonized saints and everything that originally belonged to the integrity thereof. Under this head, therefore, would come not only portions of the flesh and members and bones, but also the matter, oil and liquid which sometimes flowed from the sacred remains. In a less strict sense the word is employed to designate all those articles that have been sanctified by intimate contact and association with the saints during their lives, such as clothes, furniture and, especially, the instruments of torture which were used in putting the martyred saints to death. Relics are divided into two classes, those of the ordinary kind and *Reliquiae insignes*. To the latter class belong all relics connected with our Saviour's Passion, such as the wood of the Holy Cross, the Crown of Thorns, and the instruments of His sacred death. Any particle of these, no matter how small, constitutes *reliquia insignis*, but in order that the relics of the saints may come under this denomination they must be of a certain character and possess a certain significance. The Sacred Congregation of Rites has declared as such the whole body of a departed saint, the head, the arm, the leg, or that member of the body in which the martyred saint suffered, provided it is complete, not too insignificant and approved by the Ordinary (13th January, 1631). It

has been decided also that the forearm, and the heart, tongue and hand if miraculously preserved, are to be regarded as *reliquiae insignes*.¹ It will be seen, then, that the distinction made is based not so much on the size of the member as on the importance and dignity of the function it has got to discharge in human life. It is well to bear this classification in mind for its meaning will become manifest when the question of veneration is being considered.

(2^o) That relics may receive veneration they must be approved by competent authority. To the bishop belongs the right of examining and approving them. If there is question of newly-discovered relics he is to enquire into their genuineness, and, if necessary, avail himself of the advice and assistance of distinguished theologians. Should such a tribunal be unable to arrive at a definite conclusion the matter ought to be referred to the Provincial Synod, and if the doubt still continues, recourse should be had to Rome.² The approbation of any bishop is enough for the assurance that the relics are genuine and, consequently, worthy of private veneration, but if they are to be exposed in a church for worship then it is necessary to have the approval and sanction of the Ordinary or bishop of the place.³ Even when relics have been approved by the Holy See it will still be the duty of the bishop to authenticate them before they are exposed for veneration in any church under his jurisdiction. In this case the episcopal approbation will be merely a testimony as to their identity, integrity and proper custody. To have a guarantee of all this, and to remove all possible doubt on these points, after the relics have been duly authenticated the bishop's seal should be affixed to the case containing them in such a way that the contents could not be tampered with without violating the seal.

Here we may pause a moment to answer our correspondent's question. If it is sufficient merely to clean the outside of the old casket and then transfer it bodily into the new case this operation need not disturb the seal and presents

¹ S.R.C. 27 June, 1899. ² Cf. Decr. Conc. Trid., Sess. XXV. ³ Cf. Idem.

no difficulty But if it is necessary to open the old casket and thus tamper with the seal, the latter should of course be re-affixed to the new case, and this could not be done without consulting the bishop to whom it belongs to see that the relics are properly preserved. Speaking of the way in which relics should be kept, Van Der Stappen¹ says they ought to be placed 'in thec is, ex solida et decenti materia confectis, bene clausis, et filo serico debite collocatis, nec non sigillo Ordinarii in sera hispanica impresso firmiter obsignatis.' The casket may be made of wood but it ought to be durable. As a rule they are made of metals that are more or less precious. Gold and silver reliquaries of exquisite workmanship and richest ornamentation are quite a common acquisition to the treasuries of many continental churches. In the same case there may be relics belonging to several saints, but it is forbidden² to have in the same casket relics of saints and relics connected with our Saviour on account of the diversity of honour due to each kind. The casket, together with the documents of approval and authentication, should be kept in a secure place under lock and key. An arrangement by which they are located in a niche in the wall of the church or sacristy, fitted with a glass panel through which they may be viewed, would appear to be appropriate.

(3^o) For purposes of exposition the reliquaries may be placed on the altar between the candlesticks, if the style of the altar and its dimensions permit such an arrangement.³ This arrangement is only suitable to relics of saints. Those of the Passion should be in a more prominent position in the middle of the altar before the cross, but no relics of any description whatever are to be placed either upon, or before the door of the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament or anywhere on the altar during Solemn Exposition. Whenever relics are exposed⁴ there should be a light burning before them, and if on the altar, even by way of ornament between the candlesticks,

¹ *Sac. Lit.*, vol. iv., 365.

² S.R.C. Decr., 22 Feb., 1847.

³ *Ceremoniale Epis.*, Lib. I., cap. 12, n. 12.

⁴ Cf. Decr. S.R.C., nn. 2740, 2906.

there should be two lights, otherwise they are not to be regarded as exposed for veneration.¹ Relics of canonized saints may, of course, be exposed for veneration in all churches, but relics of pious persons that have been only beatified may be exposed only in those churches that have an indult for the celebration of their office and Mass.²

(4^o) The question of veneration will be here considered solely from the rubrical standpoint. Relics may be venerated by being exposed for worship by the faithful, by being carried in procession, and by having Mass celebrated with special solemnity, in honour of the saint to whom they belong.

In exposing relics the priest should be vested in soutane, surplice and stole. Two acolytes should attend with lighted torches, the same being observed at their reposition. The reverence to be made to relics of the saints is a profound inclination of the head, but a simple genuflection should be made to a relic of the true cross when prominently exposed. Processions may be held in honour of relics of the saints; but they should not be borne in connexion with processions of the Blessed Sacrament unless where for particular cases very special leave is obtained.³ At the end of such a procession, or of an exposition, a blessing may be given with the relic. The method to be followed in this case may be thus described. The priest, vested in surplice and stole, having incensed the relic, assumes the humeral veil; then, making the proper reverences he holds the reliquary, in much the same manner as he would hold the pyx in giving a blessing, and makes with it the Sign of the Cross over the people using no form of words. If relics are ever presented to the people, *ad osculandum*, they should be always covered. Special privileges are granted to the relics of the Sacred Passion. They may be carried processionally under a balachino, and at the Mass said at an altar where they are solemnly exposed, much the same ceremonies are observed as *Sacramento*

¹ Cf. Decr. S.R.C., n. 2067.

² Idem, n. 1156.

³ Cf. De Herdt, *Prax. Sac. Lit.*, ii., p. 250.

exposito. Similarly special solemnities are enjoyed by the feast of a *canonized* saint celebrated in a church which possesses a *reliquia insignis* of him, the office being celebrated with double rite and the *Credo* being recited in the Mass.

'EXEQUIL' AND ABSENCE OF THE REMAINS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In parishes where it is a practice of long standing to celebrate funeral Masses in the church on the morning of the interment, and to remove the remains to the church at a later hour for the performance of the exequial service, is the Mass privileged? i.e., may a *Requiem* Mass be said on all days on which it would be permitted, *praesente cadavere*? I assume that it is practically impossible to have the remains in the church during Mass.

SACERDOS.

The solution of this question depends on whether the remains can be regarded as *morally* present in the circumstances set forth. There are two well-recognized cases in which this would be so, namely, when the absence of the remains is due either to a prohibition of the civil authorities, or to the danger apprehended from an infectious disease.¹ When for either of these two reasons the corpse cannot be brought into the church, the same privileges are enjoyed as regards the Exequial Mass as would be *praesente cadavere*, and not only for the actual day of burial but even for the two subsequent days. So much is clear. But whether any other grave cause which hinders the transfer of the remains to the church, is also sufficient to make them regarded as *morally* present, this is not so easily determined.

On the one hand the great privileges granted to the exequial service seem to demand that the remains around which the whole function turns, should not be absent except for the gravest of reasons, and on the other, the church, eager and solicitous for the spiritual welfare of her departed children, might be reasonably considered to consent to a liberal interpretation of her legislation about *Requiem*

¹S.R.C., 12 Jan., 1897.

Masses. The more generous view is also supported by a Decree of the Congregation of Rites which seems to imply that the remains may be *morally* present if they are absent for reasons other than the two already mentioned. The words are, 'Quod si ex civili vetito, aut morbo contagioso, *aut alia gravi causa*, cadaver in Ecclesia praesens esse nequeat.'¹ Hence then what appears to be said in the matter is this. If in a particular instance a priest considers that it is morally impossible to have the remains present in church then he might with safe conscience proceed as if they were ; but if there is question of a practice or custom of not bringing the corpse to the church in certain oft-recurring circumstances, then he should consult higher authorities as to whether such a custom or practice does not need to be reformed in accordance with the manifest intention of the Rubrics.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ 2 Dec., 1891.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EUCHARISTIC FAST

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I am glad to see a sympathetic reference to the question of dispensation from the Eucharistic fast after the first Mass, in your notice of Father Cologan's *Folia Fugitiva*, in the I. E. RECORD for September. I trust the matter will be taken up by the bishops and priests. I need not mention the hardship entailed on us priests, young and old, by the excessive fast we are bound to maintain, often extending to thirteen hours, and sometimes even longer, especially when, through mistake or fatigue after the labours of Saturdays, the priest fails to have supper, and must continue his fast from the last meal, thus extending the time of fasting to eighteen hours or more! If this matter were brought to the notice of our present Holy Father, who has shown such interest in the welfare of the people, without doubt he would be equally considerate in the interest of his priests.

C.C.

[In a note appended by me to the review of the work mentioned above, I stated that I accepted no responsibility for such suggestions. I say the same now.—Ed. I.E.R.]

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTION OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY WARNING POOR IRISH GIRLS ABOUT THE DANGERS OF MIGRATING TO ENGLAND

At a Meeting of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops, held at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, October 8, the following Resolution was adopted, and directed to be sent for publication :

' Resolved—That from information they have received, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland deem it their duty to warn Irish girls against allowing themselves to be induced by certain plausible advertisements which appear from time to time in Irish newspapers to go to Manchester or other large towns in England in the hope of obtaining situations under favourable terms in English houses.

' We are assured that unprotected girls are exposed to the greatest dangers in many of those places, and not unfrequently have been utterly ruined. They never should accept such situations, nor answer such advertisements without consulting the local clergy, from whom they will obtain the necessary information and guidance.'

✠ MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, <i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i>	} <i>Secretaries to the Meeting.</i>
✠ HENRY, <i>Bishop of Down and Connor,</i>	

A CASE OF IRREGULARITY

S. CONGREGATIO CONCILII.

DUBIA PROPOSITA ATQUE IUXTA MOREM EIUSDEM S. C. DE IURE
RESOLUTA IN GENERALIBUS COMITIIS DIEI 24 AUGUSTI 1907

ROTTENBURGEN

DISPENSATIONIS AB IRREGULARITATE

Richardus Blankenhorn in aetate 20 annorum fere constitutus cupit sese ecclesiasticae militiae mancipare et hinc ad SS. ordines promoveri. Verum arcetur ob irregularitatem ex defectu corporis, quae ita enarratur in litteris commendatitiis Episcopi :

'Cum orator esset puer quinque annorum, articulorum rheumatismo correptus altero pede magnopere debilitatus est. Infelici autem casu accidit, ut post aliquot annos in terram caderet super ipsum illum pedem, qui inde ita laesus est, ut necesse esset padellam eius pedis totam exsecari. Quo factum est, ut pes iste non solum curtaretur, sed etiam totus rigidus fieret. Ob eam causam huius pedis genu flectere omnino non potest, alterius autem pedis genu scamno aut mensae innixus, vix aliquantulum potest flectere.'

Facto ex praescripto H. S. C. experimento utrum orator ss. functiones rite explere valeret, Episcopus haec retulit: 'Oratorem arcessivi eumque diligenti examini subieci. Illud mihi utique constabat eum in exercitio ss. functionum non omnia rite exsequi posse. Certe quidem id populo admirationi erit, quod in expositione SS. Sacramenti non genuflectendo, sed stando officio suo fungi debet, et in celebratione missae corpus tantum inclinare, non vero genuflectere potest.'

Ex praemissis apertissime patet oratorem irregularitate laborare, quare quaestio instituta fuit potius an expetita gratia sit concedenda vel non.

Plura tamen obstant gratiae concessionis, et insuper rationes favorabiles non habentur cum agatur de simplici iuveni, qui neque studiis theologicis initiatus est, neque apparet ecclesiasticae militiae nomen dedisse per clericalem tonsuram. Praeterea non suffragatur absoluta dioecesis necessitas ob cleri defectum vel speciales oratoris intellectuales qualitates, nam quoad primam testatur Episcopus clerum sufficientem esse necessitatibus suae dioecesis, quoad alteram vero causam omnino silet.

Nonnullae tamen ex adverso non desunt rationes quae precibus oratoris annuendum esse suadeant, sed attenta gravi irregularitate in casu, quamvis alias dispensationes concessae fuerint, Eñi Patres preces oratoris dimiserunt respondentes:

'In expositis adiunctis non solere concedi.'

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES APPROVED BY POPE PIUS X FOR ITALIAN SEMINARIES

EX S. CONGR. EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

PROGRAMMA GENERALE STUDIORUM A PIO PP. X APPROBATUM PRO OMNIBUS ITALIAE SEMINARIIS

Illustré e Molto Rev. Monsignore come Fratello,

La S. Congregazione dei VV. e RR., avendo avuto dal S-

Padre l'incarico di riordinare i Seminari d'Italia, oltre ad aver presi a tal fine speciali provvedimenti, ha creduto opportuno di proporre un Programma generale di studi per uniformare e migliorare l'insegnamento nei Seminari medesimi.

Nell'elaborare il Programma si è preso a base dell'ordinamento degli studi la divisione dei corsi che è stata ormai introdotta in quasi tutti i Seminari, cioè in Ginnasio, Liceo, Teologia.

Per le materie d'insegnamento nel Ginnasio e nel Liceo e per la loro distribuzione, si è ritenuto doversi seguire, con le necessarie modificazioni, i programmi vigenti in Italia; e ciò non perché siano perfetti, ma principalmente per le seguenti ragioni:—

1°. I programmi in vigore rappresentano innanzi alla società lo sviluppo della cultura che oggi si richiede, onde l'opinione pubblica circonda naturalmente di maggiore stima coloro che vengono istruiti secondo i medesimi; e il rifiutarli sarebbe mettere il clero, almeno secondo il giudizio di molti, al disotto dei secolari.

2°. È da considerare inoltre che i nostri alunni non possono, in via ordinaria, decidersi seriamente sulla loro vocazione allo stato ecclesiastico, se non quando sono giunti a una età più matura: sembra quindi utile di ordinare gli studi in modo che gli alunni possano trovarsi in grado di fornirsi de' titoli legali, e con ciò esser più liberi nella scelta dello stato. Senza dire poi, che detti titoli, anziché nuocere, saranno giovevoli anche a quelli che Dio si degnerà di chiamare alla vita sacerdotale.

Una saggia e accorta direzione impedirà facilmente, o attenuerà di molto, gl'inconvenienti che potrebbero nascere dal caso di alunni che tentassero di rimanere in Seminario, dopo il Ginnasio, al solo scopo di conseguire la licenza liceale.

Finalmente il programma del Liceo non aggiunge alle materie che debbono far parte della Filosofia nei Seminari, se non la continuazione dello studio delle Lettere e della Storia, studio che è necessarissimo anche agli alunni del Santuario, per riuscire *instructi ad omne opus bonum*.

Si è stimato conveniente di premettere un anno di Propeudentica alla Teologia, sia per completare l'insegnamento della Filosofia, sia per esporre alcune materie che non troverebbero facilmente luogo nel corso teologico; ma da questo anno si potrà ottenere la dispensa della S. C. dei VV. e RR. quando venga dimostrato che nel Liceo si è provveduto per una adeguata preparazione alla Teologia.

Per gli studi teologici sono determinate le materie necessarie a renderli completi, e che nondimeno possano comodamente svolgersi in quattro anni.

Si propone poi qualche esempio d'orario che potrà servir di guida ai Prefetti degli Studi.

Tale è il programma che, debitamente approvato dalla suprema autorità del S. Padre, mi pregio di rimettere alla S. V. con la preghiera di far sì, che nel prossimo anno scolastico, il medesimo entri pienamente in vigore per i corsi di studi stabiliti in codesto V. Seminario.

La S. V. è pregata ancora di riferire a questa S. C. circa l'ordinamento scolastico di codesto V. Seminario, come pure di trasmettere l'elenco degl'insegnanti e la lista dei libri di testo adottati.

Nutro ferma fiducia che, grazie alle cure diligenti della S. V., sarà assicurata l'esatta osservanza del programma, la quale contribuirà efficacemente a perfezionare la cultura del clero, ponendolo in grado di compiere, con maggior frutto per le anime, la sua alta missione.

Augurandole dal Signore ogni bene, con riverente stima mi pregio di confermarvi.

Roma, 10 Maggio 1907.

Come Fratello

D. Card. FERRATA, *Prefetto*.

F. GIUSTINI, *Segretario*.

PROGRAMMA GENERALE DI STUDI

I.—*Divisione del Corso di studi.*

Il Corso di studi in tutti i Seminari d'Italia si divide in Ginnasio, Liceo e Teologia.

II.—*Ginnasio.*

(a) Nessuno sarà iscritto alle classi ginnasiali se non presenti il certificato che ne dimostri l'idoneità, per aver compiuto regolarmente le classi precedenti, o non ne superi il relativo esame.

(b) Il Ginnasio avrà un corso di cinque anni, diviso in cinque classi, nelle quali s'insegneranno le materie dei programmi vigenti, seguendone anche la distribuzione delle ore, in modo però che, da una parte, si dia una certa preferenza alla lingua latina in tutte le classi, e dall'altra, si mettano gli alunni in grado di prendere la licenza ginnasiale.

(c) Si assegnerà almeno un'ora per settimana in ogni classe per l'istruzione catechistica.

III.—*Liceo.*

(a) Nessuno sia ammesso al Liceo che non abbia regolarmente compiuto le classi ginnasiali, superandone gli esami.

(b) Il Liceo sarà diviso in tre classi corrispondenti a tre anni di studio, le quali per le materie e per le ore d'insegnamento si adatteranno ai programmi vigenti, in modo che gli alunni possano prendere la licenza liceale, e d'altra parte si dia più ampio sviluppo alla sana filosofia.

(c) Si dovrà assegnare almeno un' ora per settimana all'insegnamento della religione.

IV.—*Anno preparatorio alla Teologia.*

(a) In questo corso, oltre a rendere più profonda la conoscenza della filosofia, si studieranno speciali materie, le quali potranno essere quelle indicate nell' esempio d' orario che si trova in calce di questo programma (*Quadro A*).

(b) Nei Seminari dove sarà stabilito questo speciale anno di Propedeutica, lo studio della filosofia nei tre anni di Liceo dovrà comprendere: psicologia, logica e metafisica generale, etica.

(c) Dove si ottenesse dispensa da quest'anno, nei tre anni di Liceo, per i chierici aspiranti al sacerdozio, oltre le materie stabilite nei programmi, si dovranno assegnare almeno due ore di più per settimana, fosse anche nel giovedì, per compire lo studio della filosofia, specialmente di quelle parti che sono necessarie per una adeguata preparazione agli studi teologici.

V.—*Teologia.*

(a) La Teologia avrà un corso di quattro anni diviso in quattro classi, con un orario regolare di quattro ore d'insegnamento al giorno.

(b) Esso comprenderà le materie seguenti: Luoghi teologici—Introduzione generale e speciale alla S. Scrittura—Esegesi biblica—Teologia dogmatica e sacramentaria—Teologia morale e pastorale—Istituzioni di diritto Canonico—Storia ecclesiastica—Lingua ebraica—Lingua greca—Archeologia ed Arte Sacra—S. Eloquenza e Patristica—S. Liturgia.

VI.—*Disposizioni generali.*

(a) Perchè tale programma sia convenientemente eseguito, ogni Seminario abbia un Prefetto degli Studi, elette dal Vescovo.

(b) Al Prefetto spetterà, sempre sotto la dipendenza del Vescovo, la preparazione degli schemi per i professori, la compilazione del Calendario e degli Orari scolastici.

(c) Egli—sentito anche il parere de' Professori, che dovrà chiamare a consiglio ogni mese e con più frequenza se lo giudicherà necessario—adatterà al bisogno e anche modificherà i programmi vigenti, distribuirà le ore d'insegnamento de' programmi medesimi, in modo che, salva la sostanza e la preparazione adeguata agli esami di licenza, si possa dare maggior tempo a materie di più grande importanza rispetto al fine de' Seminari, come si è già osservato per il latino nel Ginnasio e per la Filosofia nel Liceo.

(d) L'anno scolastico durerà non meno di nove mesi.

(e) Il Prefetto degli Studi, con il Consiglio de' Professori, disporrà che alla fine dell' anno si facciano regolari e severi esami di tutte le materie, per la promozione alle classi superiori, fissandone il voto necessario per ottenere la idoneità.

(f) Sarà stabilita una sessione per gli esami di riparazione.

(g) Le singole materie negli studi liceali e teologici saranno affidate a distinti Professori, i quali potranno, in via eccezionale, essere incaricati dell' insegnamento di qualche materia affine. Si dovrà sempre però evitare ad ogni costo l' inconveniente che una stessa persona abbia troppe ore di insegnamento, con danno evidente degli alunni.

(h) Nello svolgimento della propria materia, ciascun Professore adotterà un testo, che spiegherà in modo da poter esaurire dentro l' anno, proporzionalmente e per intero, il programma.

(i) Per il Ginnasio ed il Liceo, dovendo seguirsi i programmi vigenti, i libri di testo saranno scelti a norma dei programmi medesimi, avuto naturalmente riguardo all' indole e allo scopo dei Seminari.

(k) Per la Filosofia e la Teologia il testo sarà proposto dal Consiglio dei Professori, e sottomesso all' approvazione del Vescovo.

Nota.—Nei Seminari centrali e interdiocesani, i diritti dell' Ordinario spettano al Collegio dei Vescovi cointeressati.

Vidimus et adprobavimus, Venerabilibus fratribus Episcopis fidelem observantiam enixe commendantes.

Die v Maii, festo S. Pii V, anno MCMVII.

PIUS PP. X.

QUADRO A.

Esempio d' Orario per la Classe preparatoria alla Teologia.

1^a. Ora. Tutti i giorni—*De vera Religione.*

2^a. Ora. Lunedì, Mercoledì, Venerdì—*Propedeutica alla Storia Eccl.* ; Martedì, Sabato—*Greco Biblico*.

3^a. Ora. Lunedì, Mercoledì, Venerdì—*Teodicea* ; Martedì, Sabato—*Diritto Naturale*.

4^a. Ora. Lunedì, Mercoledì, Venerdì—*Cosmologia* ; Martedì, Sabato—*Storia della Filosofia*.

QUADRO B.

Esempio d'Orario per la Teologia.

Lunedì.

1^a. Ora. *Luoghi Teologici*—I^o anno ; *Teologia Morale*—II^o, III^o e IV^o anno.

2^a. Ora. *Dogmatica*—II^o, III^o e IV^o anno ; *Morale, De actibus Hum., Conscientia, Legibus*—I^o anno.

3^a. Ora. *Lingua Ebraica o Greca, Introd. Gen. alla S. Scrittura*—I^o e II^o anno. ; *Istituzioni Canoniche*—III^o e IV^o anno.

4^a. Ora. *Storia Ecclesiastica*—Tutti gli anni.

Martedì.

1^a. Ora. *Lingua Ebraica o Greca, Introd. alla S. S.*—I^o e II^o anno ; *Istituzioni Canoniche*—III^o e IV^o anno.

2^a. Ora. *Esegesi Biblica*—Tutti gli anni.

3^a. Ora. *Archeologia ed Arte Sacra*—Tutti gli anni.

4^a. Ora. *Storia ecclesiastica*—Tutti gli anni.

Mercoledì.

1^a, 2^a, 3^a. Ora. Come il Lunedì.

4^a. Ora. *Esegesi Biblica*—Tutti gli anni.

Venerdì.

1^a, 2^a, 3^a, 4^a. Ora. Come il Lunedì.

Sabato.

1^a e 2^a. Ora. Come il Lunedì.

3^a. Ora. *Eloquenza Sacra, Patristica*—Tutti gli anni.

4^a. Ora. *Sacra Liturgia*—Tutti gli anni.

N.B.—Pel I^o e II^o anno è segnata la lingua Ebraica o Greca, perchè il Professore, alternativamente, in un anno insegnerà l'Ebraico e l'Introduzione al Vecchio Testamento, nell'altro insegnerà il Greco e l'Introduzione al Nuovo Testamento.

QUADRO C.

Teologia.

Con l'orario precedente si avranno per ogni settimana.

Pel I° anno.

- 4 Ore di *Lingua Ebraica o Greca e Introd. alla S.S.*
- 2 Ore di *Esegesi Biblica.*
- 4 Ore di *Luoghi Teologici.*
- 4 Ore dei *Trattati Fondamentali della Teologia Morale.*
- 3 Ore di *Storia ecclesiastica.*
- 1 Ora di *Archeologia e Arte Sacra.*
- 1 Ora di *Eloquenza Sacra e Patristica.*
- 1 Ora di *Sacra Liturgia.*

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Totale 20 Ore.

Pel II° anno.

- 4 Ore di *Lingua Ebraica o Greca e Introd. alla S.S.*
- 4 Ore di *Morale.*
- 2 Ore di *Esegesi Biblica.*
- 4 Ore di *Dogmatica.*
- 3 Ore di *Storia ecclesiastica.*
- 1 Ora di *Archeologia e Arte Sacra.*
- 1 Ora di *Eloquenza Sacra e Patristica.*
- 1 Ora di *Sacra Liturgia.*

—
Totale 20 Ore.

Pel III° e IV° anno.

- 4 Ore di *Morale e Pastorale.*
- 4 Ore di *Dogmatica.*
- 4 Ore di *Istituzioni Canoniche.*
- 3 Ore di *Storia ecclesiastica.*
- 2 Ore di *Esegesi Biblica.*
- 1 Ora di *Archeologia e Arte Sacra.*
- 1 Ora di *Eloquenza Sacra e Patristica.*
- 1 Ora di *Sacra Liturgia.*

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Totale 20 Ore.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ELEMENTA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE, auctore Dr. Seb. Reinstadler, in Seminario Metensi quondam Philosophiae Professore. Third Edition revised by the Author. 2 Vols., 12mo.; xxix. and 468 pp.; xvii. and 468 pp. Price *M.* 6.; bound, *M.* 8.80. Freiburg: Herder.

WE are glad to note that this excellent manual has reached a third edition within a few years, and that the author has taken care to augment and improve it each time. It deserves the success it has met with, for it appears to be a most suitable text-book for schools and colleges. It is clear, concise, up to date, and readable. In no way diffuse or tiresome, it leaves the student scope for thinking out its conclusions and developing its arguments, while it supplies him with abundant references to the larger Latin, French, and German works, such as the *Philosophia Lacensis*, the Louvain *Cours de Philosophie*, and the Fulda *Lehrbuch der Philosophie*.

Modern philosophic systems and opinions of variance with modern scholasticism are here briefly expounded, criticized and contrasted with scholastic teaching. There is no unnecessary dogmatism wherever differences of opinion are reasonably possible. The author shows a thorough mastery of modern scientific theories, and makes an excellent use of them in illustrating and defending scholastic views.

Bygone disputes are treated very briefly, and considerable attention is devoted to current questions and controversies; especially to those that have a bearing on Catholic theology: the manual being intended mainly for ecclesiastics whose philosophical studies are preparatory to the study of theology.

We believe that with these two volumes in the hands of his students the professor of philosophy could give the latter a solid grounding in the principles of scholasticism in a course of two years.

P. C.

CURSUS PHILOSOPHIAE THOMISTICAE ad Theologiam Doctoris Angelici Propaedeuticus, auctore R. P. Fr. Ed. Hugon, O.P., Sacrae Theologiae Professore. Paris: Lethielleux. Vol. I. Logica. 6fr.; Vol. II. Cosmologia, 5fr.

WE have before us the first two volumes of a new Thomistic *Cursus Philosophiae*. A third volume is to deal with Plant and

Animal Life, and with the substance, faculties, and operations of the human soul ; a fourth with the Psychology of the Intellect and Will ; a fifth with Being and its Properties ; and a sixth and final volume with the Divisions and Causes of Being. Theodicy and Ethics are not included.

Judging from the Logic and Cosmology, this latest *Cursus*—among many—should meet with considerable success. In point of size it will strike a happy mean between the usual two-or-three-volume text-books and the *Philosophia Lacensis* ; the Logic containing about 500, the Cosmology about 300 pages. The work is frankly and faithfully Thomistic, but the author brings it thoroughly up to date by dealing carefully with the principles and theories embodied in modern systems, and by drawing on the most recently published books, particularly French, such as those of Lepidi, Janet, Coconnier, Farges, Mercier, etc. The arrangements of questions throughout is logical, the style clear and simple, the language easy and uninvolved, and the text everywhere pleasing to read. The author seems to have quite a special gift of lucid exposition even in the more abstruse and difficult questions. His reasons and analyses do not always however, carry us as far as we should desire. He is free indeed from the fault so common to writers of Latin manuals—of using hackneyed phrases to conceal obscurity of thought ; but we think his work would have lost nothing were it freer from certain traditional mannerisms and formalities of very doubtful value. It is, however, only because we regard his work as exceedingly able and exact and useful for students, that we would wish to see it free even from minor blemishes.

Its value is enhanced by the copious references given in every question both to the great scholastic sources and to contemporary philosophical literature.

P. C.

LA THÉOLOGIE DE SAINT HIPPOLYTE. Par Adhémar D'Alès. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie.

SINCE the publication by Miller, in 1851, of the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, that strange figure of the third century, half heretic and martyr, has become very important for the student of the history of Dogma. The publications of Bonwetsch and Achelis have put within the reach of students the commentary of Hippolytus on the Book of Daniel and on Canticles (1897-1902), and Bauer has practically restored the whole of his Chronicle (Leipsiz, 1905, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*).

M. D'Alès has brought together in a short space all that the best scholarship of recent times has done for the 'Hippolytus question.' He gives, in his Introduction, a clear account of the life work of the Saint. He shows how difficulties and obscurities have crept into the Hippolytus question through the uncertainty of tradition and the complexity of the problems involved. M. D'Alès then goes through the main theological questions discussed by Hippolytus—the Trinity, Adoptianism, remission of sins, inspiration of Scripture, etc. This section of the work ought to prove very valuable to students of the history of Dogma.

A very interesting point in literary history which M. D'Alès establishes is the identity of the so-called fourth book of the *Refutation of all the Heresies*, with the greater portion of Books II. and III. of the *Philosophumena*. The regret with which writers have spoken of the 'irreparable loss' of these two books is thus shown to be unfounded.

The work of M. D'Alès is well up to the high level of the other four volumes of the *Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique* which have already appeared.

P. B.

DE EVANGELIORUM INSPIRATIONE, DE DOGMATIS EVOLUTIONE, DE ARCANI DISCIPLINA. Par P. Reginaldus M. Fei, O.P. Paris: Beauchesne et Cie. 1906.

THIS little work brings together briefly the views of some of the more important recent writers on Inspiration, Evolution of Dogma, and the *Disciplina Arcani*. The work seems to be intended for young students who have not much time for reading. It is very clearly written and the different views are put well. But the author does not seem to pretend to throw any new light on the important subjects with which he deals.

P. B.

BIBLIA SACRA VULGATAE EDITIONIS, ex ipsis exemplaribus Vaticanis inter se atque cum Indice errorum corrigendorum collatis critice edidit P. Michael Hetzenauer, O.C., Professor Exegesis in Scholis Superioribus Pontificii Seminarii Romani ad S. Appollinarem. Oeniponte, sumptibus Librariae Academicæ Wagnenanae. 1906.

THE Commission which the present Holy Father has recently entrusted to the Benedictine Order to prepare a critical edition of the Vulgate text of the Bible, shows how strongly the defective

character of our ordinary Vulgate text has made itself felt. Not one of the numerous editions of the Vulgate hitherto published can be called either absolutely accurate or scientific. Even the splendid edition of Vercellone is not without many defects. Father Hetzenauer's work in the edition which lies before us marks a considerable advance in Vulgate criticism. He has put before himself in his work the threefold aim of setting up a critically accurate edition of the official text of the Clementine Bible ; of giving a full list of Clementine and Sixtine variants ; and of giving the reader a carefully marked-off text with marginal analyses. In reaching the official Clementine text he has made a remarkably careful comparison of the Vatican originals of the three Clementine editions of 1592, 1593, and 1598. At the same time he has thoroughly examined the so-called *Correctorium Romanum*, or list of errors of the three Clementine editions, published at the direction of Clement VIII. A reading is regarded by Father Hetzenauer as official in the following circumstances: (a) if it is contained in the *Correctorium Romanum* ; (b) if it is shown by all three Clementine editions ; (c) if it is shown by two of the three ; (d) if it is shown by one edition when the text in the other two is clearly wrong ; (e) if, though omitted in all three, it is absolutely demanded by the context.

Comparing the three Clementine editions, Father Hetzenauer has found that the second, published in 1593, is by far the most reliable. He has also found that the claim of completeness made for the *Correctorium Romanum* is quite unfounded.

The lists of Clementine and Sixtine variants are extremely careful and very reliable. The arrangement of the text is according to logical connexion. Divisions into chapters is neglected. Father Hetzenauer has inserted in his work an interesting glossary of proper names and a good index. His edition of the Vulgate will prove of much assistance to the systematic theologian as well as to the Bible student, and may be expected to hold its own as a thoroughly scientific handbook, even when the critical edition of the Benedictines shall have appeared.

P. B.

LAWS OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. By B. W. Marturin. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 5s. net.

Laws of the Spiritual Life is, if one might with propriety so call it, an ascetical commentary on the Eight Beatitudes—the charter of the Christian life of Perfection. That the work has come from the pen of Father Marturin led us to expect something

good, for we have long known Father Marturin as a master of the spiritual life ; and a persual of the book has satisfied our expectations of it. The writer in this, as in his other works, deals with Spirituality in a very attractive fashion. There is here none of the humdrum prosing which renders dull and unreadable most works on spiritual topics. The book is divided into nine chapters. In the first, which is entitled, 'The Principles of the Beatitudes,' and which serves as an introduction to the dissertations on the separate Beatitudes, the writer shows how founded on law must the spiritual life be, if it would be a success. He reminds us that the spiritual life is not an exceptional department of life, dependent largely on emotion and largely upon circumstances beyond our control ; but that it is in truth a *life*, possessed by each one of us, which grows and develops under laws made known to us ; and that by obedience to these laws success is to be attained. He rightly says the bearing of this principle in mind will be a source of encouragement to one wearied out with vain efforts that seem to bring him no nearer to God, or to give him more power over himself. We would all need to be reminded at times that there is a way leading to life : that there are laws obedience to which will infallibly secure growth in holiness ; and that our failure springs from ignorance of these laws or want of submission to them.

These laws, he goes on to tell us, are contained in the opening verses of the Sermon on the Mount. The application of these laws of the Beatitudes to individual cases and to individual circumstances is naturally our author's next point, and in this matter he has some very good things. Father Marturin is evidently a firm believer in the view that virtue is its own reward, even here in this vale of tears. Nay ! according to him 'we may test the reality of the virtue by the reality of the blessing.' If we have none of the rewards of the Beatitudes it is because we have not the virtues which they command. . . . Therefore, however poor in spirit, if our poverty merely shuts out the comforts of earth and does not open to us any of the joys of Heaven, we may be sure it is not the poverty of which the Beatitudes speak.' He has no sympathy with those who make the practice of religion a hard and unpleasant task. 'There are a few,' he writes, 'who act and speak as if the pleasant things were always wrong and the unpleasant things mostly right, who feel it a reason sufficient in itself for not doing a thing that they like it. Before their eyes there ever stretches the dreary and barren road of duty, encircled on all sides by the rich and fair pastures that are forbidden. As soon even as a duty becomes a pleasure they feel that it has begun to lose its value.'

Frankly, we fear there are many such. It is consoling, however, to learn from an eminent guide such as is our author that these spiritual dyspeptics are on the wrong track.

After this general introduction, the writer takes up each of the Beatitudes in turn, and shows how the man and woman of to-day is to model his or her life on it. Space would not permit us in this necessarily brief notice to follow the writer through each of his dissertations. Suffice it to say that he treats his subject in a masterly, vigorous fashion; that he has a proper estimation of the different circumstances of those striving after Perfection; that he has a 'message' not alone for the cloistered religious, but also for the man of the world; and that he clothes his beautiful thoughts in well-chosen, forcible language. We hope the book will be bought and studied by every one who has any aspirations after the 'higher life.'

J. M'C.

THE QUEEN'S FESTIVALS. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 2s. net.

As its title suggests, *The Queen's Festivals* is an explanation adapted to the needs of the little ones of the different feasts of our Lady that occur during the ecclesiastical year. The opening chapter is entitled 'Something about Festivals,' and the writer conveys in language intelligible to the minds of the young the *raison d'être* and history of the Christian Feasts. Then he proceeds no less successfully to give some simple ideas with regard to the Liturgy of the Church in general, and the Liturgy of the Mass in particular. The main part of the work follows—an account of the various feasts of Heaven's Queen. As a stimulus to devotion to the Blessed Virgin it is an admirable work, and, unlike some of the so-called children's books, replete with solid instruction. The little volume is well brought out, and illustrated by some beautiful engravings. We heartily recommend it as a most suitable presentation or prize book for the young, and we feel sure it will help the little ones to celebrate Mary's feasts with greater devotion.

J. M'C.

WHEN LOVE IS STRONG. By Grace Keon. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 5s.

THE necessity for really good works of fiction to be placed in the hands of our young men and women is becoming apparent to even the most casual observer of the state of things prevailing

in our country. We are glad, accordingly, to be able to recommend to the readers of the I. E. RECORD a novel by the gifted authoress, Grace Keon. *When Love is Strong* is a charming story well told. The plot is well worked out, and care is taken that the reader's interest does not flag throughout. The characters are well drawn, and one does not know which to admire most, Dorothy Wentworth, who, even in the moment she learns of her husband's sin, renounces wealth, social position, friends, &c., for his sake, and goes with him into that strange world, thus saving him body and soul, or Donald MacKenzie, who would shield, even at the cost of his own good name, the husband of the woman he loved. There is a fine, healthy, Catholic vein running through the book, and we have no hesitation in recommending it to those in search of good works of fiction.

J. M'C.

RED CLOUD : A TALE OF THE GREAT PRAIRIE. By General Sir William F. Butler, G.C.B. New and cheaper edition. London : Burns and Oates. Price 3s. 6d.

THE readers of the I. E. RECORD will, we feel sure, welcome this new edition of General Butler's fine story. Many of them have made its acquaintance already, but to those who have not yet read this in every way enchanting book our advice is to procure it immediately. It is a book that bears re-reading, and it will live when much that has been written will have been forgotten. *Red Cloud* would not unfavourably compare with the best works of Fenimore Cooper. It would be a very suitable book for a school or college library, and we hope it will find a place in many of the libraries of our priests. Its price brings it within the reach of even the most modest income.

J. M'C.

DIE KATHOLISCHE MORAL in ihren Voraussetzungen und ihren Grundlinien. Ein Wegweiser in den Grundfragen des sittlichen Lebens für alle Gebildeten. Von Viktor Cathrein, S.J. Freiburg v. B. : Herder. 1907. 8vo, xiv. and 545 pp. M. 6 ; bound in cloth, M. 6.80.

THIS book is a kind of philosophy of Catholic moral teaching with apologetic tendency. Its purpose is to supply the educated laity with a clear idea of the foundation and the main outlines of Christian and Catholic morality, so as to enable them to escape the danger of imbibing false impressions from modern anti-Catholic literature. To lay the foundation of his system the

author considers, in a first part, man in his origin, nature, and end, according to the light of pure reason ; in a second part he considers Christian life in the light of supernatural revelation. In a third part, then, he lays down the main principles of Catholic morality. In this third part one chapter, out of eleven, is devoted to a direct refutation of some specific objections raised against Christian ethics. In the main the apologetic purpose is sought to be achieved rather by a positive statement of the truth. The author has carried out his plan admirably, and a similar book in English would be of very great value.

H. B.

COMMUNE SANCTORUM. Juxta Editionem Vaticanam. Ratisbon : Pustet. 1907. 78 pp. ; M. 0.50 ; bound, M. 0.90.

MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS Toni Communes Missae necnon Modus Cantandi Alleluja Tempore Paschali secundum Octo Tonos juxta Editionem Vaticanam. Ratisbon : Pustet. 1907. M. 0.30 ; in flexible cloth, M. 0.45.

MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS, ETC., quod juxta Editionem Vaticanam Hodiernis Musicae Signis Tradidit Dr. Fr. X. Mathias, Organista Ecclesiae Cathedralis Argentiniensis. Ratisbon : Pustet. 1907. M. 0.30 ; in flexible cloth, M. 0.45.

THE *Commune Sanctorum* and *Missa pro Defunctis* of the Vatican Edition are published by Pustet in the same style as their *Kyriale*. The part containing the *Missa pro Defunctis* includes also the *Toni Communes Missae*, namely (1) Toni Orationum, (2) Tonus Prophetiae, (3) Tonus Epistolae, (4) Tonus Evangelii, (5) Toni Praefationum (introductory formulae only), (6) Ad Pater Noster (introductory formula and conclusion), (7) Ante Agnus Dei (per Omnia and Pax Domini), (8) Tonus Confiteor, (9) Ad Benedictionem Pontificalem, and further the Tones for the Gloria Patri of the Introit, and the Alleluias which, under certain circumstances, have to be added, during Paschal time, to the Introit, Offertory, and Communion. The Tones for the Preface and the Pater Noster themselves have also been forwarded from the Vatican press to the publishers, but do not seem to have been published yet. The *Missa pro Defunctis* is pagged by Nos. 87*-122*, it being considered as a continuation of the *Kyriale*. The two parts, *Kyriale* and *Missa pro Defunctis*, can also be had bound together, price M. 1.30.

The transcription of the *Missa pro Defunctis* by Dr. Mathias

is made on the same principles as his transcription of the *Kyriale* (see I. E. RECORD, April, 1907, p. 443). In this edition, too, the *Kyriale* and the *Missa pro Defunctis* can be had bound together, price M. 1.10.

INSTITUTIONES JURIS NATURALIS seu Philosophiae Moralis Universae, auctore Th. Meyer, S.J. Pars I. Jus Naturae Generale continens Ethicam Generalem et Jus Sociale in Genere. Editio Altera Emendata (xlv. and 504 pp.) Freiburg : Herder. 1906. Price M. 8=10 fr.

THE first edition of this first volume of Meyer's *Institutiones Juris Naturalis* was published in 1885. Vol. II. appeared in 1900, completing the vast and monumental series known as the *Philosophia Lacensis*. We have now before us a second, revised edition of Meyer, Vol. I. The excellence of the work is so universally recognized that any lengthened review of the present edition is uncalled for. It develops and supplements the teaching of the first edition in most of the directions emphasized by present-day theories, though the additions are comparatively small for such a large volume.

P. C.

THE CATHOLIC DEFENCE SOCIETY. A Lecture delivered at the Maynooth Union, by Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, D.D., P.P., V.G. Dublin : Duffy & Gill. Price One Penny.

OUR readers are already acquainted with the substance of Mgr. Hallinan's paper. All we need say regarding it is that it is now available as a penny pamphlet. We are not very sanguine that it will have much result. Many persons who applaud Mgr. Hallinan will take good care not to lift a finger to help him and he will get least assistance from those who will benefit most by his outcry. That, of course, should not deter anyone who is in earnest ; but it certainly does not hold out much encouragement to those who take the matter in hands. Such a movement can be successful only if it has the full strength of public opinion behind it, and there seems no great reason to expect that such a society as Mgr. Hallinan contemplates would just now enlist the sympathy and co-operation of any but a few. However, if it should be otherwise we shall rejoice as much as Mgr. Hallinan or anybody else.

J. F. H.

WISSENSCHAFT DER SEELENLEITUNG. Eine Pastoraltheologie in vier Büchern. Von Dr. Cornelius Krieg Professor an der Universität Freiburg i. B. Vol. I. Die Wissenschaft der speciellen Seelenführung. 1904. Large 8vo, xvi. and 558 pp. *M.* 7.50 ; half bound, *M.* 10. Vol. II. Katechetik oder Wissenschaft vom Kirchlichen Katechumenate. 1907. Large 8vo, xvi. and 498½ pp., *M.* 7.50 half bound, *M.* 10. Freiburg i. B. : Herder.

THIS Pastoral Theology is to be complete in four volumes. The first contains 'The Science of the special guiding of souls,' the second, Catechetics, the third is to treat of Homiletics, and the fourth of Liturgics. The author's intention is to treat Pastoral Theology as a real science, not merely as a collection of salutary counsels. But it is to be a positive science, founded on the fact of supernatural revelation. Special attention is given to the psychological aspect, inasmuch as the pastor will work in vain, if he neglects the laws of psychology and the individual conditions of the souls entrusted to his care. The author has further tried to be modern in the good sense of the word, that is to say, he pays special regard to the peculiar conditions which in modern life confront the missionary priest. The two volumes so far published show that the programme has been carried out with excellent success, and that this new Pastoral Theology deserves a prominent place in the literature of the subject.

H. B.

SUMMULA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE, etc., a J. S. Hickey, O.Cist., concinnata ; Vol. III. (Pars Altera), *Ethica*. Dublin : Browne and Nolan, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THE able author of the Mount Melleray Manual of Philosophy is to be congratulated on the completion of such a highly commendable work. A perusal of the present volume of some 260 pages devoted to Ethics only confirms us in the opinion to which we have already given expression in reviewing the preceding volumes. There has been a remarkably rich output of Latin manuals of scholastic philosophy within the past few years : Reinstadler, Williams, Hugon, Stanislaw, etc. The competition is keen, but the Melleray philosophy will compete successfully with the Continental books.

We notice in the 'Ethics' the same attractive features as in the earlier volumes : the illustration of the text by copious footnotes from the most modern English and French writers,

quotations always well chosen, and replete with sound, well expressed information, from the Encyclicals of Leo XIII, from Rickaby's translations of St. Thomas, from the Ethical writings of various schools represented by such men as MacKenzie, Calderwood, Mill, Spencer, Wayland, Holaind, Bradlaugh, Ronayne, Poland, King, Fox, Vaughan, Lecky, Tyrrell, Lilly, Maturin, McDonald, Humphrey, O'Riordan (*Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*). Books quite recently published, while made to serve the author's purpose, do the student the service of bringing the principles and arguments developed in the text into direct touch with the best modern thought. Then the manner of exposition is easy, clear, concise; the kernel of the argument is usually put forward in a few words without unnecessary verbiage; the Latin is so simple that no tyro need feel any alarm at it; and the arrangements of the questions is logical.

It is no easy matter to determine the relative degree of prominence to be devoted, in a book of this kind, to new questions or aspects of questions agitated in modern Ethical literature, and to the older and more stereotyped traditional portions. We think that on the whole the author has dealt judiciously with the difficulty. Personally we should be inclined to condense still further certain minor questions about human acts, beatitude, merit, etc., and to leave certain others largely to theology about laws, duties, etc., in order to give more room for a fuller treatment and discussion of such great questions as the nature of morality; the Utilitarian and Kantian Ethics, and their comparison in detail with Christian Ethics; the analysis of moral obligation and the examination of *happiness* and *duty* as bases of morality, religious indifference and 'secular morality,' socialism and the rights of capital and labour; the family as natural unit in the State; the rights and duties of parent, State, and Church regarding education; the origin, nature, and sanction of authority, civil and religious, and the relations between Church and State. These great questions are all dealt with in the present volume, but some of them not so fully as one might desire even in a manual, at all events in view of the importance of giving Catholics, especially the clergy, a full and thorough grasp of them in the age and circumstances in which we live. What the author has written about them he has written clearly and well.

A word of praise is due to the publishers, Messrs. Browne and Nolan, Ltd., for the very attractive and finished manner in which they have presented the volume to the public.

P. C.



THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL ON MODERNISM

TO many people in these countries the recent Encyclical of the Holy Father must have come as a disagreeable surprise. They had, indeed, heard vague disquieting rumours that all was not well in certain theological centres on the Continent, that novel theories and doctrines, strangely at variance with the traditional teaching, had been put forward by individuals in France, Germany, Italy and England, and that the advisers of the Pope had counselled energetic repressive action. But few, even amongst the best informed, had hitherto clearly recognized that these scattered individuals were not speaking for themselves alone, but as the representatives of a totally new school of thought; and that the views put forward by them, whether in apologetics, dogmatic theology, Scripture or history, were but particular items in a well-defined system, which had for its object the overthrow of the received interpretation of the Christian faith, and the rejection of the foundations upon which our apologists have based their defence of Christianity as a revealed and supernatural religion.

Yet to those who have closely followed the theological tendencies, as outlined during the last few years in the literature and reviews, especially of France, the necessity and the importance of the Papal declarations must be abundantly evident. They could not help noticing that,

though the new theories were put forward in widely separated departments of theological science, in Scripture and history as well as in apologetics and dogmatic theology, in the domain of speculative as well as of practical reform, they were all rooted in one principle, and that principle subversive of the whole Christian system as it has been traditionally interpreted. They were painfully conscious of the fact that, though the leaders of the movement had for strategical purposes, inscribed the illustrious and venerated name of Newman on their banners, they were in reality marching under the inspiration and guidance of another and very different patron; and that other was Kant.

The aim of the present article is to give a connected exposition of the main principles of the Modernist system as outlined in the Papal Encyclical. The writer believes that one half the work of refutation is always accomplished when one has clearly realized the principles and the point of view of one's opponents, and that very often, as in the present case, a bare exposition of a system and its consequences supplies the most crushing refutation.

To begin with, it is to be clearly understood that the source of the trouble is to be sought for, not in theology, or Scripture, or history, but in philosophy. Adopting the line of philosophic thought only too current in the Universities of to-day, the Modernists maintain that human knowledge is confined entirely to phenomena, that man's intellectual powers can never reach out beyond these and acquire any valid notions of the realities of which these phenomena are only the manifestations; and since God, the ultimate reality, lies entirely outside the mere phenomenal world, man, by his intellectual powers, can never acquire any valid knowledge about His existence or His attributes. St. Paul, indeed, was of the opinion that from the things made we could argue to the Maker, but the Modernists are convinced that between the Creator and the created there intervenes an impassable gulf that can never be bridged by the human intellect. In this / the traditional proofs for the existence of God are

rejected, the possibility of a divine revelation is looked upon as repugnant to sound philosophic principles, the motives of credibility—the very foundations of our faith—are cast aside, and some other road must be followed if we wish to arrive at a knowledge of God, or a justification of the faith that is in us.

Now, since all external routes to God are closed, an explanation of the religious feeling which history proves to have been ever present in the human breast, is to be sought for from within man himself ; in other words, the religious principle must be immanent, and may be explained by two factors which are ever associated with human nature. In the first place, there is implanted in man's heart a yearning after or want of union with the infinite, while on the other hand, an analysis of human knowledge, whether in relation to the external world or to the sub-conscious inner state from which it is developed, reveals to man the presence of the unknowable, the great reality manifesting itself to him without and within ; and when a man yearning naturally after the divine is thus suddenly confronted with the great unknowable reality there is awakened in his heart a feeling or sentiment or attachment to it, which feeling is faith, the beginning and the principle of all religion.

Faith, therefore, according to the Modernist view, is a sentiment of the heart, not an intellectual assent to truths known by revelation.

What then, according to their view, is revelation ? If we examine carefully this religious feeling or *faith* we find that not only does it unite us to God, but it is itself produced in us by God. It is, in fact, the divinity manifesting itself within us, and so regarded, as God manifesting Himself to the individual, it is revelation. In other words, revelation is not the external manifestation by God of certain truths, nor yet these body of truths as manifested, but rather the voice of conscience within us, awakened in us by God, and laying down for our practical guidance the difference between right and wrong. Every individual, therefore, receives, and from the nature of things must receive from God a revelation, though to some, as

for instance, to Christ, the divinity may have manifested itself more vividly and more clearly than to others.

Revelation, therefore, in this system, is to be identified with the voice of the individual conscience directing man in the practice of righteousness, rather than with a body of intellectual truths externally communicated by God to the mass of mankind.

Since faith, therefore, and revelation are motions of the heart rather than intellectual assent, we should next naturally inquire what work is assigned by the Modernists to the human intellect? The human mind must take cognizance of this inner religious sentiment, this manifestation of the divinity, just as it takes cognizance of any other phenomenon; and must endeavour to translate this feeling into certain intellectual concepts, and to embody these intellectual concepts in certain formulæ or propositions. These propositions so developed by the intellect, if they be approved by the proper authority, constitute what is commonly known as *dogmas*. But with regard to these intellectual formulæ or dogmas it is to be carefully noted, that they are only the best attempt which the human intellect could make to represent to itself the religious sentiment of the heart, and the best expression of this sentiment of which the intellect is capable. They do not, therefore, adequately express the actual reality, nor are they absolutely true, but are only convenient symbols, like the x and y of algebra, by which the religious sentiment is pictured by the intellect to itself, and explained to others. It follows, therefore, that, since the religious feeling, the individual manifestation of the divinity, may be differently conceived and expressed by different intellects working under different conditions, the dogmas or intellectual forms are not only not unchangeable, but from their very nature they are subject to revision and evolution.

They must of their very nature change, because unless they are to be mere dry intellectual formulæ, they must be ever rooted in and accommodated to the inner religious sentiment of the heart. They must, as the authors of

the system put it, ever live the life of this religious sentiment; and if for any reason whatsoever they are out of harmony with this vital form, or become separated from it, they are like the limb severed from the body through the veins and arteries of which the warm blood of life can no longer course. They are no longer vivified by the religious feeling; they are pure intellectual forms without any relation to God or to the practical conduct of life, and as such are utterly useless for religion; and it is the insistence upon the acceptance of an unchanged and unchangeable body of intellectual truths, wholly out of harmony with the rule of practical conduct, that is, according to the Modernists, the bane of the Catholic Church.

Dogmas, then, according to Modernist notions, are not absolute truths delivered by God to men, but rather the formulæ in which the intellect endeavours to realize and express the religious feeling of the heart. They are only symbolic of the truth and must of necessity change if they are to be of any practical value.

Having examined the meaning of faith, revelation and dogma according to the Modernist writers, we next naturally ask ourselves what are the motives of credibility advanced by them as the basis of their system? Since philosophy cannot prove the existence of a God, and since history cannot testify that if He exists, He has ever spoken to man, how can we be certain that a personal God exists, or why do we believe that the Catholic religion is better than any of the other religious systems which have claimed or claim the allegiance of mankind?

True, indeed, they say, philosophy can tell us nothing of God, but where philosophy fails us *experience* comes to our assistance. We *feel* that there is a God. Our nature demands the existence of a supreme being, and the very satisfaction which we experience from a belief in His existence proves that He actually exists. There may be men who boast that they have never had such an experience or feeling, but if there are, it is because they have never placed themselves in the conditions required for arousing within them this experience of the divinity. We

are certain, then, of the existence of God, not by any intellectual proof, but by the satisfaction which our nature derives from such a doctrine.

In the same way we are certain that the Catholic religion is superior to all other forms of the religious life, because it is more in harmony with the wants of our nature than any of the rival systems. The very fact of its Catholicity, that is to say, of its widespread acceptance amongst so many different races during so many centuries, shows that it is more in harmony with the requirements of human nature than any other system, and that it is the best external expression of the inner religious sentiment which has been hitherto formulated. Other religions are in a certain sense true, inasmuch as they endeavour to translate into intellectual formulæ the religious sentiment which is common to all mankind, but the very fact of the universality and continued existence of the Christian religion shows that the divinity manifested itself more vividly to Christ, the author of the Christian religion, than to any other human being, and that, therefore, it expresses better the actual reality and contains more truth than any other system. In that alone is to be sought the superiority of Christianity.

Before entering into a detailed examination of the historical origin of the Christian system, it is necessary to inquire what are the relations between faith and science. How, for example, are the conclusions of history to be reconciled with the data of religion? The answer to this question, according to the Modernists, is simple enough. Human knowledge is confined entirely to the phenomenal world, beyond which lies what is for the human mind the great unknowable. Science conducts us to the borders of this world, and having admitted its inability to tell us anything of its contents, faith comes to our rescue and undertakes to be our guide. The object of faith, therefore, is the unknowable; the object of science the knowable; and as science can tell us nothing of the unknowable, so neither can faith tell us anything about the phenomenal or knowable world, and, therefore, it is impossible that there should be any contradiction between them.

But though there can be no contradiction between faith and human knowledge, the same is not true of the intellectual concepts or dogmas in which our religious belief is formulated and the conclusions of history and science. These intellectual concepts or dogmas, by which we endeavour to picture to ourselves our religious feeling must be brought into harmony with the knowledge otherwise acquired by the intellect; and in this sense, while science is independent of faith, the formulæ or dogmas by which our faith is expressed are dependent upon science, and must be always in harmony with the conclusions of history or of physical research.

But, it may be asked, are there not some things which are at the same time objects of science, since they belong to the phenomenal world, and objects of faith, since they are interferences of the divinity in the course of human affairs? For example, what is to be said of Christ? Was He true God and true Man? Was He the great Messiah that had been foretold in the Jewish books as the Saviour of the chosen people, and the forerunner of a new kingdom? Did He claim to have a divine mission in His preaching in Palestine, did He suffer death from His unbelieving countrymen, and did He rise gloriously from the tomb, as was proclaimed by His disciples to hostile crowds in the very streets of the city which had seen Him done to death?

The Modernists answer that the historian, convinced that the interference of God in the phenomenal world is impossible, must begin by cutting out from his documents everything that is beyond the powers of nature to accomplish. For him, therefore, the Christ of the New Testament is a mere man, most perfect and most intelligent if you will, but still a mere man. The miracles which He is said to have performed are explicable by natural means, or are the imaginary productions of His disciples. He died as other men die, and His body was thrown in the pit, and was subject to the same influences as is the rest of human flesh. The historian, as such, must arrive at these conclusions, but must he cease, therefore,

to be a believer? Certainly not. His innate religious feeling tells him that Christ was in some way a manifestation of the divinity in the world, that in Him God manifested Himself as He had never done before and never shall again, that, though He suffered death in Jerusalem and was thrown into the tomb, He continues to live in the faith or religious feeling which He aroused in His followers throughout succeeding ages. Guided by history, therefore, he must deny the historical evidence in favour of the divinity of Christ or of His Resurrection, but under the influence of the religious sentiment or faith he can and must believe that Christ was in some sense divine, and that in some way He has triumphed gloriously over death, and lives still in faith. The conclusions of the historians, therefore, about Christ and His Resurrection need not disturb his faith, since the criterion of the truth of faith is the measure of agreement or disagreement of any doctrine with the wants and feelings of his nature; while on the other hand, the requirements of his faith cannot interfere in any way with his researches as a historian, since faith deals with what is beyond the range of his science.

Bearing in mind, therefore, this view of the relations between faith and science, what is to be said of Christ, and whence the origin of Christianity? Christ was a great teacher in Palestine, in no way different from other men, except that His religious consciousness, the manifestation of the divinity speaking within Him, was far more vivid, though of the same kind, than is given to other men. Christ, like other men, endeavoured to submit this religious feeling so enkindled in Him to the analysis of intellect, and succeeding in reducing it to certain intellectual forms or truths, which He preached to those of His generation, and which were so in harmony with the religious wants of the human race, that they were immediately adopted by His followers, preached to the multitudes, and preserved to the world under the influence of the Church. The whole Christian system, therefore, is *evolved from the inner religious consciousness of Christ*, and is superior to that of Buddha or Mohammed in that His religious sentiment, being more

vivid than that given to other men, His system must, therefore, contain more truth than does any other system.

Such being the origin of the Christian system the question arises, what is the value of the Scripture and tradition in which its teachings are contained? What, for example, is Inspiration? According to the Modernists the inspiration of the sacred writers did not differ from the religious sentiment of other individuals, except that it was more vivid, and that they were moved by their religious impulse to commit to writing their intellectual concepts of the experience awakened in them by the divinity. Since, therefore, the writers were moved by divine influence everything written by them is in some sense inspired. But, lest the people might be deceived by this apparent over-orthodoxy of the Modernists it is to be understood that it is only the immanent vital religious feeling of the sacred writers that is of divine production. But when the sacred writers proceed to reduce to intellectual formulæ their religious experiences, the books so written by them are only symbolically true; their teachings are subject to evolution, as all attempts at an intellectual formulæ of the inner religious feeling are, and as such are to be judged by the critic as any other human work. Bearing in mind, then, that the Scriptures are only *representative* of the reality, the critic is not to regard the mere material words or the evident historical meaning of his text, but he is rather to search after the *feeling* which the writer wishes to symbolize when he adopted this particular form of words. This method of interpretation, as is evident, practically destroys the historical value of the sacred books, and opens the way to the wildest vagaries of the religious fanatic.

Just as the books of the Old Testament are an embodiment of the inner religious consciousness of their several writers, and as Christianity is the evolution of the religious consciousness of Christ, and as all revelation made to the individual comes not from external sources but is only the awakening within him of the religious sentiment or conscience, it may well be asked, what is the practical

value of the teaching of the Scriptures and of tradition? The Modernists reply that though it is true that the Scriptures and tradition do not give us an external revelation, they are useful as *representing* to us the religious sentiments of these great personages in whom the divinity had specially manifested itself, as well as in strengthening the religious sentiment in those who have already experienced the working of the divinity within them, or in even awakening the religious sentiment in those who, from one reason or another, have not acquired already the religious *experience*. In this way, then, by reading the sacred writings, by examining tradition and by the preaching of others, the religious feeling, or experience of the proper relations between the creature and God, is propagated amongst mankind, and the foundation is laid for this sentiment of the heart by which the creature is united to the Creator, and which is the beginning of all religion. The value, then, of all that Christ has taught us, and all that the Scriptures have recorded, and all that preachers propagate, lies not in its truth—for it is not true but only symbolic—but in the fact that it responds to the wants of the human heart, and awakens or strengthens in the individual the religious sentiment or consciousness of right and wrong.

It next remains to examine briefly the Modernist views on the Church and its authority as an official interpreter of religion. The Church, according to them, springs from two principles—first, the natural tendency of man to communicate his own religious experience to others, and, secondly, the wish of all those having similar religious sentiments to come together and form an association. The Church, therefore, is not an institution established in the world by external divine interposition. It springs from the union of the individual consciences, and is an expression of the inner religious sentiments of the multitude, in the same way, exactly, as is in any intellectual dogma; and just as a dogma to be vital must always be in harmony with the inner religious sentiment of the individual, so, also, must the Church ever be in harmony

with the united religious experiences of her children. Hence, though in the Middle Ages the restriction of liberty in religion was fitting at a time when in political life there was no freedom, so nowadays when the tendency everywhere is in the direction of liberty, the Church must fall into line and concede more religious liberty to the individual or else be cast aside as out of harmony with man's religious sentiments.

Just as the Church itself is the product of the united religious feeling, so, also, is its right to control doctrinal teaching. The aim, and the only aim, of its teaching power is to find out the inner religious experience of the individuals in the Christian society, and to express these feelings in suitable intellectual propositions or dogmas, and to enforce these formulæ upon its members. But it cannot forbid one of its subjects from proclaiming to the world his own religious consciousness, and trying to awaken a like sentiment in others, and *thus preparing the way for a new dogma*. Hence the *Index Librorum* and the condemnation of authors is an excessive use of power, and is, in fact, a tyranny that must be abolished.

Hence in the evolution of dogma the Church plays a part, but so also does the religious experience or conscience of the individual. If the matter were left entirely to the individual the pace would be too rapid and anarchy must ensue. If, on the other hand, it were left to the Church authority there would be no progress in dogma, and since dogma is true only as it lives and is subject to change, we should have nothing but a set of pure intellectual formulæ out of harmony with the true inward religion, and having no bearing on the line of good and evil in our everyday lives. The two powers, then, the Church and the individual conscience, act as a check upon one another, and it is only by the proper activity of both that new dogmas are prepared and formulated.

The Sacraments, also, were never in any historical sense instituted by Christ. They, too, like the Church are the product of the united religious sentiment of the Christian world. Men like to worship God, and to worship

him by means of certain external rites or signs. They selected the Sacramental rites, as corresponding well with the religious sentiment, and though in themselves the Sacraments are mere external rights, yet they are efficacious in the sense that they help to stimulate and to strengthen the religious feeling of the individual.

Did Christ then institute the Church and the Sacraments as is commonly believed? Certainly not. The immanence of all religion and the teaching of history unite in showing that such a belief is impossible. But, on the other hand, we may believe that indirectly and mediately they may, in a certain sense, be traced back to Christ. The inner religious experience of Christ was, as it were, the seed of which the religious consciousness of all His followers is the developed plant. Now, the life of the plant does not differ from the life of the seed; and, therefore, if the plant in the course of its development originates the Church and the Sacraments, we can well say that they are the work of Christ. They may, indeed, have made their appearance centuries after the disappearance of Christ from the world, but since they are the external realization of an inner religious life which is itself awakened by the religious evolution of Christ, it follows that in some way they have Christ as their author and originator.

The Modernist position with regard to history and Biblical exegesis is worthy of serious attention, and it will serve to throw light on some of the recent books of certain English and French authors. Here, too, it must be remarked, that the trouble lies not so much in the history itself as in the philosophic system which the historian must adopt before he proceeds to the examination and interpretation of his documents. The first principle he must observe is that, since human science is confined entirely to the phenomenal world, and since neither God nor divine intervention fall within this field, every reference to such is to be expunged from his *history* and relegated to the department of *faith*. In the second place, with regard to such phenomena, as, for instance, Christ and His work in the world, which have a twofold aspect,

he is to remember that these have been elevated by faith above the ordinary historical laws, and have been endowed with qualities and attributes which are superhuman. Hence, as a historian, he is to subtract from them everything which raises them above the laws of nature. And lastly, since faith has given these same phenomena certain attributes which are not in harmony with the age and time and place in which they appear, he is to remove all such additions, and treat them according to his own view of what would be ordinary or natural in the particular circumstances. Hence, as a historian, he must blot out from the history of Christ, as recorded in the Gospels and other inspired writings, everything which savours of the divine, and regard Him as a mere man. Secondly, he must remove from these same records all the qualities attributed to Christ which make Him superior to other men, and lastly, he must blot out all parables, sermons, education, actions, which do not harmonize with his own notions of what a peasant religious reformer would have done in Palestine at that particular time.

Whatever is left after the application of these three tests belongs to history, to the region of real historical facts. The rest is to be relegated to the department of *faith*; and though as a historian he can be certain that Christ was in reality a mere man, that He was put to death and rotted in the grave, that the Church, the Papacy and the Sacraments are the product of a much later age, yet since these doctrines harmonize perfectly with his own religious conscience, which is only the development of the religious sentiment of Christ, he can accept them as in some sense symbolic of the religious reality. He may even go further, and as a historian of the *faith* he may examine each successive step in the development of Christianity, and show how each sprang from certain exigencies of the time and correspond with a religious want.

As an apologist, the Modernist attempts to prove the superiority of the Catholic religion by two methods, one objective, the other, subjective. First, adopting exactly the agnostic view of history received by his

opponent, and this not as a mere *argumentum ad hominem* but as the only method philosophically possible, he undertakes to prove that the Catholic system is in exact harmony with the teaching of Christ; not in the sense that Christ actually preached all that Catholics hold sacred, but that He planted the seed from which the Catholic system is the natural development. Christ Himself taught merely that the Kingdom of God or the reign of God in men's hearts by love, was at hand, and that He Himself was its forerunner. Beginning with this, the essence of Christianity, he can show as a historian that all further developments, whether in doctrine, organization, or worship, were but responses to the religious feeling of the followers of Christ, and that in spite of all changes and evolutions, the inner religious life, of which these externals are only the expression, is still the same.

The other method is subjective, namely, by showing that the Christian and Catholic religion best responds to the wants and feelings of mankind. The very fact of the spread and continuation of the Catholic Church clearly indicates that it best harmonizes with the religious sentiments of mankind, and that it is, therefore, superior to all its rivals. They go further and attempt to prove that not only does it correspond to the capacities and feeling of the human heart—a fact which all apologists insist upon—but they undertake to prove that there is something in human nature which demands the Christian system, and which would be satisfied with nothing else. This, they say, is not alone the best but the only possible system of apologetics which can be adopted at the present day. The old scholastic method of intellectualism was good in its own time, but in view of the tendencies of modern philosophic thought it is now out of date and valueless.

From this brief exposition of the whole theory of Modernism, it will be evident, first, that as it has its origin entirely in a false notion of philosophy, it is only by a sound philosophy that it can be combated; and secondly, as Prof. Burkitt put it at the recent meeting of the Trinity College Theological Society, it is directed not against one

or two or three doctrines of Christianity, but is subversive of the whole system. It is clear, therefore, that not alone should Catholics welcome the recent Encyclical of the Holy Father, but even those outside the Church who still claim the title of Christian, must be grateful to the Pope for his courageous defence of our common heritage.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

DIALOGUES ON SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS: THE PENTATEUCH—VI

PATRICK O'FLAHERTY.—Now that the midsummer holidays are over, perhaps you would kindly explain to me the meaning of the decisions of the Biblical Commission regarding the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. You told me in our first interview that for the proper understanding of the decisions, it would be necessary to prepare my mind by some preliminary exposition of the whole matter, as you went on. I myself recognized the need for such a preparation. But before you begin, perhaps you will allow me to try to refresh my memory, and state for you, as succinctly as may be, the principal points on which, as far as I remember, you laid special stress.

FATHER O'BRIEN.—A very proper and useful preface for our present interview. Proceed, please.

P. O'F.—You explained to me, in the first place, the origin, constitution and aim of the Biblical Commission—the meaning of the much-used words 'higher criticism' and rationalism, and the objects and methods of the votaries of the latter. You then gave me a summary of the subject-matter of the Pentateuch, and explained to me the nature and relative force of the two classes of arguments that may be used in discussing the authorship of a book. You impressed on me, as of fundamental importance, that in matters of fact, such as the authorship of a book, external arguments derived from witnesses are of their very nature, in such a matter, conclusive: that internal arguments derived from an examination of the subject-matter, the language, style and other intrinsic features are only of secondary importance. If they lead to the same conclusion as the evidence of tradition, their force is of a subsidiary and confirmatory kind: if, on the

other hand, they seem to conflict with the testimony of reliable witnesses, then these must be set aside in favour of those, or a means found of reconciling both. Applying these principles to the authorship of the Pentateuch, you proved to my satisfaction, that from the present moment back to the time of Moses himself there has been a constant, unbroken, uniform, universal tradition amongst the Jewish and Samaritan races, that Moses, and he alone, was the author of the Pentateuch. You furthermore proved that a tradition equally clear, constant and universal has existed amongst not only all Catholics, but amongst all the various Christian communities from the present day back to the time of our Lord. From the words of our Blessed Lord Himself and of His apostles, it is evident that such, too, was their belief and teaching, and that it was the universal belief of all the Jews of their time. You furthermore proved, that pagan history, instead of being opposed to the Mosaic authorship rather confirmed the universal belief of Jews and Christians. Dealing with the internal arguments, you pointed out to me in detail, how all the internal features of the book fit in without the Mosaic authorship, and that the author of the book calls himself Moses, over and over again: that the only alternative hypothesis to the Mosaic authorship, namely, that some impostor wrote the book subsequently, and tried to pawn himself off on the Jews as Moses their legislator and leader, was preposterous and untenable. Finally, you gave me some specimen objections of the rationalists to the Mosaic authorship, and in solving them supplied me with a key by which others of a like kind may be solved. This is, as far as I can remember, an outline of what has been discussed between us during past interviews.

FR. O'B.—Yes, it is a fairly substantial and accurate summary of the whole matter. It is now my turn to redeem my promise and explain to you the meaning of the decisions of the Biblical Commission, that you may better understand the drift of the doubts proposed, and the replies given. I may say to you, that, broadly speaking, two classes of persons have to be distinguished when speaking

of the authorship of the Pentateuch. First, there are the rationalists, and some Christian critics with rationalistic tendencies, who deny altogether that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, alleging that it is wholly or in part the work or compilation of a person or persons subsequent to the time of Moses. Secondly, there are those who believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but diverge somewhat as to the mode or sense in which he may be called its author. Now the *dubia* or doubts proposed to the Commission, and which I assume were carefully prepared by the Commission itself, were so drafted, as to give an opportunity of answering both classes of critics. This you will see by examining closely the words of the doubts proposed and the answers given. They are as follows in English, as taken from the Roman correspondent of the *Tablet*, July 28, 1906. The document in question runs thus :—

‘To the following doubts proposed to the Pontifical Commission on Biblical Studies, the following answers have been given :

‘1. Whether the arguments amassed by critics to impugn the Mosaic authenticity of the Sacred Books known as the Pentateuch are of sufficient weight, notwithstanding the very many evidences to the contrary contained in both Testaments taken collectively, the perpetual agreement of the Hebrew people, and the constant tradition of the Church as well as the proofs furnished by internal criticism of the text, to justify the statement that these books have not Moses for their author, but have been compiled from sources for the most part posterior to the time of Moses ?

‘Answer. No.

‘2. Whether the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch necessarily postulates a redaction of the whole work in the sense that it must be absolutely held that Moses wrote with his own hand or dictated to amanuenses all and everything contained in it ; or whether it is possible to admit the hypothesis of those who think that Moses conceived the work under the influence of divine inspiration,

and then entrusted the writing of it to some other person or persons, but in such manner that they faithfully rendered his meaning, wrote nothing contrary to his will and omitted nothing; and that the work thus formed, approved by Moses as the principal and inspired author, was made public under his name.

'Answer. No, to the first; Yes, to the second.

'3. Whether it can be conceded, without prejudice to the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch, that Moses in his work used sources, i.e., written documents or oral tradition, from which, to suit his special purpose, and under the influence of divine inspiration, he selected some things and inserted them in his own work, either verbally or in substance, summarized or amplified?

'Answer. Yes.

'4. Whether granted the substantial Mosaic authenticity and the integrity of the Pentateuch, it may be admitted that in the long course of ages some modifications have been introduced into it, such as additions after the death of Moses, either inserted by an inspired author or attached to the text as glosses or interpretations; words and forms translated from the ancient language to more recent language; and, finally, faulty readings to be ascribed to the error of the amanuensis, concerning which it is lawful to investigate and judge according to the laws of criticism?

'Answer. Yes; due regard being paid to the judgment of the Church.

'FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.,

'P. LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

'*Secretaries.*'

The first doubt and the answer to it, as you will observe, refer to those who deny altogether the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

P. O'F.—I see that, and I wish to know what is the meaning—what the force of this reply.

FR. O'B.—It affirms and maintains the tradition that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch.

P. O'F.—But does it not read rather like a negative answer, as much as to say, that the opponents of the Mosaic authorship have not proven their case and shown that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch.

FR. O'B.—Even if I were to grant that the reply did that and no more, it would still be a decision in favour of the Mosaic authorship.

P. O'F.—How?

FR. O'B.—Because the authorship of Moses is in possession; consequently, if those who seek to set aside the title that arises from possession, fail in their effort, the title of the possession remains intact. But the decision goes much farther, for it says that those who are disputing the Mosaic authorship have no justification for their action.

P. O'F.—But what is the difference?

FR. O'B.—There is a vast difference in my opinion. Let me explain it by an illustration. Suppose that you tried to dispossess your neighbour, William O'Doherty, from his holding, alleging that he had no right to it but it was the property of somebody else. If the judge were to decide by saying that you had not proven your contention, what would be the result of such a decision?

P. O'F.—The result would be, of course, that William O'Doherty would continue in possession of his holding.

FR. O'B.—Yes, but would such a decision deter you from the right to make further efforts to gain your object, and try to have him dispossessed?

P. O'F.—Certainly not. It would simply mean that so far I had failed in my attempt to disprove his right to the holding, but I would be perfectly free to try and fish up new and better proofs in support of my contention.

FR. O'B.—Quite so. But suppose the judge were to decide: You are not justified in saying that William O'Doherty is not the rightful owner of the holding, because here are his title deeds proving his right to it. Would not such a decision be something different from the other?

P. O'F.—Certainly; because in this latter decision, the judge not only says that I had failed to prove that he

was not the rightful possessor, but positively affirms that he is the rightful owner of the holding in his possession, because he points to his title deeds, and having produced and recognized their validity, he tells me that I have no justification for my allegation that he is not the rightful owner, and that consequently any future attempt on my part to dispute his title or dispossess him would be wrong and unjustifiable.

FR. O'B.—Quite right. Now that is precisely what the Biblical Commission has done. It has not merely said that the critics who are impugning the Mosaic authorship have not proven their contention, but tell them very clearly that they have no justification whatever for their statement that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch, seeing that Moses' title to the authorship is based on many proofs in both Testaments, on the perpetual agreement of the Hebrew people, on the constant tradition of the Church, also on proofs furnished by internal criticism of the text. That is, the Commission is not satisfied with a bald decision, saying that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, but in very few words gives the basis of its decision, in other words the title deeds of Moses' claim to the authorship.

P. O'F.—I think I see now the full force of the decision, and I further understand why it was that you, before coming to deal with the interpretation of the decision, went to so much trouble to explain to me the nature and value of external and internal arguments, also the arguments of both kinds which prove the Mosaic authorship. But may I ask what are the arguments amassed by critics to impugn the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch, to which allusion is made in the first doubt?

FR. O'B.—They are altogether of an internal kind derived from language, style, etc., mere conjectures about documents and fragments, etc., all which, as I have told you, are of no force as against external arguments when the question in dispute is one of fact: for, as you know, facts are to be proved not by *a priori* reasoning or hypotheses, but by witnesses. Now the destructive critics who deny

the Mosaic authorship have not even attempted to produce a single external argument; they do not pretend even that there was ever such a thing as a tradition of any kind either written or spoken, either amongst the Jews or Christians, that anybody else except Moses was the author. Their only arguments are taken from an examination of the work, in which they find up and down certain words, or sentences, or statements, which they say they cannot reconcile with the Mosaic authorship, and forthwith, because they think it improbable that Moses could have written it on account of these internal difficulties, they jump to the conclusion that he did not write it. With these people the universal belief of the Hebrews themselves from the days of Moses down to the present time, the universal constant tradition of all Christians count for nothing, though as a matter of fact they should count for everything, and be the powerful criterion by which to decide the question; but these little philological, geographical, and archæological guessings and subtilities to the contrary, ought, in their estimation, be sufficient to disprove this belief so ancient and so securely established.

P. O'F.—But who, according to these critics, wrote the Pentateuch?

FR. O'B.—That is the question that they cannot answer. Like the heretics, split up into numberless warring sects, united only in their opposition to, and hatred of the true Church, these destructive critics, who are bitterly opposed to the Mosaic authenticity, are united only in one thing, that is, in asserting that Moses is not the author of it, but when they are asked, Who then wrote it? then you will see them, like all persons who wander from the true path, go hither and thither in different directions. Each going his own way, each having his own conjecture, and contradicting one another. Later on I may give you some illustrations of this which I now state.

P. O'F.—But is there any reason for doubting that the Biblical Commission has decided that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch?

FR. O'B.—None that I know of. Don't you observe

that the three following questions prepared by the Commission itself, presuppose the fact of the Mosaic authorship. Furthermore, the opponents of the authenticity have understood the decrees as a decision against themselves as I have already told you regarding the Rev. Mr. Briggs and Baron Von Hugel, about whom more later on.

P. O'F.—But do you regard this decision, approved of by the Holy Father, as an *ex cathedra* infallible one.

FR. O'B.—Certainly not ; but it has all the weight and authority of every other decision that has since been, or may in the future be, issued by this Commission under similar circumstances.

P. O'F.—But what do you think of those, who, notwithstanding that decision, would still maintain that Moses did not write the Pentateuch. Would they come under any theological note of censure ?

FR. O'B.—Oh, well it is not for me or any other private individual to be giving notes of theological censure on anybody. These notes of censure have well defined meanings, and it is the business of the Holy See to apply them. I may, of course, as an individual have my own views regarding the want of a sound critical spirit in some cases, or want of loyalty to the Holy See in other cases, as regards those who would henceforward question the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But that is a different thing from applying to them notes of theological censure.

P. O'F.—But why is it that the authenticity of the Pentateuch is so bitterly assailed by rationalists, and persons with rationalistic tendencies ?

FR. O'B.—The reason is obvious. Because the Pentateuch is the foundation stone of all divine revelation ; it is the very basis of the whole history of God's dealings with man. Little wonder then that this book should be assailed with persistent virulence and hatred by those men who, in the words of Leo XIII, 'have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them, . . . who deny that there is any such thing as revelation, or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all, who see instead only the

forgeries and falsehoods of men—who set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories: to whom the prophecies and oracles of God are either predictions made after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature: with whom the miracles and wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere truths and myths; and the apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the Apostles at all. . . . And there are some of them,' continues the great Pontiff, 'who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God, and Christ, the Gospels, and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honourable names their rashness and their pride.' These are the men who are assailing the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and are concentrating on this book their most violent and furious attacks.

P. O'F.—But may I ask, if in the hypothesis—now, I am convinced, an untenable one—that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch, would it necessarily follow that the book would be devoid of authority, and its contents unworthy of belief? I am now speaking of the Pentateuch from a human and historic point of view.

FR. O'B.—That is rather a subtle question for a young man like you to put. But I answer in the first place, what is the use of discussing the results of an untenable hypothesis? However, in reply to your query, I say that, as the only alternative to the Mosaic authorship would be, as I have said, that some impostor or impostors composed it in the name of Moses, so the question resolves itself into this: Does the fact of a book being spurious or written by an impostor make it, *ipso facto*, unworthy of credence? To which I answer that, absolutely speaking and in the abstract, it is conceivable that a forgery may be truthful, but ordinarily, and in the concrete, it is not so. And applying this principle to the authenticity of a book, the taint of illegitimacy of origin in a book begets a presumption of the unveracity of its contents. Therefore,

once you admit that Moses did not write the Pentateuch you open the way for disbelieving every statement contained in it. This the rationalists fully realize, and hence the superhuman efforts they have been making to discredit the Mosaic authenticity. Hence, too, the imprudence of Christians and Catholics who allow themselves to be captivated and led astray by what Leo XIII called the 'detestable errors' of these men which they 'obtrude on the world as the peremptory pronouncement of a newly *invented free science*; a science, however, which is so far from final that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it.' Imprudence I say, because, if you once set aside the constant and uniform tradition of the Jews and Christians for the authorship by Moses, you cut the ground from under your feet for belief in any part of the past.

P. O'F.—It seems to me, pardon me for saying so, that you are altogether too conservative in your views, and completely out of touch with the liberal and progressive spirit of the twentieth century.

FR. O'B.—You may be right, but in self-defence I may say that I think there is a great deal of confused thinking and loose talk about these words conservative, liberal, and progress.

P. O'F.—Please explain yourself?

FR. O'B.—You see, the word conservative may be understood in two ways. It may be taken to mean opposition to change of any kind, to better as well as to worse, to construction as well as to destruction, to upwards as well as to downwards. If you mean that I am conservative in that sense, you misunderstand me. I am not a conservative in that sense. But conservatism may mean opposition to radical and destructive changes, to progress not upwards but downwards, in that sense you may call me conservative. I believe that when there is not life, there cannot be growth, development or progress; and, consequently, that it is only under the guidance of the Catholic Church, which is the living authority representing God on earth; under the domain of theology,

Biblical criticism and kindred subjects, there can be any true progress. Outside her fold the progress in these subjects has been of a downward and destructive kind. That is the natural and logical outcome of their own principles. The history of Protestantism to-day is a living witness of this truth. Having set aside the principles of authority, they made the Bible, as interpreted by individuals, the sole rule of faith. They claimed the Bible and the Bible alone as the special charter and foster-child of Protestantism. Rationalism is the natural progeny of Protestantism, and you have heard in the eloquent words of Leo XIII how the Bible has suffered at the hands of the rationalists. The liberalism of which you now hear so much in connexion with theories on theological, Biblical and scientific subjects, is generally associated with the destructive, disintegrating aims and policy of rationalism, and is the opponent of dogma, tradition and authority. With such liberalism I have no sympathy, neither has the Church of Christ. She is the fostering mother of conservative progress and the stern opponent of destructive liberalism. Every new truth in the domain of history, science or criticism she takes to her bosom and incorporates with her old system. There can be no real conflict between truth and truth, each only serves to conform and illustrate the other. But those theories, no matter how specious or from what source they emanate, which came in conflict with the charge delivered to her, she repudiates and condemns. You have a luminous example of this spirit and policy of the Church in the decisions of the Biblical Commission regarding the Pentateuch which we have under consideration. This I shall endeavour to point out to you in our next interview when explaining the answers to the other *dubia*.

H. D. L.

MODERN RATIONALISM ITS RISE, PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

AN event of considerable importance for the well-being of the Church has taken place within the past few weeks, namely, the condemnation by the Holy See of a series of propositions culled from the teachings of latter-day scientists and political writers. Those pseudo-scientists belong not to one country in particular ; they are the product of several countries both of Europe and the New World, but chiefly of France, to-day the unhappy centre of militant atheism and irreligion.

As will be seen from the *elenchus*, the great bulk of the condemned propositions are concerned with the inspiration and authenticity of the Scriptures, and especially of the New Testament. This being so, it will not, I conceive, be uninteresting to the readers of the I. E. RECORD to accompany me in a survey of the revolt of the quasi-learned of modern times against the authority and reverence due to those sacred documents. Like many another crawling and creepy thing, alike in the domains of religion and of science, that revolt was the offspring of the so-called Reformation accomplished by Luther and his associates in the sixteenth century. But it is a long way to travel from the revolt of Luther against the authority of the Church in the sixteenth century, to the total denial of the divinity of the Bible, and of all religion, and the crass materialism and atheism of Strauss and hundreds of others in the nineteenth ; and I shall only touch on the doings of the chief actors in the scene.

Luther and Calvin, in order to strengthen themselves in their revolt against the authority of the Church, laid it down, as the chief plank in their system, that the inspired word, as interpreted by each individual, with the help of the interior lights which the Holy Ghost communicates to him,

was the sole rule of faith and morals. Hence, they raised the cry of 'The open Bible for all.'

By this teaching they, at a stroke, cut off the two great channels of religious belief and practice among the people—Catholic tradition, as handed down from apostolic times, and the teaching authority of the Church; and left it in the power of every knave and pious fool who read the Bible to torture the sacred word to his own damnation and that of others. From that time, private interpretation of the Scriptures was the one great weapon of Protestantism in its quarrel with the Church—a quarrel that was carried on with the greatest bitterness for a period of a hundred and fifty years.

As is easily seen it was a principle that made for continual disintegration and irregularity among Protestants themselves; for, how get men to agree upon the interpretation of high and generally abstruse doctrine contained in folios of dead type? But yet, however great may be the disintegration going on in Protestantism—and, as I have said, it is a principle that, from its very nature, makes for disintegration—some show of unity must be opposed to front the common enemy. So, the Protestant teachers stick to their twin doctrine of private interpretation and the open Bible. Nay, some of the reformers in their fanaticism went so far as to carry beyond all reasonable bounds their veneration for the Bible; so far, indeed, as to look upon every dot and corner of a letter of Scripture as inspired. Some even went further; and we have one grave Protestant divine, at least, proposing it as a matter of serious consideration whether the word of Scripture were a creature, or whether it were not God Himself. And a story is told that when a certain Protestant missionary was passing by the shanty of a native of one of the Polynesian islands, the native cried out to his friends: 'See, there goes a man who carries his God [his Bible] in his wallet; whereas we have our gods in the *Marae*' [temple of Polynesian divinities].

But a day of reaction came for the veneration paid by Protestants to the word of Scripture, and then the seeds

of corruption sown in the heart of Protestantism itself began to germinate with a vengeance. Like many another brave achievement that may be put to the credit of England, it is worthy of note that the actual war on the Scriptures commenced in that country. It originated in this way:

When Locke, towards the close of the seventeenth century, undertook the refutation of Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, a pronounced deist, he himself fell into greater errors still against supernatural religion than he whom he attacked. From this time deists were multiplied in Great Britain, and they flooded the kingdom with their impious writings. A society of freethinkers was organized which counted amongst its members many influential names belonging to the aristocracy and literary men of the period.

Afterwards, when Voltaire—name of evil fame—was a refugee from France in 1726-8, he received hospitality from his friend Lord Bolingbroke, and during his two years' stay in England he moved in this society which had already done incalculable injury to religion by their writings and still more by the influence of their evil examples.

But, above all, Voltaire carried back with him to France the well-developed germs of irreligion and contempt for the teachings of Scripture—a contempt which he scattered all around him by means of his satiric pen, and no less satiric tongue.

In Germany, at the same time, irreligious writers attacked the belief, such as it was, of Protestants, led on by the example of Frederick II, King of Prussia, who declared that Luther had torn only half the veil from superstition; and, on the whole, that great country of scientists had been in a very bad way, from a religious point of view, from the time of the great revolt of Luther.

Things were in this condition in England, France and Germany, when a man of more audacity than had yet arisen prepared in secret an attack, all along the line, on the credit and authority given hitherto to the teachings of the Bible. This was the author of a work entitled, *An Apology for the adorers of God according to reason*. It

was a manuscript of some 4,000 pages, left among the papers of a certain professor, with directions that it should not be published till after his death. A copy of this manuscript came into the possession of a friend of the deceased. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, then librarian of the Duke of Brunswick, in Wolfenbüttel, who, from time to time, commencing in 1774, published extracts from them—extracts which are known historically as the *Fragments of Wolfenbüttel*.

For a long time the identity of the writer was unknown : but in later times—to be exact in 1827—he was found to be a professor of philosophy in the University of Hamburg, named Samuel Reimar. The editor of the *Fragments* commenced by claiming toleration for the deists, without, yet, directly attacking revelation. Then, in 1777, he attacked revelation in general, then the Old Testament, and, finally, the New.

The first *Fragment* had already produced a great commotion in Germany. But the indignation of the people knew no bounds when they read, in the extracts published subsequently, objection after objection preferred against revelation, and against the teaching and person of our Lord Jesus Christ. Not content with treating Moses and the other sacred writers as impostors, he blushed not to bring the same charge against our Lord Himself. Him he regarded as a clever man with patriotic aspirations ; but one who did not stick at imposture and tricks of sleight of hand to attain the end He had in view, of re-establishing the reign of Theocracy once more among the Jews such as it had existed in the time of Moses and the Judges. It was impossible, as you see, to reject more boldly the authority of the Scriptures, and the reverence and faith which is due to them. Since the establishment of Christianity, religion had scarcely ever before been so grossly attacked and insulted.

The Protestant preachers of Germany were the first to feel the pressure of the attack. But, instead of meeting it directly, as Catholic theologians would have done, they began by performing an operation similar to that executed

by seamen when caught in a violent hurricane. They began to throw overboard what seemed to them, in the scriptural writings, as useless tackle. In a word, they began the defence of religion by making concessions to the rationalists. This was all the freethinkers desired: so, pressing the attack, on the discovery of the unrest of the ministers; and pressing these very confessions on the disputed texts of Scripture to their logical conclusions; coming on, moreover, in successive and ever more sweeping denials of the Divine character of the sacred word; they, in a short time, arrived at the total denial of inspiration of the Bible. This was the first step taken by the freethinkers in furtherance of the aims they had in view—the destruction of religious belief in the minds of the multitude in Germany and elsewhere.

It were all very well if these opinions about Christ and religion were confined to doctrinaires in their cabinets, but the impious, as in all such cases, urged on by the great enemy of mankind, pushed their doctrines everywhere. Unfortunately, too, the places that were most deeply affected with the impiety were the chief centres of educated thought and culture in Europe. As a consequence, those who entered the higher schools and universities became at once caught with the thought and atmosphere around them; till, in time, they themselves became ardent propagators of unbelief. Nor did they stop; nor, indeed, could they be expected to stop at the mere propagation of sentiments or convictions. On the contrary, they, at once, proceed to act in open hostility to religion of all kinds; but, especially, to that one great institution, founded by Jesus Christ, concerning which it had been said, that, though against her the impious should rage and devise vain things, yet 'the gates of hell should not prevail against her.'

I need not go into much detail concerning the further attacks of the freethinkers upon religion.

The next point of the Church's teaching impugned was the possibility of miracles; and this, by Semler, Eichorn and others, towards the close of the eighteenth century.

These interpreted all the miraculous events recorded in Scripture as the results of natural causes; and they attributed to the authors of these events a secret knowledge, which the multitude, ever credulous and prone to exaggeration, referred to supernatural agencies. Their theory, the one adopted by all modern rationalists, has been formulated by Paul in the following series of propositions:

1°. Every fact the causes of which, whether exterior or interior, cannot be reduced to the ordinary laws of history is null and of no avail.

2°. The power, wisdom and goodness of God are manifested by the regular order of nature, and not by the suspension of its laws.

3°. The most inexplicable derogation of the laws of nature cannot confirm or weaken any truth whatsoever.

4°. The existence of a dogma cannot be established by a cure, however extraordinary one may suppose it to be.

In a word, this chief representative of the natural interpretation lays it down as a principle that the existence of the miracle must be denied *a priori* and without proof.

It would not be without profit to bear in mind that the philosophical systems that are seen to pululate in Germany at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century exercised on Biblical criticism an influence much more considerable than is commonly believed. The one and the other marched in parallel lines, and mutually inspired and sustained each other. Thus, the doubts of Lessing led to the radical negation of Strauss; the scepticism of Kant conducted to the pantheism of Hegel on the one side, and to the atheism of Feuerbach and Schopenhauer on the other.

The chiefs of the philosophical schools have, besides, thought it their duty to give openly their advice upon religious questions. Kant, among others, wrote a book on *Religion within the limits of pure reason*. He there averred that:—

Natural religion is the sole, true, and universal religion. Religions which are called revealed are only human attempts having for end the assuring an external authority for the natural

religion. The study of historic questions which depend on a revealed religion; for example—the life of its founder—the miracles and prophecies on which it pretends to found its authority—this study is completely useless. The sole point which deserves attention is its moral code.

But let me go on to say that the final and most vicious attack on the divine writings came from Strauss, Baur, De Wette, and many others of minor note, in the nineteenth century, who counted all those wonderful things recorded of our Lord, and Moses, and the other great personages of the Old and New Testaments, as *myths*.

Strauss it was who cast aside all by denying not only the inspiration of Scripture, and the possibility of miracles, but even the authenticity of Scripture itself. Starting with Reimar and Paul with the absolute denial of the supernatural, he separated himself from the crude blasphemies of the former who regarded the chief personages of the Old and New Testaments as impostors; and from the perplexities in which a natural interpretation of a wholly miraculous history involved the latter, by simply denying the historic worth of the sacred writings themselves.

Our Lord he would treat as the ethnic peoples have treated their pre-historic heroes, namely, as a man who, having performed great deeds of the natural order in His day, gained an ascendancy over His fellows. And from the ascendancy He thus attained through means of His great achievements, the myth—a figment of the imagination—gathered round His name, which, coming into existence in uncritical and generally uncultured times, has hung a mantle about Him down to this day. Nay, in his notorious *Life of Jesus* he scarcely acknowledges the historic existence of the Christ. And again: 'To pretend,' says he, 'that the Biblical writers were ocular witnesses, or near ones, of the events which they relate is only a prejudice. . . . It has been for a long time *proved*' [mark the word, *proved*] 'that we can little trust the titles which decorate ancient books, and, nominally, religious ones.'¹

¹ Pages 80-1.

Thus it was that irreligious teachings advanced step by step from the pleasantries of Voltaire and Bolingbroke in the seventeenth century till we arrive at the crass pantheism, materialism, and atheism of Strauss and numbers of others in the nineteenth.

The audacity of Strauss in trampling down the last strong fence which had hitherto guarded the veneration paid to the Scriptures seems to have excited the emulation of others, and to have pushed them to go still farther than he in the way of impiety. The appearance of his book, *The Life of Jesus* (1835), was the signal for an irruption of impious writings on the part of many others, an irruption which he encouraged by his example when he did not inspire it directly.

Some of these writers carried their extravagance to unheard of lengths. Thus, one of them, Feuerbach, in a book published in 1841 entitled, *The Essence of Christianity*, declares that 'the pretended identity of human nature with the Divine [in allusion to the Incarnation] is only the identity of human nature with itself.' It is man who is the supreme being: *Homo sibi Deus*, and 'man is what he eats,' or, as Max Stirner expresses it after him, 'there is nothing real on earth but myself and the food that nourishes me.' Again, 'Religion is an illusion, and a dangerous illusion. It is a vampire that sucks the best blood out of a man in order to justify its most immoral acts.' And again, 'Christianity transports man with his affections into heaven; that is to say, into the country of chimeras: we must, consequently, abandon the Christian concept of the State: break with the hypocritical and servile race of theologians; and occupy ourselves solely with that which is—the body.' Another, 'Max Stirner' (Johann Kaspar Schmidt), draws clearly the consequences of this doctrine: 'Of all men he whom I know and whom I love best is myself. The myself is my whole catechism, I do what I wish to do, and what pleases me.'

And another, Arnold Ruge, essaying to build on the ruins which his predecessors in impiety had caused,

unfurls the banner of socialism and militant radicalism and proclaims the union of the peoples on the ground of the democracy. On the subject of religion he alleges that—

Christianity is only a new edition of Buddhism—a poetic fiction of nature ; Jesus Christ, a myth, but a myth in a different sense to that of Strauss ; proclaims that there is no sin, no God, no immortality, no other consolation for man than that which he gives himself by making lightning conductors and steam engines.

But no one pushed extravagance farther than did the great pagan himself, Strauss, the denier of the authenticity of the Bible :—

Are we still Christians ? [he asks himself, fancying himself to be only the echo of a multitude of unbelievers]. No, [he replies], Rationalism, or the natural interpretation of Kant, has sapped revelation. Critical Theology has made it crumble and fall to pieces. The person of Christ is no longer but a problem, and men cannot have faith in a problem. Science, by snatching from Jesus the divine mantle with which gullibility and superstition had invested Him, has annihilated Christianity. Are we still religious ? [continues the author]. No ; we are so no longer. A foolish terror had invented the gods of paganism. The high idea which an erring horde had of themselves, caused them to invent monotheism. Astronomy has chased God from heaven . . . Kant had already observed, with reason, that in prayer even the attitude of the suppliant is unseemly. Why pray ? There is no God distinct from us. Nothing exists only the universe ; and in the universe nothing exists but matter, etc.

Thus, in their teaching, extravagance treads upon the heels of extravagance. But, however variable and contradictory may be the doctrines which they proclaim to the world in matters of religion there is one point on which all modern rationalists are agreed, and that is the denial of the authenticity and inspiration of the books of Scripture.

Alongside of this extreme school of critics, and which has been called the ' Hegelian left,' and springing from the same root, there grew up another school of critics called

the school of Tubingia. Its founder and chief was Ferdinand Christian Baur, Strauss's old master, and afterwards his fellow-professor and disciple in the University of Tubingia. Seeing that Strauss's criticism was entirely destructive in its aims and sterile in its results; admitting, moreover, with him, that the Gospel history was doubtful, he proposed to himself to study scientifically, and no longer solely by arbitrary inventions, what this history contained of truth and falsehood, and to explain its origin.

The fundamental idea of his criticism, the one that won for him a name, is, that there existed two antagonistic parties in the bosom of primitive Christianity. On the one side were ranged the twelve Apostles who recognized as chiefs, Peter, James and John; and, on the other, Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and his followers. The former were imbued with Ebionite principles; recognized our Lord as the Messiah in whom were accomplished the events predicted by the prophets; urged the observance of Jewish customs, and favoured an entirely national Church formed of the Jewish people. The latter, who came later, urged with all the force of his strong personality the formation of a universal Church which should take in the pagan nations. He throws down the barriers in which the national Church was imprisoned; breaks openly with Judaism, the Temple and the Mosaic law. The struggle between the contending parties was long and severe, till, at length, a third party favouring peace arose, and brought about a compromise, as the result of which the Church emerged such as we see her at this day. He goes on, then, to point out the parts of the New Testament composed by the favourers of the one or the other of the contending parties, and of the party urging a compromise, and to determine the epochs in which the several documents were written.

Needless to say, the whole system is a jungle of hypotheses and absurdities, as indeed, are, all the systems fabricated by the rationalists; for, it is the penalty of error ever to be inconsistent with itself, and to build on an

unsteady foundation ; but however inconsistent and absurd the theory of Baur, its novelty caught the fancy of admirers who laboured to construct on it a school which, though contradictory in its teachings, has lasted down to the present day.

During all the time that the war against revealed religion and the authenticity of the Bible was going on in Europe, the Catholic scholars were not behindhand in meeting the attacks of the Church's enemies. More wise, however, than the theologians of the Protestant sects ; strong in their councils, moreover, by the divine solidity of the system which they defended, and protected by their own deep faith, in which they felt secure, they budged not before their enemies. They upheld the authority of religion and belief in the inspired word, meeting argument with argument, using the weapons that science put in their hands with a dexterity equal, at least, to their opponents. Nay, turning to their advantage the discoveries of the newer sciences, such as geology, biology, Biblical archæology, comparative philology, and others ; holding up, moreover, the flimsy arguments of the irreligious writers, they alone stood firm in the old faith in the Scriptures where many of the Protestant doctors were found wanting.

But more than all were they sustained in their belief, and cheered by the presence amongst them of the ever-watchful steersman of the 'bark of Peter,' who, seeing danger ahead, gave out in time, as in the present case, the word of warning, and rode the good ship safe amid the stormy waters, when all around him, to the right-hand and to the left, were seen the wreck and ruin of shipwrecked and discarded systems and beliefs.

A. M. SKELLY, O.P.

NOTE.—I should be unjust to a great body of Protestant scholars and divines if I did not acknowledge the immense services rendered to Biblical studies by their writings and researches ; but, as is ever the case where a strong centre of authority is wanting, their cause was weakened, and their efforts in good part nullified by the defection of many of their brethren and by the weakness and vacillation of others.

CHRISTMAS EVE

The time draws near the birth of Christ ;
 The moon is hid, the night is still ;
 The Christmas bells from hill to hill
 Answer each other through the mist.

Peace and good-will, good-will and peace,
 Peace and good-will to all mankind.

THE 'Virgin' or 'Angel Chimes,' as the Christmas bells were sometimes called, ushered in the 'witching time' of Christmas, with peals of joy all up and down the land. In some places as at Dewsbury, as soon as the last stroke of twelve had sounded, the age of the year is tolled, as on the death of any person, and is termed 'the Old Lad's' or the devil's passing bell, from the old notion that the devil died when Christ was born.

Altogether Christmas Eve was a rare and fascinating time. All nature was believed to unite in celebrating the Birth of Christ, and to partake in the universal joy which the anniversary of the Nativity inspires. In some places it was known as the 'Pasch of the Nativity'—or in old English, 'Yule Merriment'—the 'Night of Song,' the 'Great Night,' the 'Holy Night,' the 'Night of Mary,' or the 'Vigil of Lights' from the large number of lights then kindled. People also sent presents of lights to one another. Even the dumb creatures fell upon their knees at midnight, as in an attitude of devotion, 'with a groan almost human,' to do honour to the night of the Holy Birth ; for such reverence did the oxen to the Lord's manger-bed, a custom their descendants have never ceased to observe, and what is still more singular since the alteration of the 'Style,' they continue to do this only on the eve of Old Christmas Day. For is it not said in Isaias i. 3 : 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib : but

Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider'? And not alone did they offer their homage, but warmed with their breath the Holy Child.

In many places, particularly North Hampshire villages, in Devonshire and Cornwall the people were wont to sit up till midnight, and as soon as they heard the leaves rustling (in the bursting of the buds of the Holy Christmas Thorn into flower, for 'as they comed,' said a North Somersetshire villager, 'you could hear 'um haffer') they would go to the nearest cattle stall to watch the animals stand up and lie down on their other side. On Mr. Lee's estate at Diddington, near Ilminster, the cattle knelt to the holy thorn on Old Christmas Eve, as they did 'with a low moaning noise' to the myrrh-tree in the Isle of Man. Moreover, the bees sing in their hives on the same auspicious occasion, and the sheep go in procession in commemoration of the visit of the angels to the shepherds. Another old saying tells how the birds sit in the trees with the bleeding breast, i.e., amongst the red holly berries, on Christmas Day.

According to Florentine tradition the animals have the gift of speech, but it is upon Twelfth Night (Old Christmas Day), and the cattle talked in their stalls on Christmas night. In Mecklenburg it is not permissible to call certain animals by the proper names, and he who does not say, for instance, 'long tail' for fox, 'earth-runner' for mouse pays a forfeit.¹ In fact there is a general transformation of all things: stone walls are turned into cheese, water drawn at midnight is miraculously turned into wine (a belief widely diffused), bread baked then will never become mouldy.

In Poland, Swabia and elsewhere, the heavens are believed to open on this night to him who stands upon the junction of four cross roads, and the scene of Jacob's ladder is re-enacted, but alas! only to saints is it visible. According to the ancient tradition among the Norsemen

¹ An allusion to the old notion that the blessed souls that lived with Woden were then incarnate in the beasts for a little space, and whose real names must not be mentioned. In talking to a brownie one must not call a knife, sword, axe, etc., by its proper name, but as the sharp thing, etc.

and old Teutons, that at this time Odin and his host left Valhalla and rode abroad over the world, or awoke with his armed heroes from his sleep in the cloud mountain, and strode forth through the earth. The German Hausfraus, if curious to know what will happen during the year, creeps into the winter corn and hears the future revealed. The possessor of a four-leaved clover can by its means see spirits on Christmas Eve. The whole earth is under a spell and the celestial inhabitants go to and fro in the world. Thus throughout Northern Germany tables are spread and lights left burning during the entire night, that the Virgin Mother and Child with their attendant angel-escort, who pass when all are asleep, may find something to eat. In some parts of Austria candles are placed in the windows in order that the Christ Child might not stumble in passing through the village. In the Zillertal (Tyrol), it is a general custom after the Christmas Eve supper, and before going to midnight Mass, to leave a great bowl of milk on the table, with all the spoons which have been used set round it. On returning from church one or two spoons will be moved from their places in the circle, and some good fortune is sure to come to their owners, for the Virgin and Child have supped milk with those spoons. In other places it is customary to hide the knives beneath the cloth that they may not cut the angels' feet. On this night it is possible, so the Russian believes, to see the wraith of those destined to die in the course of the year.

Doubtless all these things and others more wonderful owe their origin to the so-called apocryphal gospels, the stories and anecdotes that were told in the tent, in the shadow of palm-trees, when the caravan halted, in the modest homes of the neophytes of the Primitive Church. They contain an image of the life and soul of the new Christian society, of its habits, opinions and practices. They were, in short, the popular poems of the new cult, which faith and imagination were continually embellishing, and which during fourteen centuries 'were the joy and solace of the Western world.'

The *Proto-Evangelium* of James the Less tells how

Joseph left Mary in a cave in the pains of childbirth, and went to Bethlehem to find a midwife. As he journeyed he saw the firmament still, the air darkened, and the birds motionless. Looking on the ground, he saw a skillet full of meat ready cooked, and workmen reclining beside it, with their hands in the pot. At the moment of eating they ate not, and those that stretched out their hand took nothing, and the looks of all were directed on high. The sheep were scattered and walked not, but remained motionless, and the shepherd, raising his staff to strike them, his hand remained without striking. Looking towards a river, he saw some goats whose mouths touched the water, and yet they did not drink, for at the solemn moment of the great Birth nature held her breath, all things were stopped in their course, and all action suspended.

In honour of the Holy Birth Night, though it was the depth of winter, thick trails of clustered jessamine—rosy pink, not white, for it paled with horror at the Crucifixion—swathed the wattles surrounding the stable-shed, while the Christmas rose bloomed in frosty snowy luxuriance in the fields around. In our own country the Holy Thorn of Christmas still blooms amongst us at this season.

Leonhardi in his *Viertel Jahrschrift* gives an account of a yearly ceremony which takes place at Poschiavo at the foot of the Bernina Pass, where after the Christmas Eve service in church, the 'Vigil of the Christmas Rose' is held at one or the other of the houses in the village. The mistress of the house places on the table lighted candles and the best glass which is filled with water in which floats a dried plant, probably a specimen of that known as the 'Rose of Jericho.' The company assembled round the table sing psalms and hymns as they watch the opening of the flower. This accomplished, with the exclamation, 'The Christmas Rose has opened,' they begin a new hymn of rejoicing, while the church bells carry the message up and down the valley.

The twelve days of the Holy Festival was called Christmas-tyde, or Yule, or the sun wheel. The *Rig Veda* describes the year as the 'twelve-spoked wheel of Rita

which circles round the heavens without the axle ever getting heated or the wood rotten, while 720 twin brothers keep climbing up on it,' i.e., 360 days and as many nights. In the Buffalo Dance of the Mandans one of the dancers holds in his hand such a spoked wheel,¹ and very similar to that carried in Germany in the procession of the hobby horse (klapper block). The Anglo-Saxons, the Venerable Bede says, called this season *Modranecht*, or Mothers' Nights, as if each of the days was the mother of a month of the coming year, and so these nights have been regarded as giving prognostications of what the weather will be in the ensuing year, taking each day to prefigure the month of which it is her mother. Hence the German 'Mothering Nights.'

The illumination of the churches at Christmas time is still customary in some places as in the Welsh 'Pylgain,' and a special illumination of churches at this season was customary in many others, as the Church has from the earliest ages manifested her joy by the kindling of many lights. They were in use by the Jews at the Dedication Feast, and in the Temples of Saturn.² In the Isle of Man the eve of Christmas is still observed with great pomp, the peasants vying with each other in bringing tapers to the church, and in singing carols there. At Tenby it was customary of old for four young men to escort the rector with lighted torches from his house to the church at four o'clock on Christmas morning, and to conduct him home after this early service in a similar manner. The practice had probably some connexion with the 'Pylgain.'

The colliers of Llwynymaen, near Oswestry, had a custom of carrying about from house to house, during the evenings of Christmas week, boards covered with clay, in which were stuck lighted candles, an ancient usage intended, no doubt, to indicate the birth of the 'Light of the World.' At St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, an

¹ See *Universal Instructor* (Ward, Lock & Co.), vol. ii., p. 681.

² There were certain Feasts called feasts of candles, on which candles were lighted, as Christmas, SS. John, Stephen, Innocents, Circumcision, etc.

early service was held within living memory on Christmas morning, when the church was lighted with coloured candles, carried thither for the occasion by the congregation.

On the thresholds of the village churches in the Cevennes, in Provence, and other parts, baskets full of candles are placed, one of which each peasant takes on passing, lighting it at a lantern hung at the door for the purpose, and entering adds its light to the blaze within, joining with the many voices singing 'Christmas night more beautiful than the day.'

English chandlers gave their customers Christmas candles at this time.

As we have already seen the Temples of Saturn were not only illuminated with an abundance of lights, but were also decked and hung with branches of trees and evergreens, and in the mid-winter festival—the Brumalia—so it was the practice to hang green boughs upon the houses. Moreover, the protest of Gregory Nazianzen against the excess, among other things, of adorning the doors, shows us to what an extent these customs, heretofore of paganism, had been adopted into Christian worship, for floral and other decoration of the walls of churches go back to very early times.

The branches of trees and evergreens were adopted into religious worship, evidently as symbols of life maintained through the depth of winter, and as tokens of rejoicing. Their use prevailed long anterior to Christianity in both Jewish and heathen worship. The practice can be traced back to Old Testament times when the Feast of Branches or Tabernacles was instituted. In Leviticus *xviii. 40*, the Israelites are told to take 'boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook;' and to rejoice before the Lord. Isaiah *lx. 13* has a further confirmation of the practice: 'The glory of Lebanon shall come upon thee, the fig-tree, the pine-tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious.'

The adornment of churches is frequently alluded to

in the writings of the early Fathers in approving terms as a pious practice. St. Jerome, in speaking of his friend Neptian, says that 'his pious care for the divine worship was such that he made flowers of many kinds, and the leaves of trees, and the branches of the vine, contribute to the beauty and ornament of the church.'

Polydore Virgil referring to the origin of such practices says: 'Trimming of the Temples, with hangynges, floures, boughes, and garlondes, was taken of the heathen people, which decked their idols and houses with such array,' and Tertullian (early third century) affirmed it to be 'rank idolatry' to deck their doors 'with garlands of flowers on festival days according to the custom of the heathen.' It was, however, in vain that the Church looked askance at the excessive advance of a custom she had only tolerated in the first instance; in vain also that her Councils forbade Christians to deck their houses with bay leaves and green boughs at the same time with the pagans, for the custom exists even to-day, when the old paganism with which it was formerly associated has long gone into the oblivion of the past.

Where Druidism had existed, the houses were decked with evergreens at this period of the year in order that the sylvan spirits might repair to them, and so escape the tortures of the frost and the cutting winds, until a milder season had renewed the foliage of their darling abodes. An English gipsy gives the reason for using evergreens at Christmas:—

The ivy and holly and pine-tree never told a word where our Saviour was hiding Himself, and so they keep alive all winter and look green all the year. But the ash like the oak told of Him when He was hiding, so they have to remain dead through the winter—and so we gipsies always burn an ash-fire every Great Day.

The holly was called the 'holly holly tree,' for—

Whoever against holly do cry
In a rope shall he be hung full high.
Alleluia!

West-country folk know the 'holly' as olive, and to them it is a reminiscence of the Passion; the white holly-blossom and the bitter-bark (not to be matched for acidity) speaks to them of the purity and grief of Mary—of the Man of Sorrows (whose crown was said to be woven of its leaves), whose birth-cry is but the first wail of the Passion. So in the old carol:—

The holly bears a berry
 As red as any blood;
 And Mary bore sweet Jesus Christ
 To do poor sinners good.
 The holly bears a prickle
 As sharp as any thorn;
 And Mary bore sweet Jesus Christ
 On Christmas Day in the morn.

In some parts of the West of England the holly still goes by the name of 'dear Aunt Mary's tree,' as being symbolical of her. Our old church registers and account books bear abundant evidence to this practice; of 'strawing' or 'sticking' the church with boughs:—

1486. St. Mary-at-Hill, London. Item, Holme [holly] and ivie at Christmas Eve, iiij^d.

1505. St. Lawrence, Reading. It. Payed to Makrell for the Holy bussh agay' Christmas, ij^d.

1506. Paid Macrell for an holly bush before the Rode ij^d.

1524. St. Martin Outwich, London. It'm: for Holy and Ivy at Christmas, ij^d.

1532. St. Nicholas, Bristol. Holy for the rood, against Christmas.

In the 17th century, in spite of the reign of Puritanism, we find

1647. St. Margaret, Westminster. Item, payd for rosemarie and bayes that was stuck about the church at Christmas, js vjd.

John Evelyn, writing about 1660, speaking of holly says: 'We still dress up our churches and houses on Christmas and our festival-days with its cheerful green and rutilant [shining] berries.' Pepys also records that his pew in St. Olave, Hart Street, was all covered with 'rosemary and baize' at Christmas time in the same year.

Herbert's *Country Parson*, 1675, says : ' Our parson takes order that the church be swept and kept clean without dust or cobwebs ; and at great festivals strawed and stuck with boughs and perfumed with incense.' Stow, in his *Survey of London*, printed in 1698, says that : ' Against the feast of Christmas every man's house, as also their parish churches, were decked with holme [holly], ivy, bayes, and whatever the season of the year afforded to be green.'

A quaint old writer has thus spiritualized this practice of Christmas decoration :—

So our churches and houses, decked with bays and rosemary, holly and ivy, and other plants which are always green winter and summer, signify and put us in mind of His Deity ; and the Child who now was born was God and Man, who should spring up like a tender plant, should always be green and flourishing, and live for evermore.

The real name of the holly is the ' holy tree ;' and is known among German and Scandinavian peoples as ' Christ's thorn,' being connected with a tradition that the Redeemer's crown of thorns was woven of holly-leaves. On the other hand, being a charm against the spells of witches, it was held in especial abhorrence by them. Aubrey has recorded that it was a custom at Oxford for the maid-servant to ask the man for ivy to trim the house, and if the request was neglected by him, to steal a pair of his breeches, which were nailed to the gateway. Laurel was used at the earliest times by the Romans as a decoration for all joyful occasions, and is significant of peace and victory. In some places it is customary to throw branches of laurel on the Christmas fire and to watch for omens while the leaves curl and crackle in the heat and flame. However, it was the ever-sacred mistletoe, excluded from the churches on account of its pagan associations—with the single exception of York Minster—that received the place of honour in the houses, by reason no doubt of the especial privilege connected with it ; for :

Many a maiden's cheek is red
By lips and laughter thither led,
And flutt'ring bosoms come and go
Under the Druid *mistletoe*.—HONE.

Although the mistletoe has always been regarded as a mystic plant, doubtless on account of its strange parasitic growth, being especially held in veneration by the Druids, when found, as occasionally happens, attached to the oak; it had no connexion with, and found no admittance among the Christmas decorations until a very recent date.

Anciently the mistletoe had a two-fold tradition, being associated with evil and death on the one hand, and with life and love on the other. Its use comes to us from the mythology of the North, and preserves a legend common to all the northern peoples. At the instigation of Loki, Baldur, the Apollo of the North, is slain by a mistletoe dart, and when restored to life, the plant which had caused his death was dedicated to, and placed in the keeping of his mother Frigg, the goddess of love, in reparation of the injury done, but only so long as it touched not the earth, which was Loki's empire. For this reason it is hung from the ceiling, etc., and according to a Wiltshire superstition disaster is sure to follow if dropped or placed on the ground. Everyone passing beneath it received a kiss for token that the 'mistletoe bough' was now the emblem of love, not of death. Sir John Colback in his *Dissertation* on the mistletoe (page 3) says it was 'hung up superstitiously in houses to drive away evil spirits.' The peasants of Holstein and other countries call it the 'spectre's wand,' from the supposition that a branch held in the hand will not only enable a man to see ghosts, but force them to speak to him. 'If one have mistletoe about the neck the witches can have no power over him.'¹

On account of its imparting to the tree whereon it grew the appearance of life, it was regarded as an emblem of the new year. It was the 'heal-all' medicine-tree, the remedy against poison, the panacea for green wounds, the sure defence against evil spirits. According to a Breton legend the mistletoe was the tree of the Cross of Christ, for which reason it was degraded to its parasitic form. As everybody knows the mistletoe was regarded by the Druids

¹ Cole's *Art of Simpling* (1656), p. 67.

with religious veneration, and its berries of pearl, as symbolic of purity, associated by them with the rites of marriage; hence perhaps the lover's kiss beneath the mystic bough at Christmas-tide.

On December 21, the time of the Winter Solstice, the ancient Britons accompanied by their priests, the Druids, repaired with solemn pomp to the forest dedicated to the gods, to cut the sacred mistletoe. The people walked in procession headed by the bards, singing hymns and canticles. Preceding three Druids a herald carried implements for the purpose. Then came the prince of the Druids accompanied by all the people. When they had found a tree with the mystic parasite growing upon it, two white bulls were sacrificed, and the high-priest mounted the oak (the sacred tree of Saturn), and cut it with an upright hatchet or sickle of gold or brass called a 'celt,' fixed upon the extremity of the staff he carried in his hand, and presented it to the other Druids. Receiving it with great respect, they laid it upon the altar, and on the first day of the year distributed its branches among the people as new year's gifts—a sacred and holy emblem of the health-giving advent of Messiah—crying, 'The mistletoe for the new year.'

The Druids looked upon it also as the seed which carried over vegetable life from the old year to the new. Hence to kiss and pluck a seed was a sign of union and fertility. Curiously enough the use of the plant was unknown in the religious ceremonies of the ancients.

A singular custom was observed in the North, and as late as 1831, at York Cathedral, where on Christmas Eve they were wont to carry mistletoe to the high altar and proclaim a public and universal liberty, pardon and freedom to all sorts of inferior and even wicked people, at the city gates towards the four quarters of heaven. The fêtes held in commemoration of the sacred mistletoe survived till the sixteenth century in some parts of France. Many talismanic properties were accredited to the plant, and its festival attracted immense gatherings of people.

Christmas Eve was regarded by the shepherds of many

lands as their particular feast and holiday. For had not the Birth of the Lamb of God, the Good Shepherd, been made known first to them and their fraternity? Spenser in his *Shepheards Calendar*, under the month of 'Maye,' has :—

I muse, what account both these will make ;
The one for the hire which he doth take,
And tother for leaving his Lords taske,
When Great Pan account of shepherdes shall aske.

Great Pan-Christ, the very God of all shepherds, who calleth himself the Great and Good Shepherd. Eusebius so calls Him in his fifth book, *De Preparat. Evang.*, and again under the month 'Julye' :—

And wained not the great God Pan
Upon mount Olivet,
Feeding the blessed flocke of Dan,
Which dyd himselfe beget ?

Thus on the eve of Christmas towards the witching time of midnight the starry silence of the mountain heights of the Cevennes and other parts of France is suddenly assailed with a strange wild tumult of noise proceeding from the herds and flocks of oxen, goats and sheep which are being driven by barking sheep-dogs and shepherds arrayed in their best, singing carols and bearing torches and lanterns, up the steep hill-side to the church, where at the open door they may 'hear the hymns,' and 'warm with their breath' the Divine Infant as their Eastern progenitors did at Bethlehem of old, while the peasants enter the brilliantly illuminated church to take part in the solemn midnight Mass.

The Mass over, a great business of torch lighting begins. While it is in progress four stalwart peasants shoulder the grotto representing the Bethlehem stable, and bear it and its inmates—the Holy Child, the Virgin and St. Joseph, represented for the occasion by a peasant, his wife and babe—forward to the porch of the church, followed by candle-bearers and thurifers and the priest, where the latter mounts a stage outside the threshold, and proceeds to bless the animals. While the oxherds and shepherds

drive their beasts forward to receive the aspersion of holy water, and the blessing of the Triune God, priests and peasants heartily join together in singing a strange old carol *le Noël des bêtes*. At Lichfield at the representation of the shepherds, a star gleamed in the vault as late as 1821. The Flemish observed the same custom, the peasants entering with their sheep, offered eggs and milk, whilst the midnight Mass was being said at the high altar. From the time of St. Augustine midnight Mass has been said on the eve of Christmas. The Councils of Orleans and Toledo required all persons to attend their cathedral church; under pain of excommunication for three years by the Council of Agde.

The shepherds of the Tyrol and many another quiet corner of Italy likewise hold a *festa* and participate in a service particularly their own. They, too, are present at midnight Mass, many sacrificing a night's rest and walking many miles down into the valley to be present on the occasion, but leaving their flocks and herds to adore their Lord in the stalls and folds at home. Everything is hushed in the sacred solemn silence which follows the Elevation of the Host, when the choir strikes up the exquisite old Christmas hymn, the *Pastorella* or Shepherd's Song, which is especially reserved for this one occasion. Presently a movement at the lower end of the church attracts the attention of the worshippers, and all heads are turned at the murmured exclamation, *Ecce L'agnello* (here comes the lamb).

A handsome young shepherd clad in picturesque attire of the hills which has remained unaltered since the days of Virgil—white knitted woollen jacket, dark breeches, white woollen stockings, and boots bound crossways round the leg with thongs of leather, a Tyrolese hat and a short cloak of a rich deep brown colour flung carelessly about the shoulders,—advances up the aisle bearing in his arms the little snow-white lamb, all gaily adorned with pink and blue ribbons, which is to receive the blessing of the Church, and to bear it back to its play-fellows upon the far hill-side.

Kneeling on the sanctuary steps, the youthful shepherd offers his precious burden to the officiating priest, who after sprinkling it with holy water hands it over to the charge of an assistant who carries it away behind the high altar. When Mass is over, this particular lamb is always restored to its owner, another being substituted as a thank-offering to the clergy.

In the Abruzzi it is the custom of the men attending the midnight Mass to keep up a continual whistling during the service, and loudest of all at the Elevation of the Host, in memory of the shepherds' pipes at Bethlehem. In some villages the effect is still more increased by whistling through reeds, dipped in a vessel of water placed in the church for the purpose. In some of the Roman churches, particularly the church of Ara Cœli, the voice of the priest and the soft sounds of the organ are almost drowned by the blowing of penny whistles and the barking of dogs for a similar reason. Reference should also be made to the Pifferari, who early in Advent forsake their native mountains to wander through the streets of Southern Italy to pipe and warble melodious consolation to the Virgin in her conception, and to herald with their strange wild music at Christmas time the birth of the Prince of Peace.

The English shepherds were wont to hold a similar holiday, but upon the Sunday whereon the Gospel of the Good Shepherd is read in the services of the day, which was called Good Shepherd Sunday, when all shepherds made a point of being present. No boy was admitted into their fraternity till he could say by heart the 'Shepherd Psalm' (xxiii.), 'The Lord is my Shepherd.'

There was also a blessing of sheep on St. Agnes' Day (January 21). After the sheep had been brought into the church, the priest blessed some salt and water, and read in one corner this Gospel, 'To us a child is born,' etc., with the whole office, a farthing being laid upon the book, and taken up again; in the second corner he read this Gospel, 'Ye men of Galilee,' etc., with the whole office, a farthing being laid on the book and taken up

again ; in the third corner he read this Gospel, ' I am the Good Shepherd,' etc., with the whole office, a farthing being laid on the book and taken up again ; and in the fourth corner he read this Gospel, ' In these days,' etc., with the whole office, a farthing being laid on the book and taken up again. After that he sprinkled all the sheep with holy water, saying, ' Let the blessing of God, the Father Almighty, descend and remain upon you ; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' He then signed all the sheep with the sign of the cross, repeated thrice, some Latin verse, with *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria*, sung in the Mass of the Holy Ghost ; and took at the conclusion an offering of fourpence for himself and another threepence for the poor.

The ancient Romans in their worship of Pales, the goddess who was supposed to preside over sheep-folds and pastures, prayed her to bless the sheep, and they also were sprinkled with water.

H. PHILIBERT FEASEY, O.S.B.

LOOKING AT THE SACRED HOST

THE practice of the faithful *not looking* at the Sacred Host at the moment of the Elevation at Mass is said to prevail almost universally throughout the Church. Is that practice correct? The Church's liturgy implies the contrary. After the sacred words of consecration are pronounced over the bread, and while the priest still holds the Sacred Host, he is directed by the Rubrics of the *Missal* first to kneel and adore, and then, standing with his eyes fixed on the Consecrated Host, to raise it *above* his head as high as *at all convenient*, and to *show it* to the people for their adoration: 'Hostiam populo reverenter ostendit adorandam.'¹ The *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* brings out the injunction of looking at the Sacred Host before adoring it, still more clearly, for it prescribes that the Host is to be raised so that the people may all see it: 'Elevat ut videri possit a populo;' and again, 'Elevat ita ut ab omnibus videri possit.'²

The origin of the people refraining from looking at the Sacred Host is differently accounted for. Some attribute it to the consequences of heretical teaching in certain countries. The Jansenists, for instance, for an entire century infested with their false principles the Church of France, and by their extreme rigour and threats of Divine vengeance strove to exclude sinners from even hearing Mass, and the great body of the faithful, including some religious, from receiving Holy Communion. What must they have thought of looking at the Consecrated Host? They surrounded the Blessed Eucharist with the barrier of extreme rigour and undue awe; but we, listening to our Saviour's words, 'Come to Me all you that labour and are heavy burdened and I will refresh you,'³ approach His altar with confidence and love as well as with faith and reverence. However all this may be, what account have we otherwise

¹ Rit. viii. 5.

² Lib. ii. 25 and 26.

³ Matt. xi. 28.

to render as to the point at issue? Apart from the question of the possibility of these countries having been caught by the expiring spirit of Jansenism how can we fairly account for our people *not* looking at the Sacred Host at Mass before bowing down to adore it? Some very properly ascribe their action in this matter to their ardent spirit of faith and strong religious feeling which seems to impel them on hearing the Elevation bell to bow down at once before their God, hidden under the sacramental veil, and if anyone would ask them why, they would likely say, it is what ~~we~~ always did and our fathers before us. But they cannot go back to the days of St. Patrick and the Irish saints to establish their custom; for the Elevation of the Host and chalice goes back only to the eleventh century when Berengarius first attempted to deny the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Eucharist. Others would explain the omission by the fact that when young at home, and afterwards at school, even in convents and colleges, they never heard the point raised.

The matter now is prominently placed before us by our Holy Father Pius X. On the 18th May, 1907, the following question was put to him through the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences:—

Beatissime Pater,

Josephus Recoder de Dorda Annesi Cong. Miss. Sacerdos, ad S. V. pedes humillime provolutus, enixe postulat, ut, ad augendam fidelium devotionem et venerationem erga divinisimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, concedere S. V. dignetur septem annos et septem quadragenas Indulgentiae omnibus et singulis christifidelibus, qui fide, pietate et amore, sacratissimam Hostiam adspexerint, non solum cum in Missae Sacrificio elevatur, verum etiam cum solemnitate exponitur; item ut Indulgentiam plenariam lucrari valeant, semel in hebdomada, quotquot talem piissimam praxim quotidie peregerint, et sacram Communionem, rite dispositi, receperint; additis, in ipsa oculorum elevatione, verbis: *Dominus meus et Deus meus.*

His Holiness grants and signs

JUXTA PRECES, DOMINO.

PIUS PP. X.

Indulgences as above finally granted on 12th day of June, 1907.

It is right, then, when we assist at Mass to look reverently at the Sacred Host, when the priest, following the Rubrics, raises it well above his head to show it to the people, and it is right at Exposition and Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament to look at the Sacred Host in the monstrance or on the altar to excite our devotion.

Is not this the most suitable opportunity of spreading this holy practice as Pope Pius X, in his late rescript, encourages us to do, by attaching such rich indulgences to it? He does so on only one condition, that while we look devoutly at the Sacred Host, we say from our heart these words: 'My Lord and my God.'

There is an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines each time we do so. Those happily doing so every day can gain a plenary indulgence once a week, provided that they receive with proper dispositions the Holy Communion and pray for the intentions of our Holy Father the Pope.

At the time we look at the Host we are, of course, to be kneeling, for this is the posture we are to assume while hearing a Low Mass, except at the Gospel, according to the words of the *Missal*, in its General Rubrics, xvii. 2: 'Circumstantes in Missis privatis *semper* genua flectunt, etiam Tempore Paschali, praeterquam dum legitur Evangelium.' The faithful should kneel at the Creed, then.

Considering the various postures and positions adopted at Mass by the faithful in other countries, where benches and kneelers like ours have not been introduced, we have to congratulate our people on the becomingness and correctness on the whole of their postures and behaviour at Mass, and on the spirit of faith and piety they exhibit during the time of the Holy Sacrifice. Even in places where kneelers and benches have only partially been introduced, and even where they can scarcely be said to exist at all, the same eulogium can be pronounced; and moreover, wherever the Irish have gone, whether to the great continents of America or to our distant Antipodes, the same account can happily be given of their edifying conduct at Mass.

Looking reverently at the Sacred Host at the moment of the Elevation at Mass, or during Benediction, while saying to themselves 'My Lord and my God,' will excite and quicken the faith and increase the love of God in the hearts of the Irish people at home and abroad, and at the same time enrich their souls with many indulgences.

It may be finally remarked that the priest saying the Mass seems, as regards the indulgences, not to be provided for, so far in the rescript, for he cannot introduce *Dominus meus et Deus meus* into the Liturgy; and that those who from their positions in the church, or from any other reason cannot see the Sacred Host, are also apparently outside the rescript.

Since the above was written the Consultors of the *Ephemerides*, Rome, have replied in their October issue to the following question: How should servers of Mass and those assisting at it act to gain the indulgences offered by our Holy Father the Pope to those who at Mass look at the Sacred Host at the moment of its elevation? After the words of consecration the priest genuflects, and at that moment those serving and hearing Mass should bend the head profoundly and adore with the priest. Then, *kneeling erect*, they look at the Sacred Host when raised above the head of the priest, while saying 'My Lord and my God.' Then they bend the head as before, and adore with the priest as he genuflects. When those serving Mass are fully trained and are at their ease in this practice, the faithful, becoming aware of the indulgences to be gained, and seeing how the servers of Mass act in the matter, will gradually come to prize and adopt this pious and meritorious act of devotion.

M. O'CALLAGHAN, C.M.

THE THEOLOGY OF STOLEN GOODS

A THIEF who has stolen what belongs to another must, of course, restore the stolen property to its owner. But suppose that he does not do this, and the stolen property finds its way into the hands of others, who, perhaps, know nothing of the theft, what will be the duty of such possessors of another's property when they come to know the facts of the case? The older theologians discussed this question from the point of view of natural and Roman civil law. Their solutions of the various difficulties to which the question gives rise according to the variety of circumstances were not uniform, and so we may conclude that the dictates of the natural law on the point are not self-evident or clear. Nowadays the question is complicated by the differences in the civil laws of different states and nations. The editors of the new edition of the *Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus*, which is in process of being published, recognize this. St. Alphonsus, following Busembaum, says: 'Si bona fide rem [furatam] ipse emisti et vendidisti sine lucro, nihil teneris restituere, sed solus is apud quem res est.'¹ To this the editors append the following note:—

Ex jure Gallico, Italico, Austriaco, Hispano, qui rem in foro publico, vel de mercatore talia vendente mercatus est, is non tenetur eam domino reddere, nisi refuso sibi pretio, quod rei dominus dein vicissim a venditore repetere potest. Ex jure Anglico, si res emptā fuerit in nundinis (*market overt*), excepto casu evictionis per judicis sententiam, dominium pariter transfertur in emptorem bonae fidei. Et cum hoc ad commercii securitatem statutum sit, res potest retineri tuta conscientia. Ex jure Germanico, qui rem alienam a persona non suspecta acquisivit, potest eam retinere, donec constet eam esse furatam vel amissam.

The learned editors recognize, then, that the positive

¹ III. n. 609.

law of the country in such matters is also the rule to be followed in conscience. In his discussion of these questions, Father Lehmkuhl keeps in view the prescriptions of natural law for the most part, which he says, 'Sunt ibi servandae ubi leges positivae aliud non constituerunt.'

Unless it is evident that the positive civil law on such matters is unjust it is certainly a duty in conscience to observe it. It determines rights of property in doubtful cases which is certainly within its competence, and as it is practically the only rule available, it must be followed if contention, strife, and disturbance of the peace are to be avoided. It is, then, a matter of importance for the student of moral theology to know the rules laid down by English law concerning the ownership of stolen goods when they have passed out of the hands of the thief. I propose in this paper to indicate its chief provisions, and to point out any peculiarities in which it differs from other systems of law which writers on moral theology have had in mind when they composed their treatises on justice. In my treatment of the question I shall principally follow the guidance of Mr. C. L. Attenborough who, in 1906, published a little volume on the *Recovery of Stolen Goods*.

The thief has no title to the property stolen by him, and he cannot acquire one by lapse of time. The longer he keeps what does not belong to him the greater injury he does the true owner. Moreover, the general rule is that the thief cannot give a valid title to property which he has stolen to anybody else. *Nemo dat quod non habet*—nobody can give to another what he does not himself own. This rule of common sense and natural justice is confirmed by English law. The Sale of Goods Act, 1893, sec. 21 (1), enacts that:—

Subject to the provisions of this Act, where goods are sold by a person who is not the owner thereof, and who does not sell them under the authority or with the consent of the owner, the buyer acquires no better title to the goods than the seller had, unless the owner of the goods is by his conduct precluded from denying the seller's authority to sell.

The owner will be precluded from denying the seller's

authority to sell by his conduct when he has held out the seller as the owner of the property, or has consented to his holding himself out as the owner, or as having the right to dispose of the property. In these cases, whether the seller act dishonestly or not, a buyer ignorant of the true facts who relies on the representation made will acquire a valid title to the goods by English law. Besides the foregoing there are certain other exceptions to the rule that the buyer acquires no better title to the goods than the seller had.

And first with regard to money that has been stolen, and which, for the purposes of moral theology, we may treat as goods. When stolen money has been paid away fairly and honestly as currency for a *bona fide* and valuable consideration the dominion of it passes to the payee, and the former owner cannot recover it. This is due partly to the nature of money as a medium of exchange and partly to the effect of positive law. It is to be noted that the privilege does not attach to coin not used as currency. Thus in a recent case where a thief had stolen a £5 piece, and afterwards exchanged it for five sovereigns, it was held that the person from whom the thief had stolen the £5 piece could recover it, as it had not been paid away in currency. As long as the money remains with the thief or his agent it may be recovered by its owner, and the same is true of stolen money given to another gratuitously by the thief.

What has just been said of money applies also to negotiable instruments which pass by mere delivery. Under the term 'negotiable instruments' in this connexion are comprised bills of exchange, promissory notes, bank notes, cheques to bearer, exchequer bills in blank, foreign bonds with coupons payable to bearer, scrip of foreign loan, Egyptian bonds, debentures of an English company, foreign railway bonds or debentures payable to bearer, and in general any instrument which by the custom of trade is transferable in this country like cash by delivery, and is also capable of being sued upon by the person holding it for the time being.

Another exception to the general rule that the buyer acquires no better title than the seller had is furnished by sale in market overt. According to the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, sec. 22 (1): 'Where goods are sold in market overt, according to the usage of the market, the buyer acquires a good title to the goods, provided he buys them in good faith and without notice of any defect or want of title on the part of the seller.' Market overt is any open, public, and legally constituted market or fair, and any shop in London is a market overt for the sale of goods in which the shopkeeper deals. The sale must be in good faith as far as the buyer is concerned, for a valuable consideration, and the contract must be made wholly in the market, and not elsewhere. There are special provisions made for the sale of horses to be observed if it is intended that the purchaser should benefit by market overt.

If all the conditions required by law are fulfilled, sale in market overt transfers the property to the buyer even if the seller had stolen the goods. Just as for the common good property passes by prescription according to law, so it passes by sale in market overt according to law.

However, the title of goods bought in market overt is not indefeasible. By sec. 24 (1) of the Sale of Goods Act, 1893: 'Where goods have been stolen and the offender is prosecuted to conviction, the property in the goods so stolen reverts in the person who was the owner of the goods, or his personal representative, notwithstanding any intermediate dealing with them, whether by sale in market overt or otherwise.' So that upon conviction of the offender for larceny the owner of the goods may request that an order for restoring them be made out in his favour by the court which sentenced the felon. This is expressly granted by the Larceny Act, sec. 100:—

If any person guilty of any such felony or misdemeanour as is mentioned in this Act, in stealing, taking, obtaining, extorting, embezzling, converting, or disposing of, or in knowingly receiving any chattel, money, or valuable security, or other property whatsoever, shall be indicted for such offence, by or on the behalf of the owner of the property, or his executor or administrator, and convicted thereof, in such case the property shall

be restored to the owner or his representative ; and in every case in this section aforesaid the Court before whom any person shall be tried for any such felony or misdemeanour shall have power to award from time to time writs of restitution for the said property, or to order the restitution thereof in a summary manner : provided that if it shall appear before any award or order made that any valuable security shall have been *bona fide* paid or discharged by some person or body corporate liable to the payment thereof, or being a negotiable instrument shall have been *bona fide* taken or received by transfer or delivery, by some person or body corporate, for a just and valuable consideration, without any notice or without any reasonable cause to suspect that the same had by any felony or misdemeanour been stolen, taken, obtained, extorted, embezzled, converted, or disposed of, in such case the Court shall not award or order the restitution of such security ; provided also that nothing in this section contained shall apply to the case of any prosecution of any trustee, banker, merchant, attorney, factor, broker, or other agent entrusted with the possession of goods or documents of title to goods for any misdemeanour against this Act.

It is to be remarked that the Sale of Goods Act does not require the conviction to be obtained through prosecution by the owner of the property in order that this may revert in him, and it has been specially provided that when conviction has been obtained by the public prosecutor, restitution of stolen property shall be made to the owner provided that he has given the Director of Public Prosecutions all reasonable information and assistance.

It will be noticed that by the Larceny Act restitution may be ordered after conviction not only for the felony of larceny, but for the misdemeanour of obtaining property by false pretences with intent to defraud. The distinction is of importance in English law. Larceny has been defined as the felonious taking the property of another without his consent and against his will, with intent to convert it to the use of the taker. To constitute larceny the taking of another's property must be *invito domino*. On the other hand, when the property of another is obtained by false pretences, the owner consents to part with the ownership, but he is induced thereto by the fraud of the

other party. This constitutes the misdemeanour, and in either case after conviction of the offender the owner who had been robbed or cheated could obtain an order for restitution under the Larceny Act. In this respect, however, the Larceny Act was corrected by the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, sec. 24 (2) :—

Notwithstanding any enactment to the contrary, where goods have been obtained by fraud or other wrongful means not amounting to larceny, the property in such goods shall not revert in the person who was the owner of the goods, or his personal representative, by reason only of the conviction of the offender.

With reference, then, to the restitution of stolen goods an order for restitution can be made after conviction for larceny, but not after conviction for a misdemeanour not amounting to larceny. Such an order of restitution, however, which the court is empowered under these circumstances to grant after conviction is only one way of recovering one's property. If the property was obtained by a fraudulent contract the previous owner may by word of mouth or in writing rescind the contract, and then he recovers his title to the goods. The owner may seize his property wherever he finds it, and in case he was unlawfully deprived of it, he may use such force as is necessary for the purpose of recapture, though he may not always enter upon another's premises in order to take what belongs to him.

The owner may also recover his property together with damages for any injury that he has suffered from its loss by bringing a civil action against the fraudulent person who deprived him of it, or against an innocent purchaser, or against a thief who has robbed him after he has performed his public duty of prosecuting the thief. Sale of stolen goods by private contract does not pass the property in them, and much less does gift, so that through how many hands soever they may have passed in either of these ways they always remain the property of the owner from whom they were stolen, and they must be restored to him when the facts become known. Innocent purchasers of

stolen goods who have surrendered them to their true owner may recover damages from those who sold to them whether the sellers knew of the defect in their title to sell or not. This is expressly provided for by the Sale of Goods Act, sec. 12 :—

In a contract of sale, unless the circumstances of the contract are such as to show a different intention, there is—

(1) An implied condition on the part of the seller that in the case of a sale he has a right to sell the goods, and that in the case of an agreement to sell he will have a right to sell the goods at the time when the property is to pass :

(2) An implied warranty that the buyer shall have and enjoy quiet possession of the goods.

The breach of a warranty gives a right to an action for damages, while failure in a condition vitiates the contract. Theologians discuss the question whether an innocent purchaser of stolen property, who afterwards becomes aware of the fact that the goods were stolen, may restore them to the thief in order to recover his purchase money. Whatever some theologians may say in defence of such a proceeding, it could not be adopted among us without exposing the purchaser who had recourse to it to the danger of a criminal prosecution for misprision of felony or compounding a felony. An innocent purchaser who has suffered loss by having to restore stolen goods to their rightful owner may obtain compensation from the Court. By 30 and 31 Vict., c. 35, s. 9, it is provided that :—

Where any prisoner shall be convicted, either summarily or otherwise, of larceny or other offence, which includes the stealing of any property, and it shall appear to the Court by the evidence that the prisoner has sold the stolen property to any person, and that such person has had no knowledge that the same was stolen, and that any moneys have been taken from the prisoner on his apprehension, it shall be lawful for the Court, on the application of such purchaser, and on the restitution of the stolen property to the prosecutor, to order that out of such moneys a sum not exceeding the amount of the proceeds of the said sale be delivered to the said purchaser.

Moreover, by 33 and 34 Vict., c. 23, s. 4, it is lawful

for any court by which judgment shall be pronounced or recorded,

if it shall think fit, upon the application of any person aggrieved, and immediately after the conviction of any person for felony, to award any sum of money, not exceeding £100, by way of satisfaction or compensation for any loss of property suffered by the applicant through or by means of the said felony, and the amount awarded for such satisfaction or compensation shall be deemed a judgment debt due to the person entitled to receive the same from the person so convicted, and the amount may be ordered by the Court to be paid out of any moneys taken from the prisoner on his apprehension, or payment may be enforced in the same manner as payment of any costs ordered to be paid in any civil action.¹

The Roman law, like most modern systems, granted a title by prescription for movables as well as immovables. Accordingly, theologians teach that one who has possessed another's property in good faith for the time required to gain a title of prescription, thereupon becomes its owner, and is no longer bound to restore it to the original owner. In English law movables cannot be claimed by prescription, and so ownership in another's goods that have been stolen cannot be acquired by prescription among us, unless the goods belong to the Church, and are thus subject to ecclesiastical law. By ecclesiastical law uninterrupted possession in good faith for thirty years gives a title to movables that have been stolen, and so one who in good faith bought a stolen chalice and kept it for thirty years would become its owner by prescription after that length of time.

Greater difficulties than the foregoing arise when we consider the obligations of one who was in possession of another's property in good faith, but who has parted with it to some third person. For the solution of this question various hypotheses may be made.

One who formerly was in possession of another's property may have given it to a third person. In that case he must warn the donee that he has discovered that the gift

¹ Attenborough, p. 184.

belonged to someone else, and that he had no right to make it over to him; if he does not do this he will sin against justice, inasmuch as he is bound in justice, as far as possible, to prevent loss accruing to his neighbour through any action of his. Moreover, if he obtained any natural fruits from the property while it was in his possession, he must account for them to the owner, for *Res fructificat domino*. Any fruits obtained by his own industry on occasion of being in possession of another's property he may keep, they are the *fructus industriae*. If there are no actual fruits of the property in his hands, or if the property no longer exists, or the possessor cannot be found, the former possessor in good faith will be under no obligations with respect to it or its owner.

A purchaser in good faith and in market overt of another's property who has sold it again in market overt will have no further obligations towards the original owner or towards the buyer. He had made the property his own, and he sold it as his own. We have seen that if the sale was not in market overt, the sale does not pass the property in the goods, and that the seller is liable to be compelled to refund the purchase money to the buyer who has restored the goods to their owner. Is such a seller also liable to the owner of the property?

We have seen that by the Larceny Act, the Court may, after conviction of the offender, order the restitution of any property that has been stolen or fraudulently acquired. In section 1 of the same Act, 'property' is interpreted as including—

Every description of real and personal property, money, debts, and legacies, and all deeds and instruments relating to or evidencing the title or right to any property, or giving a right to recover or receive any money or goods, and as also including not only such property as shall have been originally in the possession or under the control of any party, but also any property into or for which the same may have been converted or exchanged, and anything acquired by such conversion or exchange, whether immediately or otherwise.

At first sight it would seem from this that anyone

who has sold stolen property may be called upon to account for the proceeds to the owner. It has, however, been held that this interpretation does not apply to proceeds of stolen goods in the hands of innocent purchasers or pledgees, who hold such proceeds for themselves and not as agents to the thief, nor has the court power to order the restitution of such proceeds. Such a purchaser, therefore, will only be bound to refund the purchase money to one who bought stolen goods from him when they have been restored to their owner.

A seller, however, who acquired stolen property by gift, will come under the provisions of section 1 of the Larceny Act, and he may be compelled to account for the proceeds of the sale to the owner of the goods. An innocent holder of stolen goods, says Mr. Attenborough,

will either hold them as an agent of the thief, or as a donee from him, or as a purchaser, in which expression we include a pledgee. With regard to the thief's agent or donee it need only be said that he is in no better position than the thief himself, and that the goods can be recovered from him as readily and in the same way as they can be recovered from the person who stole them.¹

And again :—

Where property has been obtained by fraud and still remains in the hands of the fraudulent person or of his agent, it can be recovered from him as readily as if it had been stolen ; and the same applies if the property is in the hands of a donee from the fraudulent person, or of one who has given value for the goods but with knowledge or, what is equivalent, an unsatisfied suspicion that some fraud has been committed with regard to them by the person from whom he received them.²

In this way then it would seem that English law settles in favour of the owner a question which is a matter of considerable controversy among theologians. The common opinion, indeed, of theologians is on the same side as English law, it obliges the donee of stolen goods to restore the proceeds of their sale to the owner when he cannot

¹ Attenborough, p. 16.

² *Ib.* p. 47.

come at the goods themselves, but some doubt whether this is so certain as to impose a strict obligation in conscience. It is to be noted that the obligation under English law does not arise until the order for restitution has been made out and put in execution. Until this step is taken, it may be said in favour of the more lenient opinion that when goods have been sold for money in good faith, the money as currency becomes the property of the seller, and especially when it is added to and mixed with one's previous stock. It then becomes the seller's property by accession,

for the product of, or substitute for, the original thing still follows the nature of the thing itself as long as it can be ascertained to be such, and the right only ceases when the means of ascertainment fail, which is the case when the subject is turned into money, and mixed and confounded in a general mass of the same description.¹

T. SLATER, S.J

¹ Attenborough, p. 89.

A SHORT AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY A SCOTCH CONVERT

EDINBURGH, in the 'sixties, was different in many respects from Edinburgh of to-day, both in religion and in everyday life. It seems but a short while ago when we heard Pillans, the actor, singing his old topical songs, in an older Theatre Royal, and alluding to the tramways, then first beginning to run along Princes Street, in these words :—

They rin sae smoothly, they gang sae sweet,
You'd think it was Gowans was under your feet.

Mr. Gowans was the contractor, and, we believe, he and Pillans have passed into the shades, but cable cars and electric light now desecrate our noble thoroughfare. We formed a member of a delighted crowd of children, who watched the burning down of the last Theatre Royal, and cheered the stalwart firemen as they fought the flames. We saw the Duke of Edinburgh bring the last wooden walls of old England to anchor in Queen's Ferry roadway (no Forth Bridge then), and we drove round the streets to see the illuminations on his marriage day. We followed in spirit the progress of the Franco-German war, as boys do that of Russia and Japan to-day, and we learned again new geography when Prussia emerged into the glorious German Empire.

From a little school opposite Lady Glenorchy's church (who was that saint ?) we watched the slow revolving hands of the clock come round to 3 p.m., that happy hour of deliverance, from weary study, till another day. Perhaps it was because a church clock played so important and large a part, in our joys and sorrows (when kept in, we still watched that clock), that we learned to take a keen and early interest in theology, or it may have been that our combative

faculties were roused by being kept in, and that nearly daily, for neglecting to learn that hateful work of theology, the Shorter Catechism ! How deeply we hated that work no one can fathom, and the scriptural proofs were as much hated as the work they were supposed to bolster up.

We learned two catechisms simultaneously—one at school, to suit our Presbyterian master, and one at St. Paul's, York Place, to suit the Dean. We also practised two religions. In the morning we went to the Episcopal church with our parents, and in the afternoon sometimes to Lady Glenorchy's, with a stern and Free Church nurse. The said old lady still lives, and has informed us that she believes there will be as many good Catholics in heaven as Free Churchmen. (Isn't that encouraging ?) Occasionally, but by stealth, we dipped into Rome, in the form of the Cathedral Church, Broughton Street, and were present once at the *Quarant' Ore*, at which service two things impressed themselves on our childish mind, never to be obliterated. One was the excellent singing and the strange sounds of the Latin chants, *Ora pro nobis* ringing in our ears for many days to come ; and the other was the perfect stillness of two little server-boys, who knelt for nearly two hours, without moving a muscle, and as we were noted for our inability to keep still, five minutes at a time, we were duly impressed by the virtues possessed by others, which we had not got ; we have never seen such perfect acolytes since.

Another occasion, we made one of a large throng who assembled at the Requiem Mass of Archbishop Strain, to testify by their prayers of that deep love which Catholics, and even Protestants, had for him. The vagest possible ideas filled our minds on these occasions ; Rome and its services were lovely, but we were taught Rome was bad, and as for Jesuits and Popes, words could not convey the horror we had for them, but there was a keen pleasure, somewhat akin to our first experience of entering the Chamber of Horrors at Madam Tussaud's, in going to look at these amiable gentlemen, who lived then, as now, at Lauriston.

Sunday in Edinburgh, in the 'sixties, was a dreadful day ; it was a day of Eton suits, stiff collars, and no games, and yet we believe these days were considered by older generations as days of great laxity. Did not a celebrated Presbyterian divine say in the pulpit that, ' Now you could see people not only walking in Princes-street Gardens on the Sabbath day, but even laughing on the Lord's Day ? ' Gravity was required more or less even in our days, and when our too long services were over, and the equally interesting Sunday schools ended, we had to settle down for the evening, to read either the Bible or Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, while our parents slept, and punished us, if, by movement or laughter, we broke in upon their righteous slumbers.

Of the two books mentioned we much preferred Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. We learned from their pages a mixed and picturesque theology of our own imagination. The Pope was the Scarlet Woman, Blackfriars and Greyfriars were so-called because they fried people alive, and as for Jesuits, the devil himself was not in it with them ; and joy of joys, we could actually see them any day, but oh ! how we longed to see a real Black friar or a Grey one ; it was the same sort of feeling as when we put out the gas, and imagined a bogey before jumping into bed and safety. Our school theology was as vague as our home teaching ; the master explained that the Virgin Mary was not Mother of God, although she was Mother of Christ, and on us suggesting that Christ was God, we were promptly caned for impertinence.

We had at this time, in the midst of these strange, confused ideas, one very strong one, which, like a beacon light, has, we believe, led our ship all through these troubled years, and that was a fervent belief in the Blessed Virgin Mary. How such a belief came and was preserved we do not know, but often at night, when the wind blew hard, we rose and prayed for the sailors on the deep, and when sleepless or afraid, we prayed to Mary for ourselves, and we still fervently believe that our Holy Mother heard her child's prayer, and answered it after many days.

Our childhood was dark and dreary, in other cases it was even worse. One little Presbyterian boy, condemned to

silently reading the Bible on Sundays, cut out the letter-press, and having glued the pages together, so converted the Bible into a convenient box to keep white mice in, with which he employed his time every Sunday night, but it does not seem, on the face of the tale, as if the said Bible was much used or read by anyone else. No one can understand what a Scotch child's Sunday was, unless they have endured it. All toys were put away on Saturday night, no laughter, or walks, or light reading, were tolerated, even idleness was rigidly condemned, but leisure was to be occupied in only two ways—Church or the Bible—and each were equally hated by the child.

An English lady has told us she once spent a Sunday at Duddingston, with a Presbyterian family, and in fair desperation had to go up to her room, lock the door, and sketch Church and Loch from her bedroom window. When she proposed doing so from the road, the faces of horror round the table made her feel as if she had been guilty of some horrible crime. On Sundays, in such families, no dinner was cooked, no buttons could be sown on, no beds were made, and although a middy tells us that as a youngster, he got on well with only two buttons, one fore and one aft, we often found Sunday trousers deficient in this respect, and had to repair them, on the sly, feeling how naughty we must be. With the beds unmade and the rooms undusted, the gloom and desolation of religion lay heavy on every brow. Our Sunday clothes, and their putting on, remains in our recollection, connected with as much gloom as the Scottish funeral over the remains of those we loved.

We were about 14 years old when a rift came in the clouds and with it came our first real theological earthquake, which shook our old faith pretty much to pieces, and revealed Rome to us in a new garb. The Rev. A. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's, Holborne, was holding a mission in the High School yards, in the old St. Michael's, of which Provost Ball was then vicar, and in the course of his sermon he claimed that the Anglican Sacraments were the same as the Roman, the clergy equal, the faith practically the same, the Mass in English instead of the Mass in Latin.

Here was a facer. Could it be true? We must examine! We had an interview with the clergyman, and he certainly seemed to prove his contention. We saw a Missal for the first time, and the words were indeed similar, but we had been taught to regard the Mass as a blasphemous fable, and now we found that we had been joining in it all these years, and, as a lady remarked, whether you believed in Transubstantiation or not, it amounted to the same thing. We went into the matter accurately, and learned to believe, as High Church Anglicans do, in all that Rome teaches, except in a few matters, some of which we held already: (1) The Pope; (2) Indulgences; (3) Purgatory; (4) Devotion to the Blessed Virgin. So we thereupon deserted St. Paul's, and went often to St. Michael's, and began to go to Confession, and religion certainly became a very different thing; we had flung aside the husk, and come to the kernel.

We could pray now and understand. We could sing now and feel like singing. We could find in theology now a real pleasure, and the works of St. Francis and St. Augustine replaced Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. But—and there was the uncomfortable but—if this was all right, then why had we been taught that Rome was all wrong, for we had discovered that Rome was nearly all right. Then we determined to enter the ministry, and were plunged into deeper and greater difficulties, the mere mention of which brings back to us even now a remembrance of many nights of keen indecision and mental prayer.

Where did the Church of England come from? All admit from Gregory the Great. And what did the said Gregory believe? He seemed to believe what Rome still believes! Why, then, do we glory in his mission, by which we ceased to be heathens, and vilify his servants of the present day? And if Gregory sent us Christianity (and Gregory was a Benedictine), why were the Black friars represented to us when children as fiends incarnate instead of our greatest benefactors. Sabbatarian strictness was vanishing, because even our parents were beginning to take an interest in these things, and a journey and sojourn in that dear old town of Antwerp did much to sweep away the

last cobwebs of Protestant falsehood, which still obscured our sight. There we saw the fervent but simple religion of that devout people. To see them kneel before the Blessed Sacrament, either at Mass or Benediction, was to realize that they knew the value of their religion, and every little child was as convinced of its reality as the oldest man present.

We asked a Protestant friend what had impressed him most when he visited Venice, and certainly expected to be told : the city, or the waters, or its position, or the sunsets, or the architecture, or the gondolas, or the crowds, or palaces. No, not these ; it was the rapt gaze of a kneeling crowd at Benediction in St. Mark's as for a moment they gazed on the Blessed Sacrament. Our feelings were the same as we saw the long processions of the Blessed Sacrament in Antwerp, especially on the Festival of Corpus Christi, and when we studied these same people in private we found their religious home-life equalled their public one, and that religion to them and their children was not, and never had been, the horrible drill and servitude it had been to us.

A Confirmation of a little child was a cause of rejoicing in the whole house, and a First Communion was as great an event as a Protestant marriage, and even far more joyful. A little boy, son of the hotel-keeper, in whose hotel we lived, had a small garden of his own, and begged his mother to sow some seeds in it, which would grow quickly, as he wanted it to look nice on the day of his Confirmation, then about three weeks distant. She sowed her small boy's garden with cress, in the form of two German words, and on the morning of his confirmation we all went to see his little garden, and read the words : *mit Gott* (with God). A good mother—God grant her son's life has responded to her prayers. If there were better mothers in Scotland, like that German mother, we are sure there would have been better sons.

On our return from Antwerp Edinburgh had undergone great changes. Moody and Sankey had changed Presbyterian services to a lighter character ; in fact, we doubt how much people realize how indebted they are to the American revivalists for the amalgamated Frees and United

Presbyterians, for we can remember the very bitter feelings and heart-burnings of the ultra-Frees over the spread of the preaching of conversion, etc., in the Free Church and the noonday prayer-meetings in the Free Assembly Hall were much animadverted on.

By the by, what has become of those noonday meetings now? As the Presbyterian churches had changed, so also had the Episcopalian ones. St. Paul's had lost its galleries, women choir, north and south end positions, and had adopted liturgical colours, choir boys, stoles, etc., unknown in our childhood, and evening services abounded, instead of the dreary afternoon ones at three o'clock. The cathedral had been built, and even Presbyterians in St. Giles' and St. Cuthbert's were imitating Episcopal services, and making a more or less poor show of it.

A completely altered tone was observable in conversation both with Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike. The former had adopted the high Anglican terminology, and pretended to be the original Church of Scotland, a claim impossible to sustain, and the latter, with equal absurdity, borrowed here and there a few sacerdotal plumes, and masqueraded also as the pure Church, descended from St. Columba. Choirs and musical services had taken the place of the old extempore prayers and metrical Psalms, and a joint hymnal, with many very Catholic hymns, was accepted by the Established Church. We believe when a joint hymnal suitable for all Presbyterian churches was mooted, one hymn which mentioned the Virgin Mary was much commented on. One learned theologian giving his opinion, that if the Virgin Mary's name was written in small letters it was all right, but if in capitals it was rank Popery. The chairman is said to have remarked that the fear of Popery was worse than the real thing itself.

We had now settled our religious views, which, briefly stated, were as follows: That we belong to a branch of the Catholic Church, with valid orders and Sacraments, and which was and is the successor of the Saints, who gave the Faith to England. Errors, and whatever were found distasteful in the Faith, we brushed aside, assuring ourselves

that we should find these in every Faith, and in this happy state of contentment we began our college career.

Then, indeed, we entered upon a sea of trouble, and came in contact with many men of various minds. There were Broad Churchmen, who doubted everything, but were narrow enough to quarrel with those who did not agree with them. Evangelicals, who did not believe in orders at all and only belonged to the Anglican Church because of its respectability and State influence. Protestants, hostile even to the Church they belonged to, who coquetted with Dissenters, as the last class of Ritualists coquetted with Rome, and then there were those superb, high and dry, respectable High Churchmen, who regarded everything in the English Church as practically perfect, and looked with supercilious scorn on the enthusiastic Evangelical and the fussy Ritualist, while all others were considered as a low-born set of curs, outside their civilized atmosphere.

To classify our own self was a great difficulty, and we did not attempt it till ordination fairly forced it upon us, so we were often amused to watch, as an observant outsider, the different phases of human life in a university. One man had Compline nightly in his rooms, at a gaily lit and adorned altar, and a whiff of real incense added to the romance, while a priestly form intoned the Psalms, clad in biretta and cassock. Another had a prayer-meeting, and the raucous tones of a cheap harmonium mingled with the stirring strains of "Shall we gather at the river." And then, yes, even then, we had a Protestant, Evangelical Irish clergyman, who could not pass his degrees, who objected to all music as sinful, and possessed a singular religion of which he was both priest and people. Each spring, like the swallows, he came again, and each autumn he was a ploughed field once more. At first he and his wife came, then he, his wife and a child, and then more children, who talked of it as "Daddy's holidays," and grieved when at last, one wonderful day, the dons being asleep, or his reverence more awake, he actually passed his exam., and returned no more.

We studied the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the more we

studied them and the Prayer-book the less we liked them, and the old hatred we had for the Shorter Catechism returned in full force towards those Articles ; so we consulted a don about it, and was cheerfully told to take them like physic, and not to trouble ourselves about them, so having waded through Harold Brown, Forbes, etc., we followed his advice and after a few more fish-like gulps became an Anglican clergyman.

The same troubles still often presented themselves and were often treated in a similar manner, e.g., on the eve of our ordination we had to take an oath of allegiance to the Queen, and to the bishop of our diocese and his successors as by law established, but another friendly counsellor came to our aid and remarked that as the Church of England was never established by any law, so the whole thing was a farce and we could swear whatever we pleased ; so gulp again and that trouble was gone. In fact in such a spirit, and buoyed up by such sophistry, we found no difficulty in overcoming scruples, and could have taken even the Coronation oath on the same basis (perhaps, the King does).

After ordination, we tried to settle down as a law-abiding member of the Church of England, but again difficulties beset our way, and these arose from the fact that every clergyman around us—bishops, deans, canons, vicars—had a theology of their own, and we soon learned that the Church of England was a city of confusion, and not in any one thing united, except in name. Of two or three college chums, one gave us up because he had grown too High Church, and one because we did not go far enough, and yet both these men are members of the Anglican Church, and at one time our brothers in the ministry.

Parish work was hampered by the same difficulties ; sometimes a vicar wanted us to join societies, like the English Church Union, or the Guild of All Souls ; another time a vicar would refuse our services because we belonged to these societies. One would ask us to celebrate facing east and wear vestments, another would ask us if we did such things, and if we answered 'Yes,' would refuse to employ us. One made us hear confessions, and one preached

against the confessional as severely as an Ulster Orangeman could do.

When the bishops were appealed to, they invariably shirked the question. Some, like the late Bishop of Liverpool, would fain have answered them, but they knew their Episcopal brethren did not agree with them, and would not scruple to say so, and so as they were equals among equals who was able to decide? This was the crucial point of our life, for if the bishops, canons, deans cannot agree, surely the head of the Church must put them right, so we turned our hopeful eyes to the then Archbishop, and certainly in the case of the then Archbishop an attempt, which proved abortive, was made to grapple with it, but it was speedily wrecked, as we all foresaw, for to give the Archbishop full and free administrative powers was to make him a Pope, and those who rejected Rome were not in any sense going to obey Canterbury.

Who, then, is the head of the English Church? This was the riddle we had to solve, and for seventeen long years we tried honestly to solve it, and the answer undoubtedly is, much as our Ritualistic friends and others may howl, none other than his Majesty Edward VII! Already a Royal Commission is trying to settle what the Archbishop has failed to do, and some aggrieved clergy, upset at its procedure, are about to appeal—not to the Convocation, that effete assembly, not to the moribund archbishops or bishops—but direct to the King! and so like it or not, the King is now, as he was in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the supreme head, in things spiritual as well as secular, of the Anglican Church! We know many squirm at the thought, but it is so, nevertheless, and every archbishop and bishop knows it only too well.

Another serious difficulty to us was that the Anglican Church has lost largely, and is still losing, its hold on the people. There is no progress and no real life in her. She is alive, but it is the life of a paralytic, and at times an attempt is made to galvanise a show of life into her body, but at the best it is a dreary failure, for all her aids and agencies are fast wearing out. Take churches in London, once full to the doors

with fashionable and devout congregations, and look at them now. Even a huge multiplication of services and guilds have ceased to attract. Musical services, lantern services, flower services, harvest services are all wearing out, and the curate has now to be an athlete, or gymnast, or a footballer, or a cricketer, in order to attract young men and boys to his services. Why is this so? we used to muse over and over again, and then the answer came: Because the Church of England is a gigantic sham, a compromise between Church and State, a monstrous lie! We never, even in former days, read the words of Jeroboam, when he put his false gods up in place of the God of Israel, without thinking of these two bright beauties, King Hal and Queen Bess. 'These be thy gods, oh Israel!'

And what are these idols, these false gods? The King in place of the Pope, the false clergy in place of the true, the sham German-made Communion in place of the Mass. And the poor dupes who serve her altars are bound hand and foot in fetters most vile, which only a few short considerations would easily prove even to the smallest child. If a case of heresy turns up, no single bishop can try the case or punish the guilty, without an Act of Parliament, and an appeal to the Crown. If a man writes a book against the Bible, a book condemned by nearly every bishop on the bench as the rankest of heresy, then if the State chooses to make that man a bishop, the bishops have to lay their hands on him, and ask the aid of God's Holy Spirit to consecrate a man who may not believe in the Trinity at all.

Apologies for their position have constantly to be made, and now, perhaps, the most foolish apology and working scheme has come to light, namely, an appeal to the first six centuries, which, oddly enough, owes its inception to an Evangelical dean. Can no one show these misguided men the absurdity of this appeal? Catholics know well that long before the first six centuries had passed Rome was then, as she is now, the only fold, the one true Rock of Jesus Christ. The deputation who waited on Dr. Davidson must have amused him much, for he knows perfectly well that to allow them to limit, or to adhere themselves to the first six cen-

turies is beyond his powers, and would require a special Act of Parliament, ratified and signed by the head of the Anglican Church, not by him, Archbishop Davidson, but by King Edward VII.

Let the deputation go before the King, and perhaps they will then get a more satisfactory answer to their addresses. Why, we would like to ask, why do men whose own rise dates from the heresies of the sixteenth century, dislike the date of their birth, and why do they seek to find a purity of doctrine and ritual in the year six hundred, and not at the true date of their inspiration, sixteen hundred? Let them go to the writings and homilies of the Reformers, and they will then find all they want, but the claim to be St. Augustine's followers must be given up and the parody of Catholic faith and practice laid aside, for at no period of the true history of the real Catholic Church can they read themselves in, or persuade any Catholic in or outside this island that they are part of the Catholic Church.

A. B. STAVERT, M.A.

GENERAL NOTES

'LISHEEN; OR, THE TEST OF THE SPIRITS'¹

THE Greeks used to say that the worst of all disasters for a man was to be opened and found to be empty.² The same may be said of books; and countless are the works whose value can be decided by so simple a test. This new novel of Canon Sheehan's, however, is not one of them. Whatever else may be said of it, no one can say that it is empty. It is, perhaps, the volume of the author's works most full of incident, most dramatic in its episodes, most engrossing in interest, most easily read. It is marked by all the author's gifts of elegant diction, of insight into various phases of Irish character, of sympathy with the masses, of vivid and poetic description, of the quiet humour and quaint fancy which made the fortune of *My New Curate*.

Some years ago I happened to be spending the summer holidays in Germany, and was one day sitting on a bench in a shady park reading a newspaper, when a German ecclesiastic came and sat beside me. Seeing my foreign costume he addressed me in Latin, and a conversation something like the following ensued:—

G.—'Unde venis?'

H.—'Ex Hibernia.'

G.—'Ex Hibernia! Hoc anno librum legebam a sacerdote Hibernico compositum, cui titulus fuit "*Novus Meus Vicarius*." Cognoscis forsitan opus?'

H.—'Immo, opus lexi et gustavi.'

G.—'Cognoscis etiam auctorem?'

H.—'Paululum de visu sed multum de fama.'

G.—'Forsitan tu ipse es auctor?'

H.—'Eheu, tali ingenio non sum dotatus!'

G.—'Auctor vere non es?'

H.—'Non sum.'

¹ *Lisheen; or, the Test of the Spirits*. By the Very Rev. Canon P. A. Sheehan, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. Price 6s.

² This remark is made by A. C. Benson in his *Essays From a College Window*, p. 251, probably on the strength of the following:—

δοῦς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἢ φρονεῖν μόνος δοκεῖ, ἢ γλῶσσαν ἢ οὐκ ἄλλος, ἢ ψυχὴν εἶχεν αὐτοὶ διαπυχθέντες ἀφθόγαν κενοί.—SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, 707-709.

G.—‘Igitur in omni securitate loqui possum et te non tentabit elatio si iudicium meum audeam proferre de libro illustrissimi tui conationalis?’

H.—‘Cum omni libertate potes discurrere.’

G.—‘At vero, liber de quo agitur summa felicitate scriptus est. Ecclesiam illustrat, populum delectat, lectorem inebriat. Est opus doctum sed simplex, utile simul et jucundum. Quantum differt ab operibus saeculi! Turpia fugit, ad bonum trahit, de curis terrenis et fugacibus eripit, in altum movet animum et cor. Nomen auctoris est Shayhann?’

H.—‘In Hibernia dicimus Shiehan.’

G.—‘Ah, *Shiehan*! De eo concepi figuram aliquam in mente mea. Vide si recte.’

H.—‘Videamus!’

G.—‘Est vir propectus aetate, moribus diguissimus, incessu gravis, vultu sole benignitatis irradiatus, facilitate dicendi insignis, scribendi mirus, pauperum amator, divitum servus, nemini se negans, omnibus inclinans.’

H.—‘Loqueris de *Novo Vicario* vel de auctore!’

G.—‘De auctore, de auctore.’

H.—‘Eum habes fere sicuti est.’

G.—‘Quid deest?’

H.—‘Multa desunt; exempli gratia,’ etc., etc.

G.—‘Quidquid sit de his omnibus est vir qui bene de religione et patria meritus est, clero Hibernico est ornamentum et decus, opus bonum facit pro Deo et Ecclesia. Si palmam egregiam in terra jam non tulerit, eam in coelo certissime portabit.’

At the end of the conversation my acquaintance gave me his card, which bore the inscription: ‘Adam Krawutsky, Professor of Theology, University of Breslau.’

As I agree in the eulogium of this distinguished foreigner I feel myself all the more at liberty to mention freely any defects or drawbacks that I may notice in those of the author’s works that are submitted to me. Criticism which would consist only in eulogy would, I have no doubt, be as distasteful to him as it is to me.

Now the first observation I would venture to make is that, in its broad outlines, if not in its details, the author’s art seems *imitative* rather than *creative*. *Lisheen* is clearly a daughter of Tolstoi’s *Resurrection*. Substitute Maxwell for Nekludoff, and you have the skeleton of the novel. As the Russian *moujiks* are sullen and distrustful, not believing in the disinterested philanthropy of Nekludoff, the peasants of Cork and Kerry have always some lurking suspicion of Maxwell. Hamberton, in like manner, can be traced to George Eliot or

Mrs. Humphry Ward ; and people somewhat like Outram are to be met with in Haggard and Kipling. Finally, the Major's oaths and expletives are more reminiscent of Charles Lever than of present-day realities.

The author is more effective and convincing in dealing with Irish characters and scenes that must necessarily have come much more under his own observation, as is the case with all of us, than when he draws upon his imagination, or, consciously or unconsciously, imitates others. Here his wit is genuine, his sympathy communicative, his sincerity warm and fervent. Whilst the 'Leper' chapter is repulsive and unnatural, and the scene between Outram and his wife harrowing and monstrous, the troubles of native Irish life and the scenes connected with it, the moods of the crowd, the sudden changes, the springs of action in the individual peasants, are admirably depicted. Father Cosgrove, too, is excellent ; and the general purpose of the story is well attained.

Of course there are in all parts of the book passages that are true to life, and mirror the society the author wishes to describe ; but whilst in one direction they all reflect the object as it is, in the others you see it frequently exaggerated, distorted, transformed. You feel that somehow it is not the thing ; although you find it difficult to say where exactly is the defect. In a word, the work is not perfect ; but it is so good and so much better than anyone else can do at the present day in the same line, that it may be disposed of with almost unqualified praise. The spirited action maintained throughout the story shows that the author has never been in better condition for work, if not in better vein. This gives ground for hope that we may look forward still for many years for the ripe fruit of his well-stored mind, his rich and highly-cultivated imagination. His works have now made the round of the world, and his success has been won not only without uttering anything base, but whilst helping, lifting and enlightening all who have come under his influence.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

VALID MATTER AND FORM OF EXTREME UNCTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—It used to be the teaching in my time that for certain validity of the sacrament of Extreme Unction anointing of the five senses, together with the appropriate form for each, was necessary. How far has the Decree of April, 1906, made a change in old views ?

SACERDOS.

There has been a great diversity of opinion amongst theologians as to the valid form and proximate matter of the sacrament of Extreme Unction. Some held that no mention of the senses is necessary for validity of the form, others that general mention of the senses is required, and others again that particular mention of the five senses is of necessity. As to the anointing some held that one anointing is quite sufficient for validity, others that anointing of the five senses is necessary. Those who held that no mention of the senses is necessary, and that the anointing of the five senses is not required for validity, were determined in their view by the Oriental Liturgies which prescribed forms making no reference to the senses, and which did not require anointing of the five senses. In recent times, when the Liturgies of the East began to be more closely examined, this view became the common opinion, although it was not looked on as certain.

The decree of the Inquisition, to which my correspondent refers, has settled the question, at least so far as the form in case of necessity is concerned. The decree states : ' In casu verae necessitatis sufficere formam : Per istam sanctam unctionem indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid delequisti. Amen.' The S. Cong. could not have given such a reply unless in case of true necessity this form is certainly sufficient for validity. But if sufficient for cases of necessity the form is very probably valid in all cases, since

the sacrament is essentially the same whether there is urgent necessity or not. I would regard this conclusion as certain were it not for the opinion which holds that the Church has power to determine in specie the matter and form of some sacraments.

The fact, too, that no mention of the senses is made in the form, adds additional strength to the opinion of those who say that anointing of the five senses is not necessary for validity. Whether the opinion has now become certain, so far as cases of necessity go, I would prefer to leave to the judgment of others. In the latest edition of his *Casus Conscientiae*, Lehmkuhl holds that it is now certain that in case of necessity one anointing is sufficient for validity, and his view ought to be considered as safe in practice. At the same time, to procure absolute certainty it would not be out of place in practice to anoint the forehead while pronouncing the short form, and then to anoint the eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth for the senses of sight, hearing, smell, and taste. This would remove not merely reasonable doubt, but even the slightest scruple, about the validity of the sacrament, from the point of view of form and proximate matter.

Since the short form is now certainly sufficient for the validity of the sacrament in urgent cases, there is no need for a conditional repetition of the sacrament if the subject does not die at once.

REQUEST FOR MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—A friend left me by will £100 for Masses, the honorarium to be 5s. for each Mass. (1) Can I lawfully accept the 400 Masses for myself? (2) If I can, what time is allowed for their celebration?

SACERDOS.

(1) According to the decree *Ut debita* nobody may take more Masses than he can probably personally celebrate within a year, 'salva tamen semper contraria offerentium voluntate, qui aut brevius tempus pro missarum celebratione sive explicite sive implicite ob urgentem aliquam causam deprecant, aut longius tempus concedant, aut

majorem missarum numerum sponte sua tribuant.' From the last phrase it seems perfectly clear that when a person spontaneously offers more Masses than a priest can probably celebrate within a year the latter is perfectly justified in acting on the tacit consent of the donor to take the Masses and to say them within a reasonable time after the expiration of a year.

(2) In regard to the second question I would say that the priest is safe in acting on the terms of the decree *Ut debita*, which lays down that the available time for the celebration of 100 Masses is six months, other periods to be regulated proportionately. Hence for 400 Masses about two years would be allowed.

It may be useful to mention that the case contemplated is not affected by the rule that unfulfilled obligations must be transferred to the Ordinary at the end of the year, since this regulation refers to cases in which there is not the permission of the donor to retain the Masses for a longer period than twelve months.

DOUBTFULLY CONSECRATED HOSTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Father Noldin, S.J., says in his *Theology*, regarding 'Hostias dubie consecratas,' 'Licet etiam post consecrationem hostiae majoris sive calicis verba consecrationis condionate super eas proferre, quia sic non inchoatur novum Sacrificium' (Vol. ii., page 134, 5th Edition). Would it be safe to act on his opinion? whereas the opposite is held by Father Genicot (Vol. ii., page 179, No. 175, iii., editio quinta).—Yours,

ENQUIRER.

It seems to me that the opinion which Father Noldin holds in the later editions of his *Moral Theology* concerning the conditional consecration of doubtfully consecrated Hosts is not safe in practice, since it has neither internal nor external probability in its favour. That it has no external probability is quite clear from the fact that Father Noldin is practically alone in holding the view. That it has no internal probability follows from the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass. The sacrifice is complete when you have a validly consecrated chalice, and a validly consecrated

Host, which remain for the communion of the priest. If the large Host were in any way destroyed, after the consecration and before the communion, then the priest could lawfully consecrate a new Host for the completion of the sacrificial act. But when there are validly consecrated chalice and Host which remain for the communion of the priest, there is all that is needed for a complete sacrificial act. Hence the consecration of any additional matter is the beginning of a new sacrifice, and consequently altogether unlawful. Nor let it be said that the doubt about the validity of the consecration of small Hosts makes a new conditional consecration nothing more than a completion of the previous consecration; because the new consecration, in so far as it is a true consecration at all, is in no way required for the completion of the sacrifice.

Hence, doubtfully consecrated Hosts must either be consumed by the priest after the consumption of the chalice, or be kept for a future Mass at which the celebrant will conditionally consecrate them.

THE HUNTING LAW

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the new Statutes of Maynooth (1900) clerics are forbidden to ride to hounds *nisi ob rationes speciales id Episcopus permittat*. Now, what is the force of this condition? Cannot a Bishop grant a dispensation from the Synodal laws? What, then, was the meaning of inserting the phrase?

SACERDOS.

A dispensation and a permission are two distinct exercises of jurisdiction. They agree in this that the person who has obtained either is exempt from the law. They differ from one another inasmuch as permission is an exemption which is so provided for by the law that its concession is in no way a retractation of the law; but a dispensation is a retractation of the law for special cases. In other words, laws which contain a clause about permission do not forbid a thing absolutely, while laws containing no such clause do forbid a thing absolutely, though the superior retains the power of granting a dispensation.

Besides this speculative and essential difference, there are many practical differences between a permission and a dispensation. For instance, a person can never lawfully presume on a dispensation. He can, indeed, presume at times that a dispensation *has been* granted, and circumstances may arise when by *epikeia* he can consider himself free from the law without a dispensation ; but a mere interpretative dispensation, i.e., a dispensation that would be granted if the superior were approached, is of no avail. On the other hand, sometimes an interpretative permission can be lawfully utilized, when, viz., it is not stated in the law that express permission is required, and when the superior can be approached only with difficulty. This is the unanimous teaching of theologians.¹

MIXED MARRIAGES AND DISPENSATION FROM THE IMPEDIMENT OF DIFFERENCE OF RELIGION

REV. DEAR SIR,—According to the Decree *No temere*, marriage between a Catholic and a pervert is not a mixed marriage. Does this mean that for such a marriage no dispensation will be necessary after Easter, 1908 ?

READER.

The decree *No temere* refers merely to the impediment of clandestinity. It makes no change in the legislation already in force concerning the impediments of 'mixed religion' and 'diversity of worship.' Hence in the future, as in the past, a dispensation will be necessary in case a Catholic wishes to marry a pervert ; and this dispensation will not be granted except on the usual conditions.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

FIRST COMMUNION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Allow me to ask you two questions about the obligation of receiving, and the right of giving First Communion :—

(1) Has a diocesan superior the authority of fixing by a rule

¹ Suarez, *De Legibus*, l. 6, c. 13, n. 20.

the age when children of his diocese must be admitted to First Communion, assigning, moreover, the time when the ceremony of the distribution of First Communion will take place every year in the different parishes of his diocese? Such a rule, which is made in various dioceses, seems a rather curious one. It supposes, in fact, that all children of the same diocese attain at the same age the discretion required by the Lateran Council for the faithful of both sexes in order to be bound to receive Holy Communion; which evidently is not always the case.

(2) I am under the impression that in the course of my reading I came across a statement to the effect that the admission to, and the distribution of First Communion, is an exclusive right of Parish Priests; and that religious communities, for instance, cannot dispense it in their own churches without due authorization of the local Pastor. How far is that true?—An answer will oblige.

B. M.

The decree of the Lateran Council referred to by our correspondent runs thus:—

*Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit omnia sua solus peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio sacerdoti et iniunctam sibi poenitentiam propriis viribus studeat adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiae Sacramentum; nisi forte de proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam rationabilem causam, ad tempus, ab huiusmodi perceptione duxerit abstinendum.*¹

From the above quoted words of the Lateran Council we can only infer that the age for the inception of the obligation for people of both sexes to go to Holy Communion is the age of discretion. Vague and uncertain as this expression may appear, it is the only reasonable one which can under the circumstances and in a general rule be assigned; but doctors endeavour to further explain and specify it in a more definite manner. First of all, they tell us that the age of discretion in this connexion is not the same as that required for the reception of the Sacrament of Penance. Although no restriction or distinction is made, for both sacraments, in the words of the above-cited decree, yet the difference between them is suggested

¹ Can. 21, Conc. Later. IV., an. 1215:

by the subject-matter. The age of discretion for the Sacrament of Penance is that in which there is a sufficient capacity of discerning between good and evil and, therefore, of committing a sin and conceiving afterwards, with God's grace, an act of true repentance. This happens when the use of reason is attained; whereas for the Sacrament of Blessed Eucharist the age of discretion is reached when children, according to the *Roman Catechism*, 'Huius admirabilis Sacramenti cognitionem aliquam acceperint et gustum habeant';¹ and it is admitted that such a taste for Holy Communion and a sufficient knowledge of the Sacrament of Eucharist cannot be gained by those who have just attained the use of reason, as they demand a more developed reasoning power, and consequently, a more advanced and ripe age. Accordingly, Suarez,² for instance, maintains that such a discretion and knowledge is reached when children are between ten and fourteen, or when they are eleven or twelve according to St. Thomas.³ These rules, of course, tell what usually happens in the majority of cases. To fix a number of years with mathematical precision, when children attain the perfect use of reason and the discretion required for the knowledge of spiritual things generally, and the Sacrament of Eucharist in particular, is absolutely impossible. Hence, St. Alphonsus alluding to these rules assigned by different authors, concludes: 'Dictum est regulariter, nam citius possunt obligari pueri qui ante talem aetatem perspicaciores conspiciuntur.'⁴

If that be the case, how can ecclesiastical superiors make diocesan or provincial statutes, thereby fixing a definite age for children in order to be admitted to Holy Communion, regardless of the fact that some of them may have attained the discretion necessary for that Sacrament and therefore incurred the obligation of receiving it long before the age specified in the diocesan or provincial rules?

It is true that a precise number of years cannot be for

¹ Cf. *Cath. Rom.*, 'De Euch.' n. 63.

² Suarez, in Part iii. St. Thom., Disp. lxx. sect. i, n. 3.

³ St. Thom. *Sent.* lib. iv, dist. 9, quest. 1, art. 5.

⁴ St. Alph., *Theol. Mor.*, lib. vi. n. 302.

that purpose established with mathematical certainty and for all children ; but it is always safe to determine it approximately relying on the common teaching of doctors. Moreover, the same decree of the Lateran Council recognizes ecclesiastical superiors as competent authorities to decide about children's discretion for First Communion, and, therefore, about the age and time when children are bound to fulfil their obligation. Indeed, nobody better than the superior to whose care children are entrusted can tell when they are, as a rule, capable of partaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, and fix the age when they are bound to receive it. But should, in some cases, discretion be attained before the age assigned by the superior, then by admitting these children to First Communion at the age fixed by diocesan rule, the faculty is exercised of protracting for some time the fulfilment of the precept of the Church. This temporary postponement, however, is allowed by the same decree of the Council and for just and reasonable motives, because the age of discretion does not make it always imperative, as in the case of the Sacrament of Penance, to fulfil immediately the obligation of making First Communion.

But who is the *Proprius Sacerdos* of the Lateran Council decree who has the power of judging about the fitness of children for Holy Communion and of making in consequence a rule as to their age for receiving it ; and which are the motives for the enactment of such a rule ? No doubt can be entertained that by *Proprius Sacerdos* is meant not only the confessor, but also any ecclesiastical superior, enjoying jurisdiction *in foro externo*, and in a special manner the Pope for the whole world and each bishop in his own diocese. It is clearly proved by Benedict XIV,¹ who concludes his demonstration by saying : ' *Nemo tamen salva fide negare potest etiam Summum Pontificem in tota Ecclesia et Episcopum in commissa sibi dioecesi proprium esse sacerdotem.*'

As to the motives for making a general rule fixing the age of children capable to go to First Communion, and for

¹ Benedict XIV., *De Syn.* lib. xi. c. 14, n. 2 ; Inst. xxviii, n. 6.

the postponement in some cases of the obligation of the ecclesiastical precept, one of them may be the necessity of making children study catechism until a certain age, especially in places where that study is discontinued soon after the reception of First Communion, but the principal and very laudable reason nowadays is the desirability of conferring the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist every year on all children of about the same age, and of the same parish or diocese on a fixed day in order to mark the occasion with unusual display of solemnity. It is well known that these festivities introduced by a laudable custom and now associated almost the whole world over, with the administration of First Communion, are fruitful of spiritual advantages to children and a source of great edification to those who assist at the celebration of those religious functions; functions which have lately been recommended by the present Holy Father, and enriched with a treasure of Indulgences.¹

In Ireland the custom of associating the happy event of the distribution of First Communion with a solemn and festive celebration in order to make it as impressive and attractive to the young as possible, is prevailing and flourishing throughout the country, with the sanction of the Bishops who wish to have it introduced wherever it is not in existence yet.² No wonder, then, if for each parish, a particular day of the year is established by diocesan rule, and a certain age when children are to be admitted to First Communion.

Lastly, an authoritative confirmation of the doctrine hitherto expounded may be found in the response of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, 21st July, 1888, to the Bishop of Annecy, approving of his diocesan rule which established a certain day of the year and the twelfth year of age for all children of his diocese to go to First Communion, and especially for the reason already mentioned; although the Congregation carefully added that notwithstanding such a rule children cannot, in particular cases

¹ S. C. Indul. 12 Jul. 1905—*App. Mayn. Syn. Dec.*, p. 56.

² *Mayn. Syn. Decr.*, p. 65, n. 84.

and absolutely speaking, be prevented from receiving Holy Communion *privately* if they ask for it before the date assigned by diocesan rule, and have certainly attained the discretion required for the fulfilment of the ecclesiastical precept.

(2) As to the second question, if our correspondent wants to say that he came across a written law laying down the theory that the admission of children to First Communion and its distribution in the parochial church is exclusively reserved to parish priests, we are afraid that he is labouring under a mistaken impression, because, to our knowledge, there is no general law of such a nature. On the contrary, the written law recognizes as competent authorities for that purpose, besides the local pastor, any other ecclesiastical superior. Hence, as we already remarked above, the *Proprius Sacerdos* of the decree of the Lateran Council, recognized as judge of the fitness of children for Holy Communion, and of the reasonable motives for retarding the fulfilment of their obligation is, according to Benedict XIV, not only the parish priest, but any superior with jurisdiction either *in foro interno* or *in foro externo*, and also any approved confessor. Indeed, the *Roman Catechism*¹ prefers the latter, together with the children's fathers to anybody else, stating: 'Qua vero aetate pueris sacra mysteria danda sint nemo melius constituere potest quam *pater et sacerdos cui illi confiteatur peccata*.'

Nor is it an exclusive right of the parish priest to distribute First Communion in the parochial church, unless it be the annual Communion during Paschal time, in order to fulfil the ecclesiastical precept. This is the common teaching of both old and modern canonists dealing with this subject.² We readily admit, however, that there is a general custom all over the world attributing to parish priests such a special right, a laudable custom in itself,

¹ *Cath. Rom.* 'De Euch.,' l.c.

² Cf. Suarez. l.c. disp. lxx. sect. 1, n. 4; Berardi, *De Parocho*, n. 758; De Angelis, tit. *De Parochiis*, etc., n. 5; Appeltern, *Prael. Jur. Reg.*, p. 577; Bouix, *De Reg.*, ii., p. 210; Nardi, *De Parochiis*, tit. l., c. 7, p. 169, n. 3; Berengo, *Euch. Par.*, p. 157; Ciolli, *Spic. Cas.*, p. 168, etc.

full of great advantages to children both from the religious and spiritual point of view, which ought to be followed and maintained wherever it is prevailing ; but it does not abolish contrary particular customs and legislations, nor does it prevent any local superior from conferring such a right and privilege to some ecclesiastical body or religious family.

In the Maynooth Synod Decrees the Irish Bishops inculcate the observance of the obligation of instructing children imposed by common ecclesiastical law on all pastors of souls ; and enact that every year during summer time parish priests or their curates must explain the nature, the value, and effects of the Sacrament of Blessed Eucharist to the children confided to their care ; and wish that, in so far as local circumstances permit, some pious exercises shall take place before the administering of First Communion. Moreover, as to the instructions to be imparted to children in preparation of this auspicious occasion, in virtue of the powers obtained from the Holy See the Bishops order that an arrangement suited to the circumstances be made by each parish priest and submitted, without unnecessary delay, to the Bishop for his sanction.¹ These are, to our knowledge, the only dispositions of the Irish Hierarchy on this matter, dispositions which if, on the one hand, are a confirmation of the general law of the Church, on the other do not favour parish priests with any special privilege or right as to the admittance of children to First Communion and its distribution in parochial churches. No doubt, the trend of the episcopal injunctions seems to be, at least, a tacit approval of the custom prevailing in Ireland in this respect, and in favour of parish priests, but that does not abrogate special practices in special parts of the country, nor does it prevent a particular superior from granting that right to others, nor ecclesiastical bodies, and especially religious communities, from using privileges in this direction which they have long exercised with the sanction either explicit or implicit of the diocesan authorities.

¹ *Mayn. Syn. Dec.*, p. 65, n. 83—*Appendix to Mayn. Syn. Dec.*, p. 402.

**DOMESTIC PRELATES AND PAPAL RESERVATION OF
BENEFICES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the last number of the I. E. RECORD you discussed the question whether benefices held by Apostolic Protonotaries are reserved to the Holy See when they fall vacant ; will you kindly say whether the same reservation applies to parishes held by Domestic Prelates in Ireland ?

X.

It was through oversight that we failed to make any mention of Domestic Prelates in the article referred to by our correspondent. No doubt, the case of Domestic Prelates holding parishes here in Ireland is more common than that of Protonotaries, and therefore of more practical importance.

It is beyond any doubt that the canonical doctrine about Papal reservation of benefices occupied by Apostolic Protonotaries equally applies to benefices held by Domestic Prelates. This appears from the Const. *Ad Regimen* of Benedict XII, from the I. and IV. rule of the Apostolic Chancery, and it is commonly confirmed by learned canonists who comment on those rules and other laws of Papal reservations. Indeed, if we, in our article of last issue of the I. E. RECORD, quoted in full Dr. Piacenza's passage of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, August, 1906, page 468, where he makes a masterly commentary on the *Motu Proprio Inter Multiplices*, there would have been no room for this query. He writes thus : ' *Ex Regulis Cancellariae Apostolicae I et IV, beneficia eorum qui de familia sunt Romani Pontificis uti Protonotarii, Praelati Domestici et Cubicularii, reservata manent Summo Pontifici.*'

However, our reply to this case is the same as that we offered in the other concerning Protonotaries, and our correspondent would have come to this conclusion if he noticed the wide range and the general character of the answer in our previous article. We remarked there that Irish parishes, no matter whether occupied by Protonotaries or other Prelates, cannot fall under any law of reservation, first, because it is not quite certain whether rules and laws

of Papal reservation of benefices are in force in this country ; secondly, because reservations do not, as a rule, effect parochial churches unless they are specially mentioned ; and lastly, because Irish parishes are not benefices or, at least, it is doubtful whether they are benefices in the strict canonical sense of the word, and rules of Papal reservation undoubtedly affect certainly strict benefices.

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

BLESSING OF BAPTISMAL FONT ON EVE OF PENTECOST

REV. DEAR SIR,—(1) Is it of obligation to bless the font on the Vigil of Pentecost ?

(2) It is very difficult to obtain servers in my parish ; and on Saturdays, not on Holy Saturday, a female answers Mass. De Herdt seems to imply it is not of strict obligation. An answer in an early number will oblige.

SUBSCRIBER.

It is certainly a matter of obligation to bless the Baptismal Font, in those churches in which it is erected, not only on Holy Saturday, but also on the Vigil of Pentecost. There are several Decrees of the Congregation of Rites in which this obligation is placed beyond all shadow of doubt. Here are some of the more recent of them. In April, 1874, the Bishop of St. Hippolytus asked if the custom, which prevailed in his diocese, of blessing the Font on Holy Saturday only, might be continued, in view especially of the words of the Roman *Ritual*,¹ which seems to imply that a blessing on either of the two days above mentioned is sufficient. To this the Congregation replied that, having regard to previous decisions in the years 1755 and 1844, the baptismal water was to be blessed in Parochial Churches not only on Holy Saturday but also on the Eve of Pentecost,

¹ *De Sac. Bap.*, cap. i., n: 4.

'non obstante quacumque contraria consuetudine quae omnino eliminari debet.' Later on, in June, 1892, it was decided that the practice of blessing the baptismal water in a few important churches only, and then conveying it to others was to be discontinued, and that in every church in which there was a Font, it was to be blessed on Holy Saturday and the Eve of Pentecost if not in the more solemn way, at least privately. This same direction was again repeated in January, 1899, when the Congregation of Rites expressly decided that the blessing of the Baptismal water should be carried out on each of these two days, not only in the Parochial Church, but also in the *succursal* churches of the Parish in which Fonts were erected, and that the Pastor should depute some priests to perform the ceremonies in the minor churches. These decisions are sufficiently explicit and render suspect the lawfulness of the custom which exists in many places of dispensing with the blessing on the Vigil of Pentecost. It is strange how such a custom should arise for it is directly opposed to prescriptions of the Roman Missal where, in laying down the Rubrics to be observed on these two mornings, it expressly includes the blessing of the Font for such occasions; and, moreover, as De Herdt¹ observes, the Office for these days embraces the blessing of the baptismal water as an integral part of the whole ceremony. The recent Synod of Maynooth reminds Parish Priests of their duty in this respect in these words: 'Meminerint Parochi Rituale Romanum et Ecclesiae consuetudinem exigere ut fons baptismalis, infuso Oleo et Chrismate, bis in anno, Sabbato nempe Sancto et Sabbato Pentecostes, benedicatur.'² For this country, therefore, the question is settled. The only exception which, apart from official recognition of a particular practice,³ could be tolerated is where one Parish Priest has charge of two churches in each of which is a Font. Here, manifestly, he cannot bless both on the same morning, or, at all events, *solemnly* (i.e. *secundum Missale*),

¹ *Prax. Lit.* ii., 14, n. 2.

² *Acta et Decr.*, p. 60.

³ Cf. I. E. RECORD, Sept., 1907, p. 324.

but can, and should, bless the second one *privately* (i.e. *secundum Rituale*).

Priests who live at a long distance from the Cathedral town, and cannot easily procure the newly-consecrated Oils in time for the ceremony of Holy Saturday morning, are often at a loss to know what to do, whether to defer the blessing of the Font, or to proceed with it using the Oils of last year. The following course may be safely recommended in these circumstances. The blessing should be performed on Holy Saturday morning up to the point at which the Oils are infused. Then, if there is hope of getting the fresh Oils before the baptismal water is likely to be required, the remainder of the ceremony may be put off until the new Oils are had, when they can be infused privately. But, if the water is likely to be required before the fresh Oils arrive, the old Oils should be employed, and the baptismal water thus blessed should be preserved up to its renewal on the Eve of Pentecost.¹

The answer to the second part of the query was given by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in March, 1899. It was then asked whether a Sister would be permitted to serve Mass in Convents and boarding-schools in the impossibility of procuring an Altar boy, and the reply was : *Affirmative in casu ex necessitate*. The necessity refers not to the celebration of Mass but to the difficulty of getting a proper server. It is now commonly laid down by rubricists and theologians that a priest may avail himself of the services of a female for a Mass that he says out of mere devotion, but in such circumstances the server was to kneel outside the Sanctuary, and do nothing except give the responses and ring the bell.

PRIVILEGES ACCORDED TO CHRISTMAS MIDNIGHT MASS

In the month of August last an important concession, which will be generally welcomed, was granted by the Holy Council of the Inquisition in favour of the celebration of Low Masses on the night of the Festival of the Nativity.

¹ Van der Stappen, *De Sac. Adm.*

It has ever been the earnest desire of many of the faithful to be able to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar on the night and at that precise hour which, in accordance with commonly-accepted tradition, marks the anniversary of the Saviour's birth into the world. Hitherto this laudable ambition could only be gratified by the favoured few, for the only Masses sanctioned by the laws of the Liturgy on this privileged occasion were Solemn (i.e. *Solemnis vel Cantata*) Masses which were celebrated in Cathedrals and in Conventual and Parochial Churches. Private, or Low Masses could not be said without an Apostolic Indult, nor could Communion be distributed without special permission. Now, however, to stimulate the piety of the people, and to excite in their hearts feelings of gratitude to God, for the ineffable mystery of the Incarnation, the present Sovereign Pontiff, in his zeal for the divine honour and glory, graciously permits the celebration of Low Masses on the night of the Nativity, subject to certain well-defined restrictions. It will be useful to examine the circumstances in which these Masses may be said. The privileges, let it be observed, are in the main and directly granted in behalf of Religious Communities.

1. All Religious Houses of men and women, with simple as well as solemn vows ; all charitable, educational, and other institutions established and controlled by ecclesiastical authority, and all seminaries, enjoy the privilege of having Midnight Masses on the night of the Nativity provided only that the Blessed Sacrament is habitually reserved in their Oratories whether public or semipublic.

2. The three Masses assigned in the Roman *Missal* may be said, or two of them or one only according to convenience. If two are said, then those should be selected that correspond with the hours of celebration ; but, on the other hand, that one may be reserved for the morning which is most appropriate to the circumstances of this time.

3. If two or three are said without interruption the *De Profundis* and Prayers after Mass should be said after the last only. The first Mass should not be commenced before twelve o'clock, it being understood that this moment

may be reckoned either according to the *true solar*, or *mean standard*, or *local* time.¹ There is no obligation, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, of abstaining from food for some hours before beginning the first Mass, but this reverent precaution is no doubt highly to be commended.

4. Holy Communion may be distributed at all the post-midnight Masses, and all lay persons permitted to be present at any of them satisfy the Ecclesiastical Precept for Christmas Day.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ Cf. Genicot, *Theol. Mor.*, v. ii. n. 199.

DOCUMENTS

MOTU PROPRIO OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X ON THE
BIBLICAL COMMISSION AND THE ERRORS OF THE
MODERNISTS

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI

PII

DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PAPAE X

DE SENTENTIIS PONTIFICALIS CONSILII REI BIBLICAE PROVE-
HENDAE PRAEPOSITI AC DE CENSURIS ET POENIS IN EOS
QVI PRAESCRIPTA ADVERSVS MODERNISTARVM ERRORES
NEGLEXERINT

MOTV PROPRIO.

Praestantiâ Scripturae Sacrae enarratâ, eiusque com-
mendato studio, Litteris Encyclicis *Providentissimus Deus*, datis
xiv Calendas decembres a. MDCCCLXXXIII, Leo XIII,
Noster immortalis memoriae Decessor, leges descripsit quibus
Sacrorum Biblitorum studia ratione proba regerentur; Librisque
divinis contra errores calumniasque Rationalistarum assertis,
simul et ab opinionibus vindicavit falsae doctrinae, quae *critica
sublimior* audit; quas quidem opiniones nihil esse aliud palam
est, nivi *Rationalismi commenta*, quemadmodum sapientissime
scribebat Pontifex, *e philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta*.

Ingravescenti autem in dies periculo prospecturus, quod
inconsultarum deviarumque sententiarum propagatione para-
batur, Litteris Apostolicis *Vigilantiae studiisque memores*, tertio
calendas novembres a. MDCCCII datis, Decessor idem Noster
Pontificale Consilium seu *Commissionem* de re Biblica condidit,
aliquot doctrina et prudentia claros S. R. E. Cardinales com-
plexam, quibus, Consultorum nomine, complures et sacro ordine
adiecti sunt viri, e doctis scientiâ theologiae Biblitorumque
Sacrorum delecti, natione varii, studiorum exegeticorum methodo
atque opinamenti dissimiles. Scilicet id commodum Pontifex,
aptissimum studiis et aetati, animo spectabat, fieri in Consilio
locum sententiis quibusvis libertate omnimoda proponendis,
expendendis disceptandisque; neque ante, secundum eas Litteras,
certa aliqua in sententia debere Purpuratos Patres consistere

quam quum cognita prius et in utramque partem examinata rerum argumenta forent, nihilque esset posthabitu, quod posset clarissimo collocare in lumine verum sincerumque propositarum de re Biblica quaestionum statum : hoc demum emenso cursu, debere sententias Pontifici Summo subiici probandas, ac deinde pervulgari.

Post diuturna rerum iudicia consultationesque diligentissimas, quaedam feliciter a Pontificio de re Biblica Consilio emissae sententiae sunt, provehendis germane biblicis studiis, iisdemque certa norma dirigendis perutiles. At vero minime deesse conspicimus qui, plus nimio ad opiniones methodosque proni perniciosis novitatibus affectas, studioque praeter modum abrepti falsae libertatis, quae sane est licentia intemperans, probatque se in doctrinis sacris equidem insidiosissimam maximorumque malorum contra fidei puritatem fecundam, non eo, quo par est, obsequio sententias eiusmodi, quamquam a Pontifice probatas, exceperint aut excipiant.

Quapropter declarandum illud praecipiendumque videmus, quemadmodum declaramus in praesens expresseque praecipimus, universos omnes conscientiae obstringi officio sententiarum Pontificalis Consilii de re Biblica, ad doctrinam pertinentibus, sive quae adhuc sunt emissae sive quae posthac edentur, perinde ac Decretis Sacrarum Congregationum a Pontifice probatis, se subiiciendi ; nec posse notam tum detrectatae oboedientiae tum temeritatis devitare aut culpâ propterea vacare gravi quotquot verbis scriptisve sententias has tales impugnent ; idque praeter scandalum, quo effendant, ceteraque quibus in causa esse coram Deo possint, aliis, ut plurimum, temere in his errateque pronunciatis.

Ad haec, audentiores quotidie spiritus complurium modernistarum repressuri, qui sóphimatis artificiisque omne genus vim efficacitatemque nituntur adimere non Decreto solum *Lamentabili sane exitu*, quod v nonas Iulias anni vertentis S. R. et U. Inquisitio, Nobis iubentibus, edidit, verum etiam Litteris Encyclicis Nostris *Pascendi Dominici gregis*, datis die VIII mensis Septembris istius eiusdem anni, Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica iteramus confirmamusque tum *Decretum* illud Congregationis Sacrae Supremae, tum *Litteras* eas Nostras *Encyclicas*, addita *excommunicationis* poena adversus contradictores ; illudque declaramus ac decernimus, si quis, quod Deus avertat, eo audaciae progrediatur ut quamlibet e propositionibus, opinionibus doctrinisque in alterutro documento, quod supra diximus, improbatis tueatur, censurâ ipso facto plecti Capite *Docentes* Constitutionis *Apostolicae Sedis* irrogatâ, quae prima est in excommunicationibus latae sententiae Romano Pontifici sim-

pliciter reservatis. Haec autem excommunicatio salvis poenis est intelligenda, in quas, qui contra memorata documenta quidpiam commiserint, possint, uti propagatores defensorosque haeresum, incurrere, si quando eorum propositiones, opiniones doctrinaeve haereticae sint, quod quidem de utriusque illius documenti adversariis plus semel usuvenit, tum vero maxime quum modernistarum errores, id est *omnium haereseon collectum*, propugnant.

His constitutis, Ordinariis dioecesium et Moderatoribus Religiosarum Consociationum denuo vehementerque commendamus, velint pervigiles in magistros esse, Seminariorum in primis; repositosque erroribus modernistarum imbutos, novarum nocentiumque rerum studiosos, aut minus ad praescripta Sedis Apostolicae, utcumque edita, dociles, magisterio prorsus interdican: a sacris item ordinibus adolescentes excludant, qui vel minimum dubitationis iniiciant doctrinas se consecrari damnatas novitatesque maleficas. Simul hortamur, observare studiose ne cessent libros aliaque scripta, nimium quidem percrebrescentia, quae opiniones proclivitatesque gerant tales, ut improbatis per Encyclicas Litteras Decretumque supra dicta consentiant: ea summovenda curent et officinis librariis catholicis multoque magis e studiosae inventutis Cerique manibus. Id si sollerter accuraverint, verae etiam solidaeque faverint institutioni mentium, in qua maxime debet sacrorum Praesulum sollicitudo versari.

Haec Nos universa rata et firma consistere auctoritate Nostra volumus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die XVIII mensis Novembris a. MDCCCXVII, Pontificatus Nostri quinto.

PIVS PP. X.

**THE POPE'S GOLDEN JUBILEE.—CONGRATULATORY LETTER
FROM THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND.
THE HOLY FATHER'S REPLY**

Beatissime Pater,

Hiberniae Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, in annuo Conventu coadunati, maximâ reverentiâ ad Thronum S. Petri provoluti, Beatitudini Tuae ex intimo corde gratulamur de anniversario quinquagesimo Sacerdotii Tui, tam longe lateque exoptato, et jam feliciter transacto. Insuper, Deo gratias quam maximas agimus, quia navi Sancti Petri, aestu periclitanti, gubernatorem praefecit, qui fluctus tumentes componere, simulque nautis timidis, et verbo et exemplo, vires animumque novum inter procellas praestare valeat.

Insuper, Beatitudini Tuae gratias rependimus propter praeclaras Litteras Encyclicas de Modernismo, nuper ad nos allatas, quibus errores recentiores, quotidie pullulantes, et Religioni et Societati Humanae aequae pestiferi, tam luculenter sunt expositi, refutati, damnati a Supremo Ecclesiae Magisterio. Doctrinam Catholicam his Litteris expositam et amplectimur et profitemur, nos enim, sicut et Patres nostri, pedibus in Petram Christi infixis, nec fallaciis sophistarum, nec metu persecutionum, exinde avelli possumus.

Deo enixe adprecamur ut Beatitudini Tuae dies longos et feliciores concedere dignetur, et Apostolicam Benedictionem nobismetipsis, et clero, populoque nostro suppliciter exoramus.

Beatitudinis Tuae filii obsequentissimi et addictissimi,

Pro omnibus Episcopis,

✠ MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE,

Conventus Praeses.

Eme. ac Rme. Domine Mi. Obme.,

Obsequii plenae litterae quas, nomine Episcoporum Hiberniae, ex annuo Conventu Episcopali ad Pontificem Summum mittebas, sane quanto animi solatio Sanctitatem Suam affecerunt. Vobis cordi fuit non modo de quinquagesimo sacerdotii natali, qui praesenti hoc anno Beatissimo Patri celebrandus occurrit, summo opere Sanctitati Suae gratulari, sed etiam laetitias agere communes ob editas tam opportune litteras Encyclicas contra Modernistarum errores. Ejusmodi amoris et observantiae officia non est ut dicam quam probarit Pontifex; illud potius declarare proprio Sanctitatem Suam et plene confidere nunquam prolatum iri inter vos perniciosissimas illas haereses, et gratias unicuique vestrum persolvere de patefactis tam amanter animis, et testem, denique, dilectionis Suae Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis gregibusque vestris impertire.

Occasione usus, summae erga Te venerationis sensa profiteor quibus manus tibi humillime deosculor ac permaneo,

Eminentiae Tuae,

Humillimus et addictissimus famulus,

✠ R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Romae, die XXI Octobris, 1907.

Emo. ac Rmo. Domino,

MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE,

Archiepiscopo Armacano,

Maynooth.

MIDNIGHT MASS AT CHRISTMAS—PERMISSION GIVEN FOR ONE OR THREE MASSES IN ALL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES

S. CONGREGATIO S OFFICII

**INDULGETUR FACULTAS TRES MISSAS NOCTE NATIVITATIS D. N. I. C.
CELEBRANDI IN ECCLESIIS VEL ORATORIIS MONASTERIORUM,
SEMINARIORUM ALIORUMQUE INSTITUTORUM**

Feria V. die 1 Augusti 1907.

SSmus. D. N. D. Pius divina providentia PP. X. in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. Officii impertita, ad fovendam fidelium pietatem eorumque grati animi sensus excitandos pro ineffabili Divini Verbi Incarnationis mysterio, motu proprio, benigne indulgere dignatus est ut in omnibus et singulis sacrarum virginum monasteriis clausurae legi subiectis aliisque religiosis institutis, piis domibus et clericorum Seminariis, publicum aut privatum oratorium habentibus cum facultate Sacras Species habitualiter ibidem asservandi, sacra nocte Nativitatis D. N. I. C. tres rituales Missae vel etiam, pro rerum opportunitate, una tantum, servatis servandis, posthac in perpetuum quotannis celebrari Sanctaque Communio omnibus pie petentibus ministrari queat. Devotam vero huius vel harum Missarum auditionem omnibus adstantibus ad praecepti satisfactionem valere eadem Sanctitas Sua expresse declarari mandavit.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

PETRUS PALOMBELLI, S.R.U.I. Notarius.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X TO ABBOT GASQUET



EPISTOLA

**GRATULATORIA QUA NONNULLA PRIVILEGIA INDULGENTIASQUE
PONTIFEX LARGITUR IN TRECENTESIMO ANNO AB INSTITU-
TIONE CONGREGATIONIS ANGLO-BENEDICTINAE**

DILECTO FILIO AIDANO GASQUET ABBATI

ET CONGREGATIONIS ANGLO-BENEDICTINAE PRAESIDI.—LONDINUM

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem

Tertio exeunte saeculo, postquam nobile istud Gregorii Magni Coenobium initia cepit, iure vos ac merito hanc faustitatem eventus celebraturi propediem estis; quae faustitas recordationem habet rerum, non apud vos tantum, sed late apud catholicos, anglos praesertim, memorabilium. Primum enim revocatur mens ad ea tempora, quum laetissimam in-

stitutorum vestrorum segetem, cum ipso catholico nomine, in Anglia immanis clades oppressit : tempora illa quidem religioni calamitosissima, sed maximarum virtutum ornata exemplis, quibus sese et Ecclesiam maiores praecipue vestri illustrarunt. Eluxit in his venerabilis vir, Ioannes Roberts, qui, ut plures ex eadem disciplina monachi, primatum Apostolicae Sedis profuso sanguine asseruit ; Congregationis Anglo-Benedictinae ornamentum idem et tutela ; quo potissimum auctore accedente ope munifica Cavareli, Atrebatensis Abbatis, Gregorianum Coenobium Congregationis reliquiis, velut e naufragio collectis, excipiendis Duaci constitutum accepimus. Prosperae deinceps, adversaeque iterum res vobis consecutae, argumento fuere, provisum esse divinitus, ut bona semina sempiternae Anglorum salutis, a Gregorio profecta, nequaquam interiret penitus, sed tempestatis impulsu vobiscum advecta in Galliam, eadem longo intervallo rursus ad Anglos, novae procellae acta impetu, redirent. Ergo Sodalitium vestrum, aliis alibi apertis domibus, ipsoque Coenobio, ex auctoritate Pauli V, Pontificis Maximi, tanquam centro et capite instauratae Congregationis facto, sensim visum est, satis diuturno spatio, reviviscere, quoad tutum ei honestumque hospitium Gallia praebuit ; ubi vero, non multum a pristina amplitudine et gloria abesse coeperat, maxima illa rerum omnium conversione exterminatum e finibus Galliae, istuc, unde discesserat, remigravit. Ex eo tempore licuit vobis, quasi postliminio reversis, longinquam intermissionem operae studii et contentione sarcire ; fundatoque feliciter apud Downside Gregoriano Coenobio, longe lateque ad incrementum religionis humanitatisque christianae beneficam vim, instituto vestro insitam, proferre. Cognitum est, amplissimos viros, optime de Ecclesia meritos, ex isto sanctimoniae sapientiaeque domicilio prodivisse : hodieque id ipsum tum disciplinae integritate, tum studiis et artibus florere, vel Collegium indicat, Coenobio adiectum, ubi virtutum doctrinaeque ornatu lectissimorum adolescentium numerus instruitur. Ad haec et talia recolenda commodam occasionem proximi dies dabunt, eamque non vacuum fructu ; vestrorum quippe recte factorum cogitatio et augebit erga vos gratiam bonorum et industriam diligentiamque in vobis exacuet. Nos vero ut eadem solemnia, quibus celebritatem additura est novi eiusque splendidi, ut intelligimus, templi dedicatio, celebriora etiam per Nos fiant, libenter indulgemus vobis, quae infra scripta sunt. Die xix huius mensis, quo die statum festorum triduum incipiet, in festo Sancti Ianuarii liceat vobis ritu votivo in honorem Sancti Gregorii Sacrum facere. Quicumque in Coenobium die xx convenerit, ut Sacro solemnii intersit, is in eum diem lege ieiunii

et abstinentiae a carnibus solutum se sciat. Eodem die, festo Sancti Eustachii, solemne Sacrum ad precandam requiem vita functis sodalibus, ipsorum propinquis, omnibusque bene de Coenobio meritis, fieri fas sit. Praeterea Venerabili Fratri Cuthberto, Episcopo Neoportensi, potestatem facimus, quam ipse, si impeditus aliqua causa fuerit, delegate alteri possit Pontificia benedictione populum lustrandi. Denique iis, qui solemni sacro adfuerint, plenariam admissorum veniam sub statis conditionibus semel tribuimus. Praeter haec autem, quae ad tempus collata sunt, duo mansura munera vobis conferimus, unde Nostra erga Ordinem vestrum benevolentia perpetuo constet. Unum est, ut Sacerdotes ad altare maximum sacris operantes, in novo Sancti Gregorii templo, possint, quemadmodum ad altare Gregorianum in Monte Coelio, perlitare. Alterum est, ut adeuntibus die 11 mensis Augusti aedem Coenobii eiusdem et domorum reliquarum quae sunt Congregationis vestrae potiores videlicet Sancti Laurentii ad Ampleforth, Sancti Edmundi Duacensis, Sancti Michaëlis ad Belmont et Sanctae Mariae ad Stanibrook, quoniam istae ab aedibus Fratrum Franciscalium admodum distant, Indulgentiam Portiunculae impetrare liceat. Atque haec omnia vobis Apostolica auctoritate concedimus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Vos vero ex his voluntatis Nostrae testimoniis sumite animos et effcite, ut sacra ista solemnia tanquam auspiciū studiosioris in officio constantiae vobis attulisse videantur. Caeletium autem donorum, quae adprecamur ex animo, pignus itemque praecipuae Nostrae benevolentiae indicem, tibi, dilecte Fili, universaeque Congregationi Anglo-Benedictinae, praesertim dilectis Filiis Edmundo Ford, Priori Sancti Gregorii, eiusque sodalibus, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die VIII Septembris, Natali Virginis Deiparae anno MDCCCV, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

**LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X TO MGR. FRASER,
RECTOR OF THE SCOTCH COLLEGE IN ROME
EPISTOLA**

**QUA PONTIFEX OCCASIONE SACERDOTALIS IUBILAEI EXMI D.
ROBERTI FRASER ANTISTITIS URBANI, MODERATORIS COLLEGII
SCOTORUM DE URBE EIDEM GRATULATUR OB IPSIUS COLLEGII
INCREMENTUM**

PIUS PP. X.

*Dilecte Fili, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,
Quum ante annos quinque et viginti sacerdotale munus*

inibas, rem ingrediebare felicem fortunatamque non tibi modo qui praeclara eras in Deum Ecclesiamque assecuturus promerita, sed Collegio potissimum Urbano nationis tuae, cuius instaurandae salutis virtutem parabas tuam, futurus, consentaneo tempore, providentissimus Instituti moderator. Obscurum Nobis non est quam afflicta facerent ante supremum tibi magisterium domus collatum, Collegii Scotorum bona quamque exigui propterea fructus in dioecesum utilitatem ederentur. At gaudet animus spectare in praesens restitutas tuo studio Collegii fortunas, auctam fermeque geminatum alumnorum copiam, excultam diligentissime contendentium ad sacra iuvenum pietatem, cohaerentes consperantesque denique mirifice moderatoris adolescentumque voluntates. Res est in lumine collocata tuorum praestantia et claritudine operum, Apostolica praeterea lustratione Urbis, publico veluti suffragio confirmata, adeo quidem ut illud nobis nullo modo queat esse ambiguum coeleste Deum ope tuos labores voluisse foecundos Catholicamque Scotorum gentem praecipua quadam gratia esse prosecutum. Itaque faustitate usi natalis quinti et vigesimi sacerdotii tui libenter tibi gratulamur de collatis in Scotorum Collegium beneficiis votaue nuncupamus summa sive pro tuae felicitate vitae quam sospitari diutissime cupimus, sive etiam pro sollertiae studii operumque tuorum incremento. Hoc autem iucundum tibi prae re quavis arbitramur exstiturum, eam in rem per Nos omina offerri ut pergant Scotorum Episcopi, quemadmodum antea, fidem in te quasi in exploratae virtutis viro collocare suppetiasque quotidie magis Collegio venire, sic certo arbitrati, adiumenta si succurrant, longe fore maiora derivanda in patriam tum ad sacras tum ad civiles res emolumenta. Testem animi Nostri auspicemque divinorum munerum tibi Collegioque universo Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XII Augusti anno MCMVII, Pontificatus nostri quinto.

PIUS PP. X.

COMMUNION IN PRIVATE ORATORIES

SS. RITUM CONGREGATIO

DECLARATIO

SACRORUM RITUM CONGREGATIONIS DE SACRA SYNAXI IN ORATORIIS PRIVATIS DISTRIBUENDA

Sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa X in audientia habita die 8 Maii 1907 ab E^{mo} et R^{mo} D^{ño} Cardinali Seraphino

Cretoni, S. R. C. Praefecto, statuere ac declarare dignatus est, ut in Indultis Oratorii privati intelligatur inclusa facultas sacram Communionem distribuendi iis omnibus Christifidelibus, qui Sacrificio Missae adsistunt; salvis iuribus parochialibus. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Ex Secretaria Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis, eadem die 8 Maii 1907.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

CATHOLIC SOCIETIES IN SPAIN

S. CONGREGATIO INDULGENTIARUM ET SS. RELIQUARUM

DE CATHOLICIS IN HISPANIA FOEDERIBUS

EPISTOLA

VENERABILI FRATRI MARCELLO ARCHIEPISCOPO HISPALENSIVM—
HISPALIM

PIUS PP. X

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Quae Nobis esset de catholicis in Hispania foederibus mens, placuit reddere, oblata quandoque opportunitate, perspicuum; quod quidem dum perageremus, et laudem spectavimus foederalibus coetibus debitam, et ad ea, quae eisdem pararentur adhuc adipiscenda commoda, incitamentum. Recentia vero quum delibaverimus perlibenter verba, quibus Hispalenses fideles e commentarii dioecesani paginis ipse hortabare ad fulciendas id genus sodalitates, e re esse putavimus Nostras orationi tuae hortationes adiicere, id certe rati, e catholicis egregiae spei viris, quos edidit abunde semper Hispania, multum incrementi debere catholicorum consociationi obvenire. Etenim si ad comparanda Ecclesiae Religionique emolumenta unus valet catholicus vere sensus, si partium politicarum studium nunquam ad profectum rei christianae conducit officitque plurimum, nihil Nos utilius, nihil opportunius incolumitati vestrae reperimus quam ut, post habito plane quid quisque in re publica sentiat, statuunt omnes ac deliberent catholicam profiteri publice fidem, talique sodalitatum foedere devinciri quo catholici rationes nominis sarta tecta servantur. Hos porro foederatos coetus et commoditatem afferre religioni plurimam et necessitatem quoque persentire temporum, nemo rerum aestimator iustus non viderit,

si diligenter reputarit animo non posse, seiunctis viribus, praesto esse salutem, bonosque debere, quasi facta acie, multiplici pravitati hostium opponi. Quapropter a novis abstinere laudibus nullo modo possumus adversus foedera illustria: ista namque sunt, quorum praesidio et gratia hinc crescant necesse est catholicorum opera et studia, hinc vero instructae per inimicas artes insidiae dilabantur. Eos vero, quotquot in Hispania sunt foederatorum coetuum auctores, certiores redditos volumus, illorum Nobis apprime probari sollertiam, quippe quom existimamus impetere rectae rei catholicae ocores, ac tueri simul catholicum sensum fortiter congruenterque temporibus. Id autem ipsum ad illos pertinet etiam, immo vero singulari quidem ratione spectat qui gratia, opibus aut manu favent praecellenti operi, cui nomen 'Buena Prensa'; quos omnes exploratum Nobis est variis iisdemque peridoneis scriptorum generibus veritatem catholicam et late propagare et sapienter defendere, ideoque dignum a Nobis habeant grati animi vicem. Iam praemio talibus per haec verba delato, par esse ac decorum intelligimus praecipuam tibi decernere sedulitatis atque industriae laudem, qui, memorata sodalitia condens, fidelesque cohortatus ut rationes solum rei catholicae in foedere adamarent praeclare de Nobis es meritus, riteque Nostram interpretatus es mentem. Qua quidem in causa id summopere laetamur, non tibi, sive e sacro clero, sive ex ordine civium, defuisse qui actuosam fidelemque consilio tuo operam darent, meriti propterea et ipsi quos laudatione Nostra honestaremus. Quod si et ardor tibi, et studium fidelibus, et sinceritas universis perstabit, nulla ratione dubitamus fore ut catholicae tuitio rei in Hispania confirmetur, plurimoque atque eo lenge laetissimo gaudeat profectus. Quo autem copiosius Hispanis caelestia lumina suppetant, unde compertum quotidie magis habeant quam multa e foederibus alienis a civilium studiis partium commoda pendeant, Apostolicam Benedictionem quum laudatis sodalitatibus earumque praesidibus et adiutoribus, tum maxime tibi peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 1. Iulii a. MDCCCXV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE GREGORIAN MELODIES (Solesmes Version) for the Office, Mass, and Burial of the Dead, and Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. Edited, for the first time, in Tonic Sol-fa Notation, with Special Permission of the Solesmes Benedictines, by the Rev. D. O'Doherty, B.D. With a Preface by the Most Rev. John Clancy, D.D., Lord Bishop of Elphin. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. 1907.

As many of our school children can read music from the Tonic Sol-fa notation, but not from the Staff notation, it was a useful undertaking to publish some much-wanted Gregorian melodies in Tonic Sol-fa notation. As to the special plan of this transcription, Father O'Doherty uses the prolongation line familiar to Tonic Sol-faists, to indicate a doubling of a note; a little horizontal stroke over the note to indicate a slight lingering; a special sign \checkmark as breathing mark, and a grave accent mark to indicate a subdivision accent in longer neumes. We notice that in those pieces which have a constant *la*, he changes *fa* into *do*; thus, in the Subvenite, which consequently ends on *si*, in the Invitatorium, the Benedictus, Introit, etc. We should have preferred to see the same change made in all pieces of the *d* and *f* modes, including such as the Sequence and Libera, even though it would imply an occasional *fe*, because the real mental effect of the final notes in these modes is certainly *la* or *do*. The editing is done with great care and the printing is good, though the type for the words is rather small.

H. B.

THE BEATIFIC VISION. By the Rev. Thomas Conefry, P.P. Killoe, Diocese of Ardagh. Longford, 1907.

It is enough to say of this learned and eloquent work that it has the approval and *Nihil obstat* of the venerable Dean of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, and the *Imprimatur* of the Most Rev. Dr. Hoare. Nothing we could write would add in any way to the commendatory words of Dr. Monahan. It is evident that the volume contains the life-work in one direction of a hard-working and zealous parish priest, whose thoughts have been suitably occupied with high and holy things. He has omitted

nothing in his treatment of a difficult and mysterious subject. The work is replete with learning; the abstruse and profound character of the treatment is now and then relieved by some verses of poetry, original or borrowed. The Scriptures and the Fathers supply the doctrine: and from both the author has plentifully drawn. We heartily congratulate Father Conefry on his great work, which we have no doubt is far more meritorious and far more valuable in the sight of God, coming as it does from a humble and hard-working Irish priest, than many of the Modernist productions that aim chiefly at showing off the learning and acumen of their authors, which in reality are often limited enough.

J. F. H.

IS THE POPE INDEPENDENT? OR, OUTLINES OF THE ROMAN QUESTION. By the Right Rev. Mgr. John Prior, D.D.
Rome: Palazzo Taverna. 1907. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS is the ablest and most luminous pamphlet on the Papal Sovereignty and the present position of the Pope that has appeared in our time. With cool and impassive temper, but steady and unerring purpose, Mgr. Prior leads us step by step through the various stages of his enquiry, bringing home conviction as he goes by facts, arguments, and quotations splendidly and most logically arrayed. It is the work not only of a devoted servant of the Holy See, but of a man of wide knowledge, keen observation and steadfast aim. For it certainly was not in a day or a year that the materials of which this work is composed were brought together. Mgr. Prior had his eyes about him for many years, and we now get the result of his discriminating study of this question. Anyone who reads this pamphlet will see without much difficulty that the Roman question is not settled. It is not settled for the Vatican. It is not settled for the Catholic nations. Nor is it settled for Protestant or pagan Governments with Catholic subjects. The Italians may cherish the hope that time will sanction their sacrilege. They are mistaken. Time is already beginning to tell against them. The Papacy which outlived the captivity of Avignon will outlive and conquer the captivity of the Vatican. The Vatican can bide its time. It has millions of loyal subjects the world over who will not be found wanting when the hour comes. Mgr. Prior's admirable pamphlet will not let their spirits fail in the meantime.

J. F. H. 

ROSETTE : A TALE OF PARIS AND DUBLIN. By Mrs. William O'Brien. London : Burns and Oates: 1907.

MRS. O'BRIEN has the gift of making a very readable story out of very slight materials. It is rare that one gets interested in a work of fiction in which there is practically no plot, no problem, no mystery to solve ; yet I confess I could not lay down this book until I had read it through, and seen Rosette at the end of her little flight through the world happily fixed under Mother Augustine in a Dublin Convent. Each scene in itself is so vividly and so naturally held up before you that you are interested in it without regard to those that precede or follow. The language, too, is simple and attractive, and the fact that it is now and again flavoured with a French idiom is no drawback to it. There is one thing that jars a little on my sense of propriety. Why is Rosette made to slap a haughty young companion in the face one day at a party ? It seems to me that well-bred little girls, with clever little tongues, have many ways of taking down the pride of stuck-up and purse-proud little companions besides slapping them in the face. But, then, I confess I am not much of an authority on such subjects, and have no desire to get mixed up in controversy about them. I will merely say that Mrs. O'Brien has written a very pretty story and one that at Christmas time may be safely given to children.

J. F. H.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Fortieth Year
No. 475.

JULY, 1907.

[Fourth Series.
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Nihil Obstat.

THOMAS O'DONNELL, S.T.D.
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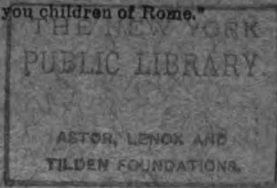
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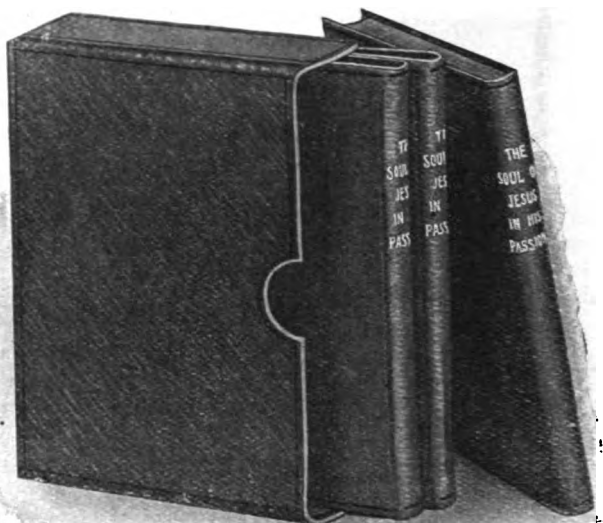
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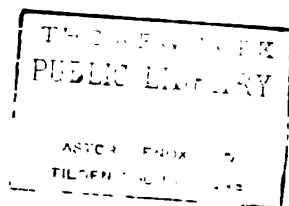
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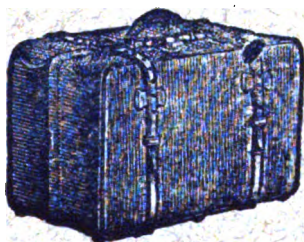
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